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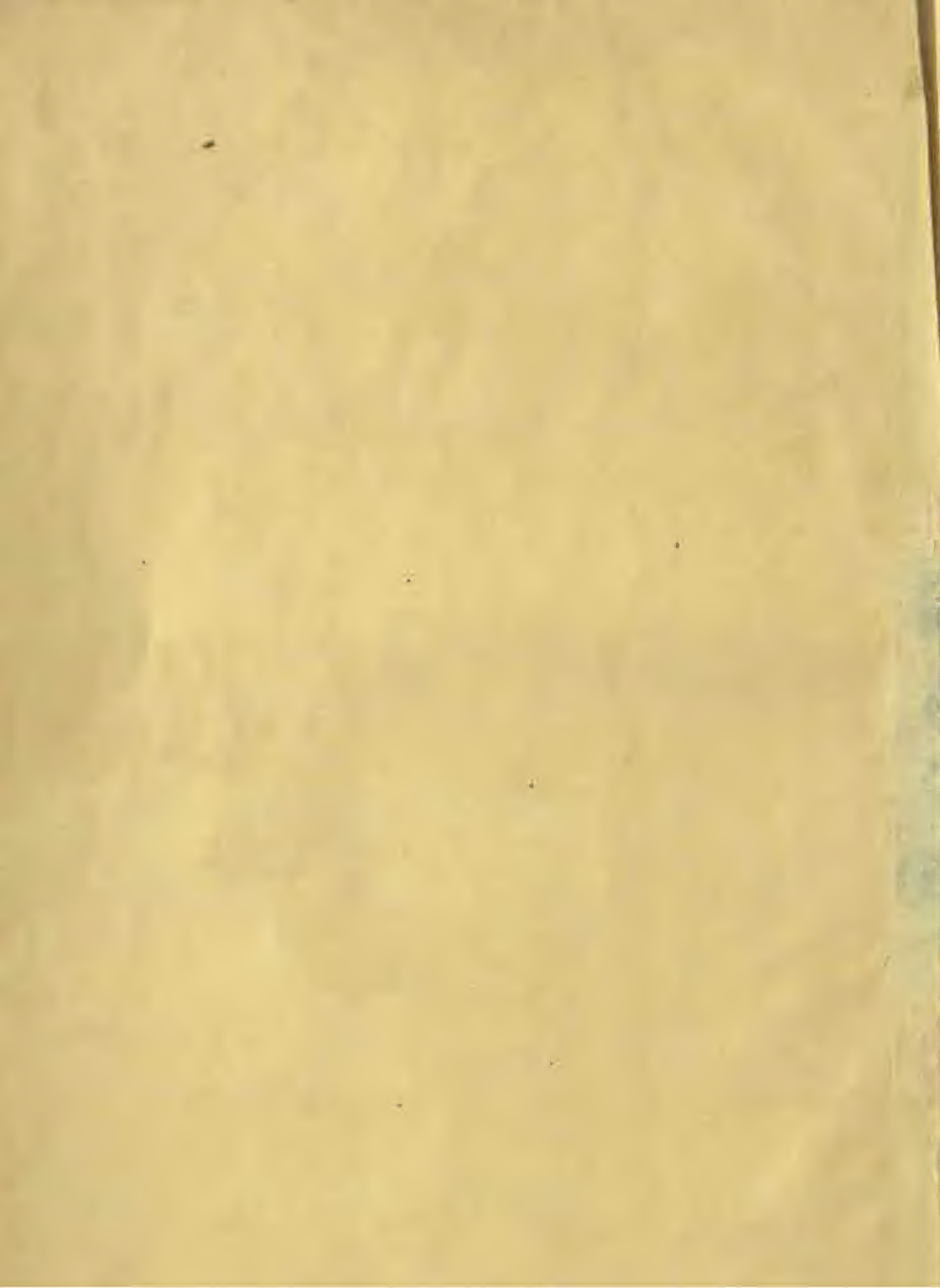
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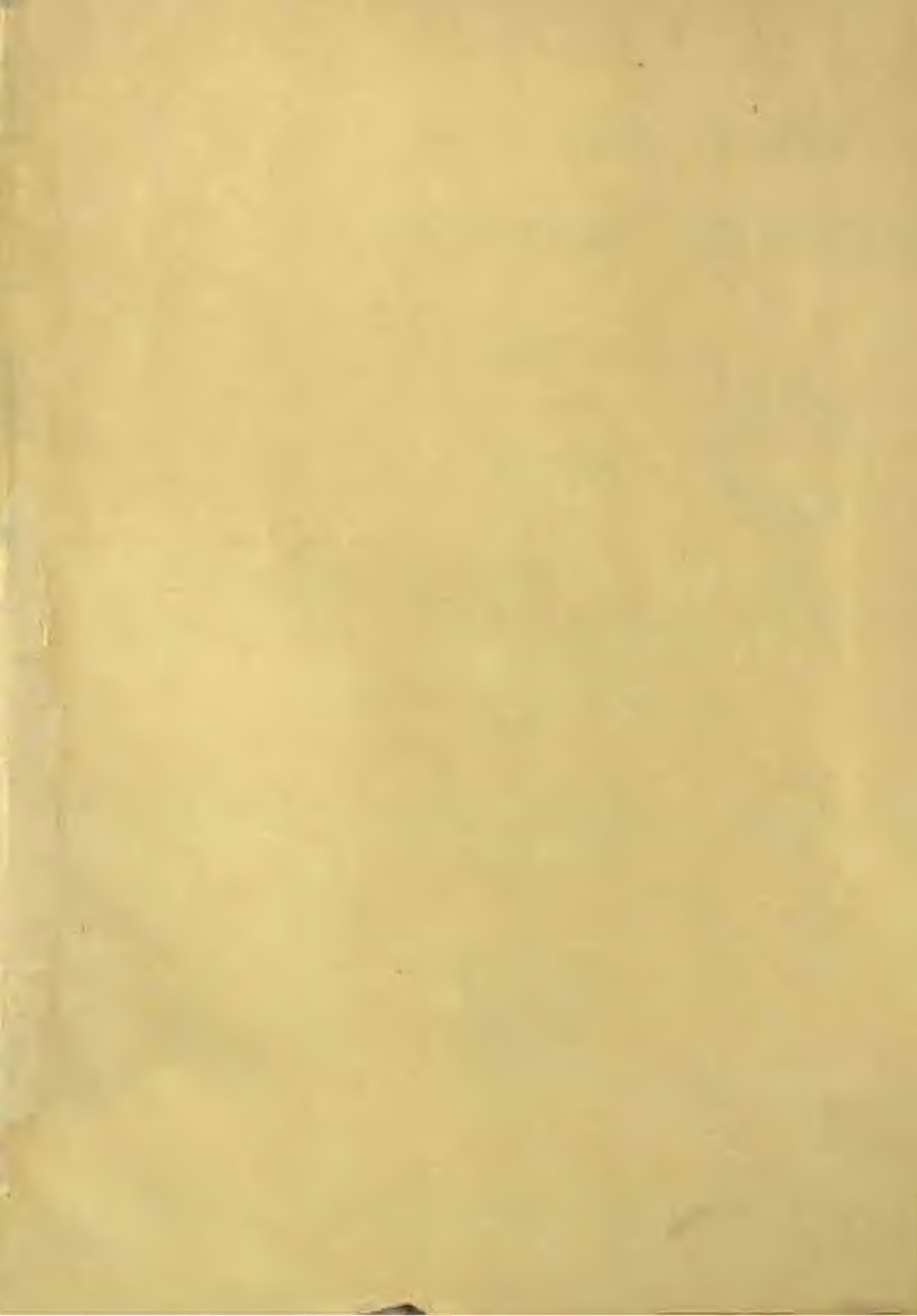
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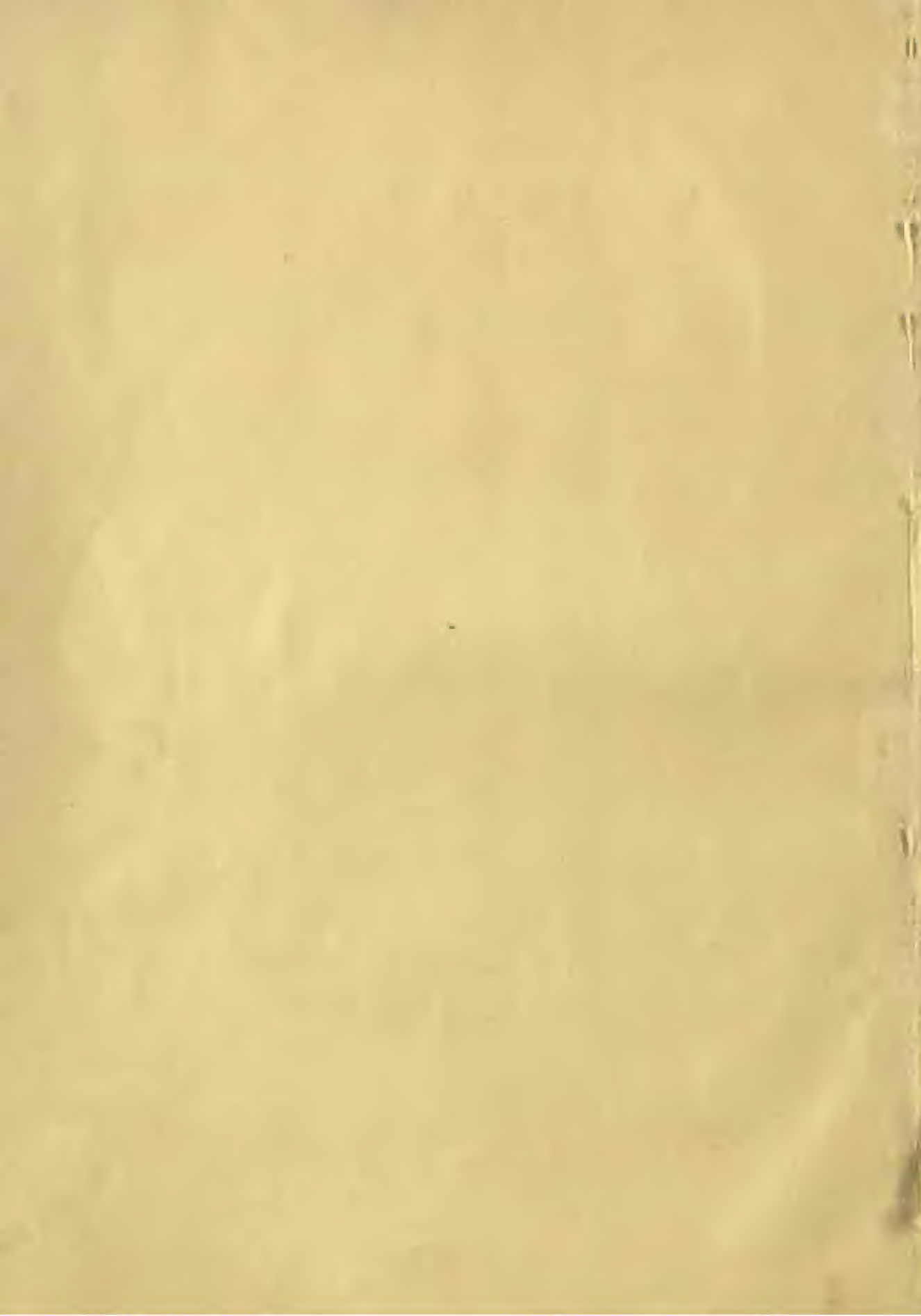
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

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VOLUME XXXVI

Page 8, line 13.—*Read* i. e. Mādhavavarman I, son of Gōvindhavarman and grandson of Vikramādityavarman I.

„ 8, f.n. 3.—*For his son's read his grandson's*

„ 26, line 2.—*For sakat read sūkat*

„ 31, f.n. 1 (line 2).—*For Nisāṅkamalla's read Nisāṅkamalla's*

„ 44, f.n. 1.—*For hough read though*

„ 44, f.n. 7.—*For ino read line*

„ 46, text line 6.—*For Ārunava read Ārṇava*

„ 49, line 27.—*For Gullā read Gīllā*

„ 50, line 8.—*For Fifthly read Fifthly*

„ 50, line 34.—*For that of read those of*

„ 51, line 1 and text line 6.—*For Gullā read Gīllā*

„ 51, text line 2.—*For satyavatā(tā) read satyavatām*

„ 53, line 36.—*For third read thirteenth*

„ 70, line 33.—*For his may read This may*

„ 72, f.n. 5.—*For vi-ānucittiyā read vi-ānucittiyā*

„ 76, f.n. 3.—*For Sol. read Vol.*

„ 83, line 8.—*For Kumāradēvi read Kumāradēvi*

„ 84, line 31.—*For Sattha-sōma read Sattha-sōma*

„ 90, text line 3.—*For dēvibhī= read dēvibhir=*

„ 96, text line 7.—*For jīvitam= read jīvitam=*

„ 96, text line 13.—*For -yāsā(śā) read -yāsā(śā)*

„ 106, text line 114.—*For kaiśhad= read kaiśhad(śhid)=*

„ 106, text line 117.—*For kavimnuta read kavi-nuta*

- Page 108, text line 164.—For **munisvaraya* read **munīśvarāya*
- .. 112, f.n. 1 (line 3).—For **lakṣaṇaḥ* read **lakṣaṇaḥ*
- .. 113, f.n. 2 (line 3).—For *Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḥ* read *Vaikuṇṭhaperumā*
- .. 112, f.n. 8 (line 1).—For *inscription* read *inscription*
- .. 110, line 6.—For *-Amiṣṭa-* read *-Amiṣṭa-*
- .. 115, f.n. 1.—For *nterpretation* read *interpretation*
- .. 116, line 2.—After the date of add some of the poems in
- .. 117, 'A' text line 1.—Read *-tritaya-vasu-batair-vvatsarair-vvōda-*
- .. 118, line 39.—For *1099* read *1019*
- .. 119, line 33.—For *Vijayāditye* read *Vijayāditya*
- .. 123, f.n. 1 (line 4) and f.n. 2.—For p. 173 read p. 122
- .. 126, text line 5.—For *विपति* read *विपति*
- .. 129, text line 23.—Read *सुषान्निनीम्नः ॥ पूर्णो*
- .. 129, text line 26.—For *पूर्णी (र्णी) कृत* read *पूर्णी (र्णी) कृत*
- .. 132, f.n. 4 (line 1).—For *north of the Upper Ancient* read *west of the Upper Ancient*
- .. 133, line 15.—For *Kaupōdaki* read *Kaupōdaki*
- .. 133, note 2, line 4.—For *śaiyyō-grihā* read *śaiyyā-grihā*
- .. 134, line 15.—For *verse 138* read *verse 158*.
- .. 134, f.n. 3 (line 3).—For *A Jayavarman* read *A record of Jayavarman*
- .. 134, f.n. 3 (line 4).—For *vv. 5 and 6* read *v. 5*
- .. 135, line 32.—For *710-43 A.D.* read *700-30 A.D.*
- .. 135, line 32.—For *730-65 A.D.* read *730-68 A.D.*
- .. 136, line 1.—For *740-65 A.D.* read *730-68 A.D.*
- .. 136, line 18.—For *Kōchchhadaiyan* read *Kōchchhadaiyan*
- .. 136, f.n. 1 (line 7).—For *ausient* read *ancient*
- .. 137, f.n. 6.—For *Matre, Āryā* read *Matre : Giti*
- .. 137, f.n. 15 (line 1).—For *donote* read *denote*
- .. 137, f.n. 15 (line 1).—For *mace* read *mace*

- Page 137, f.n. 15 (line 2).—For *discu* read *discus*
- .. 138, 'C' text line 2.—For =auvaya(ḥ)=sthitaḥ read =auvaya(ṛḥ) sthitaḥ
- .. 138, note 3.—For *Anuśṣṭubh* read *Anuśṭubh*
- .. 142, line 6.—For =naḍa read =nāḍa
- .. 145, line 5.—For *noteworthy* read *noteworthy*
- .. 147, f.n. 3.—For p. 196 read p. 146
- .. 148, f.n. 3 (line 3).—For *Toṇḍamāṇ** read *Toṇḍamāṇ**
- .. 149, last line.—For *moveable* read *movable*
- .. 150, line 10.—Read *anyān=adha(r*)mama-kṛtyān=evācīva*
- .. 150, line 41.—For *tutor* read *those*
- .. 152, text line 6.—For *avānu(mi)* read *avānu(mi)*
- .. 152, text line 11.—For *chirantar* read *chirantan*
- .. 152, text line 12.—Read *dharma-kṛty-arthatā*
- .. 153, text line 13.—Read *pratyatsha(ksha) Bṛīhu** + + + *atshl(ksh)avāmi*
- .. 153, text line 22.—For *paṅgiraṇḍu* read *paṅg=iraṇḍu*
- .. 157, f.n. 2.—Delete the footnote.
- .. 158, text line 135.—Read *śhṭam grihṇantu pā(r*)thivā(h*) || ivai Nayadra-
- .. 161, column 3, line 9.—For *Sāv[ṛ]ṇi* read *Sāva[ṛ]ṇi*
- .. 161, column 6, line 15.—For *Kā[haka]* read *Kāṭaka*
- .. 161, column 6, line 16.—For *Maṇḍasarmaṇ read *Māḍasarmaṇ
- .. 161, column 6, line 23.—For *Bhṭṭaṇ* read *Bhaṭṭaṇ*
- .. 162, column 6, line 5.—For *Urda** read *Urudra**
- .. 162, column 6, line 6.—For *catamṇ read *karmaṇ
- .. 163, column 6, line 11.—Read *Kōyillāṇ Nilakaṇṭaṇ*
- .. 164, line 28.—For *āśāśchātra* read *āśāśchātra*
- .. 170, line 14.—For *resplendant* read *resplendent*
- .. 171, f.n. 6 (line 1).—For *-āśāś-vaṇa-* read *-āśāś-vaṇa-*

- Page 171, f.n. 6 (line 2).—For *gāṛh prāśāntā* read *gāṛh prāśānt=ā*²
- .. 172, line 37.—For Vol. III, pp. 103 ff. read Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.
- .. 173, f.n. 5 (line 2).—For *checked* read *checkd*
- .. 174, Genealogical Table II (line 4).—For *Dodḍamā* read *Dodḍamā*
- .. 177, line 14.—For *munificent* read *munificent*
- .. 181, line 2.—For *-tūṇṭa* read *-tūṇṭa*
- .. 187, text line 120.—For *sāubhāgya* read *saubhāgya*.
- .. 189, text line 178.—Read *paryāṇa(taṇṇa)=tan*.
- .. 192, f.n. 2 (line 6).—For *Vasavim* read *Vāsavim*
- .. 193, line 1.—For *Conjeevartmam* read *Conjeevaram*
- .. 195, text line 2.—For *Kauṣiki* read *Kauṣiki*
- .. 203, line 31.—For *thi* read *that*
- .. 213, text line 8.—For *संगिनः* read *संगिनः*
- .. 214, f.n. 3.—For *सरिमायान* read *सरिमायान्*
- .. 215, text line 23.—For *यदगनाः* read *यदगनाः*
- .. 216, Verse 12.—For *throne* (i.e. full of thorns) read *thorns* (i.e. full of thorns)
- .. 219, line 13.—For **pūrvakkam* and **chamdr-ūṭṭum* read **pūrvakam* and **chamdr-ūṭṭu*.
- .. 221, f.n. 5, line 2.—For *South* read *South*
- .. 221, f.n. 8.—For *Form* read *From*
- .. 222, text line 26.—For *Saya(sya)* read *Sva*.
- .. 223, line 5.—For *Pohnaskar* read *Phonerkar*
- .. 226, f.n. 1.—For *Sangli* and *Cambay* read *Cambay* and *Sangli*
- .. 239, line 16.—For *discovered* read *discovered*
- .. 239, last line.—For *broken* read *broken*

- Page 244, line 23.—For **pañchāśhad-* read **pañchāśatad-*
- „ 250, line 36.—For *glory* read *glory*
- „ 251, line 10.—For *Śivāṇi* read *Śivāṇi*
- „ 251, last line.—For *Māhi-pāṇiya* read *Māhi-pāṇiya*
- „ 252, line 1.—For *Nāramādāpura* read *Narmadāpura*
- „ 259, f.n. 3 (line 1).—For *बलारिशद्* read *बलारिशद्*
- „ 260, under names of deities (No. 2).—For *Vāvana* read *Bāvana*
- „ 266, f.n. 3.—For *Jadhav a* read *Jadhav of*
- „ 268, text line 22.—For *मुक्त* read *मुक्त*
- „ 274, f.n. 1.—For *fortnight of* read *fortnight (dark) of*
- „ 283, f.n. 5 (line 2).—For *-rēin* read *-rēin*
- „ 286, f.n. 3 (line 2).—For 730 read 729.
- „ 287, f.n. 4 (line 3).—For 724 read 732.
- „ 288, line 2.—For *case* read *cause*.
- „ 293, text line 39.—For **मानकान्वाष्टपति* read **मानकान्वाष्टपति*
- „ 299, text line 14.—Read **pastambha(m)ha-*
- „ 300, f.n. 5.—For *dattam eā* read *dattam eā*
- „ 301, lines 11 and 21.—For *Parandhōru* read *Parandhōru*
- „ 302, text line 11.—For *ari-* read *ari-*
- „ 302, text line 13.—Read [*Ā*]*pastambha(m)ha-*
- „ 302, text line 20.—Read *dattama(tīṣ)=y=ōpari*
- „ 302, text line 20.—For *a pa-* read *sa pa-*
- „ 306, text line 1.—Read *Chandrah pākha-*
- „ 309, line 3.—For with the *khā-ghaṭṭa*, *nodīarsthāna* and *gulmaka*, read with the *paṇṇa*,
at the *khā-ghaṭṭa* and *audīara-sthāna*

Page 309, line 4.—For *bhāmichchida* read *bhāmichchhida*.

„ 310, text line 7.—Read °dhah(dha)-pṛitih

„ 310, text line 11.—Delete {ēn} after adram

„ 312, text line 37.—For *Mihadhichāya* read *Mihadhichāya*

„ 312, text line 38.—Read =fah{5}=‘amud.

„ 312, text line 39.—Delete {yā} after paripālanīyah

„ 313, line 1.—For *Amiadi* read *Amiladi*.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Volume XXXVI]

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No. 1—THREE COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS

(4 Plates)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.6.1961)

1. Dhārikāṭūra Grant of Acharjavarman, Year 35¹

In June 1954, a set of copper plates was received for examination in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India from Shri M. Somanekkhara Sarma of the Telugu Encyclopaedia Office, University Buildings, Madras. The inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1954-55, as No. A 11.

This is a set of four plates held together by a circular ring passing through a hole about the centre of the left one-third part of the plates, 7 inch inside from their left margin. The plates are rectangular in shape and measure each 7.5 inches in length, 2.1 inches in height and .1 inch in thickness. The diameter and thickness of the ring, which was intact when the plates were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, are respectively 3 inches and .125 inch. The ends of the ring are soldered to the bottom of an oval seal. The counter-sunk surface of the seal bears traces of the obliterated figure of what looks like a conchant bull. The inscription is engraved on the inner side of the first plate and both the sides of the other three plates. Excepting the inner side of plate I, the six inscribed faces of plates II-IV bear the figures 2 to 7 consecutively in their left margin. The weight of the four plates together is 45 tolas while the set together with the ring and seal weighs 59 tolas.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Late stage of Southern Brāhmī resembling those of the Kannakollu plates² of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman I who was the son of Hastivarman I, a contemporary of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A. D.) and ruled in the second half of the fourth century A. D. They may also be compared with the alphabet of the Eluru plates³ of another Śālaṅkāyana king named Devavarman and of the other records of the Śālaṅkāyana family. In language and orthography, the present record resembles the said Kannakollu and Eluru charters. But the characters are more curiously and carefully engraved in the inscription under study than in the other epigraphs while its style is also slightly different from the known records of the family to which its issuer belonged. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory at some places. The letters on the reverse of the last plate are badly damaged.

The cursive nature of the characters of our inscription is indicated by the fact that very often the same letter exhibits variations of form and several letters are written by the same or

¹ Maximal error ϵ and σ has not been used in this section.

² Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 ff. and Plates.

³ Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 26 ff. and Plates.

a similar sign. For the first of these two characteristics, cf. *a* in *Achaṇḍa* in line 4 and *amhaḥi* in line 12; *k* in *bhaṣṭāraka* and *bhaktā* in line 3; *kula* in line 7, *Kaṣṭapa* in line 9; *ch* in *chayana* in line 14, *cha* in lines 15 and 16; *pacha* in line 17; *t* in *bhagavato* in line 1, *peti* in line 6, *śrāṣṭi* in line 11, *kātāya* in line 12; *d* in *Daṇḍampī* in line 9, *sampadattam* in line 12, *dīśasa* in line 18; *n* in *ppava-dḥan-atham* in line 7, *chandra* in line 11, *nātūpa* in line 13; *bh* in *bhagavato* in line 1, *vīśha-ī** in line 7, *bhātukāyaṃ* in line 9, *Bhavaṣkanda** in line 10; *m* in *maḥārāja* in line 4, *amha* in line 6; final *m* in *ppāya-atham* in line 8, *bhātukāyaṃ* in line 9, *sampadattam* in line 12; etc. As an illustration of the second characteristic, it may be pointed out that the letters *t* and *n* have been written both in their looped and unlooped forms and the looped or unlooped form of one of them resembles the corresponding form of the other. The same letter can also be confused with the looped form of *bh* in *Bhavaṣkanda** in line 10. The inscription employs the initial vowels *a* (lines 4, 6, 11, 12, 16), *ā* (line 11) and *e* (line 16) and the numerical symbols 2 to 7 and 30 (cf. the left margin of the inscribed faces of plates II-IV and lines 17-18). The symbols for 3, 5 and 6 occur each twice; of them, 3 (cf. left margin of plate IIb and line 18) and 6 (cf. left margin of plate IVa and line 18) have been engraved in two different forms.

The language of the inscription is Prakrit considerably influenced by Sanskrit with the Sanskrit stanzas *Bahubhīr-casudhā dattā*, etc., quoted at the end of the charter. The same linguistic peculiarity is also noticed in the two other Prakrit charters of the Śālaṅkāyana family, viz. the Kanukollu plates of Nandivarman I and the Eluru plates of Devavarman, both referred to above. Reduplicated consonants have been generally used while *śri* and *varma* in line 4 have been used respectively instead of Prakrit *śiri* and *varma* (cf. also *samagrā* in line 5). As in the Kanukollu and Eluru charters, *cha* has been represented by *ya* in a few names only in lines 7 and 16 (cf. also *e* for *ye* in line 16). Interesting are also the words *vāda* for *pāda* (line 3; cf. *pāda* in line 2), *uvāṇa* for *upāyana* (line 13) and *va* for *ya* (line 13).

The charter was issued by *Yacamaḥārāja* (i.e. the crown-prince) **Achaṇḍavarman** of the Śālaṅkāyana *gōtra* in the 35th year on the 3rd day of the sixth fortnight of the rainy season probably corresponding to **Jyeshṭha sudi 3**. Since the donor of the charter was a crown-prince, the year of the date seems to refer to the reign of a Śālaṅkāyana king of Vudgi, whose name is, however, not mentioned in the record. We know that the early charters of the Śālaṅkāyana kings flourishing about the latter half of the fourth century A. D. (i.e. the grants of Nandivarman I and Devavarman mentioned above) were written in Prakrit while the later records of the family issued by kings who flourished in the fifth century (i.e. the grants of Nandivarman II and Skandavarman to be mentioned below) were written in Sanskrit. Thus the present charter may be roughly assigned to the **latter half of the fourth century** to which the Kanukollu and Eluru charters also belong, all the three records being couched in the same language which is really an admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit. No ruler of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty is, however, known to have enjoyed such a long reign of about 35 years or more; but the king during whose rule our charter was issued is not difficult to identify.

The Kanukollu plates of Nandivarman I were issued in his 14th regnal year, while the Eluru plates are dated in the 13th year of the reign of Devavarman. Since both these charters as well as the one under study appear to be referable roughly to the second half of the fourth century A. D., it is tempting to suggest that the reign of about 35 years or more, referred to in our inscription, began earlier than the middle of that century and that this long reign was enjoyed by the Śālaṅkāyana king Hastivarman I who came into conflict with the Gupta emperor Samudragupta about that time. But, as will be shown below, there is reason to believe that Achaṇḍavarman of our inscription was the son of Nandivarman I who was the son and successor of Hastivarman I, contemporary of Samudragupta. The importance of the present inscription lies in the fact that it

has helped in correcting a longstanding error in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana. This mistake is comparable to the wrong conception regarding the existence of a Śālaṅkāyana king named Buddhavarman, to which attention of scholars was drawn by me in 1933.¹

There is a Śālaṅkāyana king mentioned in the Kollair² and Pedda-Vegi³ copper-plate grants of Nandivarman II, grandson of Nandivarman I. He is represented in the above records as the son of Nandivarman I and the father of Nandivarman II and his name has been taken to be Chapḍavarman by all writers on Śālaṅkāyana genealogy including the author of these lines. But, as Mr. G. Bhattacharya, one of the Epigraphical Assistants of my office, has recently pointed out to me, the correct name of this Śālaṅkāyana ruler is not Chapḍavarman but Achandavarman. In lines 2-3 of the Kollair plates, Fleet read *Mahārājā(ja)-Chapḍavarman*⁴ apparently because Chapḍavarman appeared to him a more suitable personal name than Achandavarman since Chāḍa is a well-known name of the god Śiva while the word *achand* has no such suitable meaning in the name according to Sanskrit lexicons. After the discovery of the present inscription of Śālaṅkāyana Achandavarman, however, it can be said with confidence that the reading *Mahārāj-achandavarman*⁵ of the original does not require any emendation. It is interesting in this connection to note that the same name of a king of Kālīnga, who was wrongly identified with the said Śālaṅkāyana ruler, was read by Hultzsch in line 2 of the Komarti plates⁶ as *Mahārāj(ja)-Chapḍavarman*, no doubt following Fleet's footsteps, even though the original correctly has *Mahārāj-achandavarman*.⁷ While editing the Pedda-Vegi plates, R. Subba Rao wrongly read the passage containing the same name in lines 1-3 as *śāmantasya Chāḍavarman-mahārājasya*. But, as was shown by me, the reading is *śāmantasya* and not *śāmantasya*, although I also followed the footsteps of Fleet and Hultzsch in correcting *syā* to *sya*. Thus here, as in the Kollair plates, the name of the king is given clearly as Achandavarman. The above discussion will show that the name of the Śālaṅkāyana king, who was the son of Nandivarman I and the father of Nandivarman II and is known only from the Kollair and Pedda-Vegi plates, as well as of the Kālīnga king of the Komarti plates is not Chapḍavarman but Achandavarman. In this name, the word *achand* probably means the same thing as *śānta*, 'an ascetic', or a deity worshipped in the regions in question may have borne the name Achand.

Achandavarman of the Kollair and Pedda-Vegi plates seems to be no other than the homonymous donor of the charter under study. It appears that the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman I ruled for about 35 years or more and that, during the concluding part of his long reign when he was old and infirm, the reins of administration were in the hands of his son (probably, eldest son) *Yuvamahārāja* Achandavarman, who was the *de facto* king; and that the present charter was issued at that time. The title *Mahārāja* applied to Achandavarman in the records of his son Nandivarman II would suggest that the former ruled also for sometime as the *de jure* king after his father's death.

Another point that requires consideration in this connection is the position of Devavarman of the Eluru plates in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana. Many writers regard him as a successor of Hastivarman I, contemporary of Samudragupta, while we suggested that he 'may have been the immediate predecessor (father ?) of Hastivarman' and ruled in c. 320-45 A.D.⁸ Since the long reign of Nandivarman I (about 35 years or more) and that of his son Achandavarman (probably

¹ Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. IX, pp. 204 ff.; *The Successors of the Śālaṅkāyana*, pp. 63 ff.

² *Jed. Asst.*, Vol. V, pp. 175 ff.

³ *JAHES*, Vol. I, pp. 62 ff.; *The Successors of the Śālaṅkāyana*, pp. 331 ff.

⁴ *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 144.

⁵ Likewise, in the Dobhill plates of the same king, R. K. Ghosal reads *Mahārāj(ja)-Chapḍavarman* instead of *Mahārāj-achandavarman*; cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 28 (text line 2).

⁶ *The Successors of the Śālaṅkāyana*, p. 69, note; cf. p. 192.

a shorter one) appear to cover the latter half of the fourth century A.D. and since Achandavarman's brother (probably, younger brother) Hastivarman II (father of Skandavarman) is also known to have ruled as a *Mahārāja*,¹ there does not appear to be enough scope to locate Devavarman's rule of about 13 years or more in the said period and it is probably better to assign him to a date immediately before Hastivarman I.² The genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana kings may thus be tabulated tentatively as follows:

1. Devavarman, Year 13 (c. 320-40 A.D.)
2. Hastivarman I (c. 340-50 A.D.)
3. Nandivarman I, Years 14, 35 (c. 350-90 A.D.)
4. Achandavarman (c. 390-95 A.D.)
5. Hastivarman II, Year 2 (c. 395-400 A.D.)
6. Nandivarman II, Years 7, 10 (c. 400-30 A.D.)
7. Skandavarman, Year 1 (c. 430-50 A.D.)

The charter begins with a reference to the place of its issue, viz. the victorious *Veṅḡipura* which was the capital of the Śālaṅkāyanas, and introduces the donor in lines 1-4 as *Yuvamahārāja Achandavarman* who belonged to the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra* and was devoted to the feet of the lord who was his father (*bappa-bhātāraka*), a devotee of gods (*parama-devata-parama-dāyata*), and to the feet of the god Chitrarathasvāmin (*Chitrarathasvāmi-pād-ānujjhāta-Chitrarathasvāmi-pād-ānuudyāta*). Such details are also available in other charters of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty and we know that Chitrarathasvāmin was the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyana rulers. But, unlike Achandavarman, the other Śālaṅkāyana rulers are sometimes represented as *parama-mahārāja* or *parama-bhāgavata*.³

The order of the donor was addressed to the *grāmeyakas* or villagers of *Dhārikāṭūra* (lines 4-6). The grant of the village in question as an *upabhāra* or revenue-free holding was made for the increase of the donor's religious merit, longevity, army, animal corps, wealth and sovereignty (*amṭa-dharm-āyur-bala-viḥara-vibhava-īśvarya-paṇipaddha-niḥam* in lines 6-7-*amṭa-dharm-āyur-bala-viḥara-vibhava-viśvarya-pravaridha-niḥam*) and for the prosperity, success and increasing welfare (or, the promotion of the prosperity and success) of the donor's family and clan (*kula-gottasa ya antiki-antihya*⁴-*appāyapatham* in lines 7-8-*kula-gottasya cha vasti-vastuyana-appāyana-ārtham*). The donors were two Brāhmaṇa brothers hailing from a locality called *Doṇṇampi*, by name Bhavaskandasarmāya and Bhartṛisarmāya, who belonged to the Bhemāṇa-Kāśyapa *gotra*.

The expression *Bhemāṇa-Kāśyapa-sagotra* probably suggests that the family in question belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and had a person called Bhemāṇa as its progenitor.⁵ We have understood the expression *Doṇṇampi-bhātṛikūṇam* (*Doṇṇampi-bhātṛikūṇam*), literally 'to the Doṇṇampi brothers', as 'to the brothers hailing from [a locality called] Doṇṇampi'. The expression may also mean 'to the brothers of [a person called] Doṇṇampi', though that is less likely since Doṇṇampi in the present context does not look like a personal name.

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 3 and 5 (text line 9); cf. also Vol. XXXV, pp. 145 ff. Nandivarman I had two other sons, viz. (1) the Śālaṅka-Mahārāja-kumār Skandapotta, and (2) Mahārājaputra Kōṭgalla (ibid., Vol. XXXV, p. 5, text lines 8-9; p. 6, note 9). But there is no evidence that either of them ever succeeded the throne of Veṅḡi.

² Devavarman's description as a Śālaṅkāyana and devotee of Chitraratha and the dating of his grant remind us of later records, but are of lesser importance.

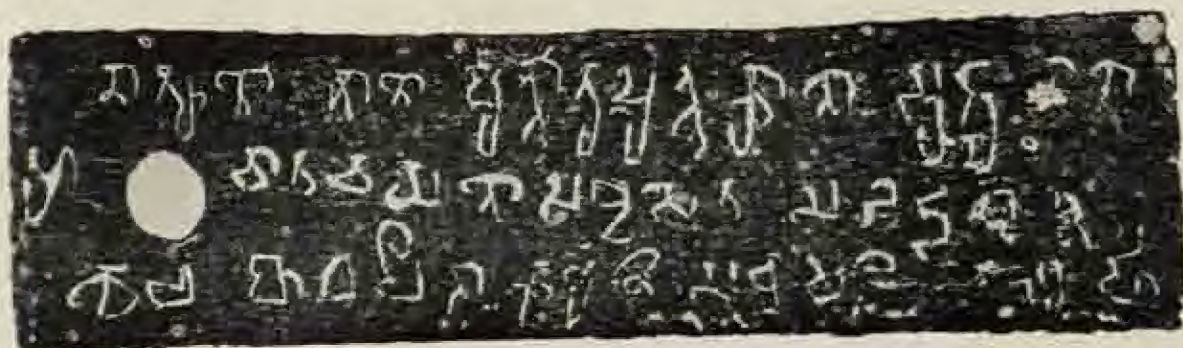
³ Cf. Bhattacharya's List, Nos. 2087-89.

⁴ The Kanakollu plates have *anti-antihya* which we were formerly inclined to read as *anti-antihya* (*anti-antihya*), i.e. 'good fortune and progress or success' (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 5, note 2; p. 7, note 2).

⁵ The Bhemāṇa-Kāśyapa *gotra* reminds us of the Śrīrāma-Kāśyapa *gotra* to which Prithvi-mahārāja belonged (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 88 ff.).

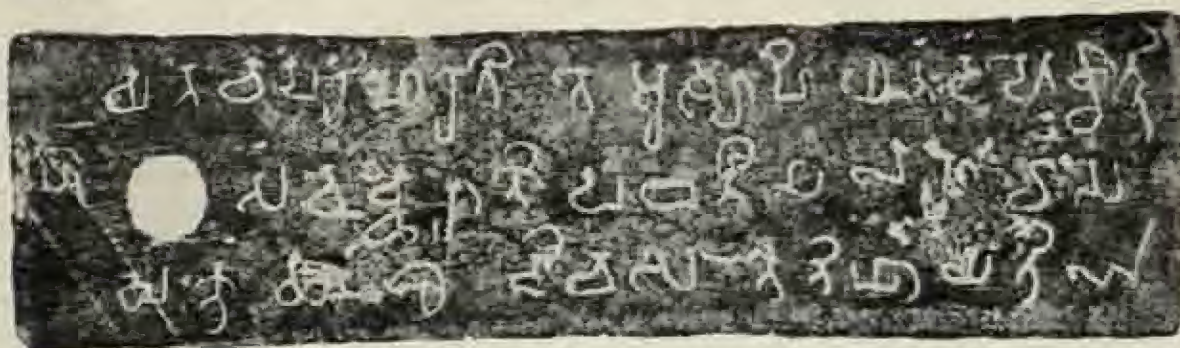
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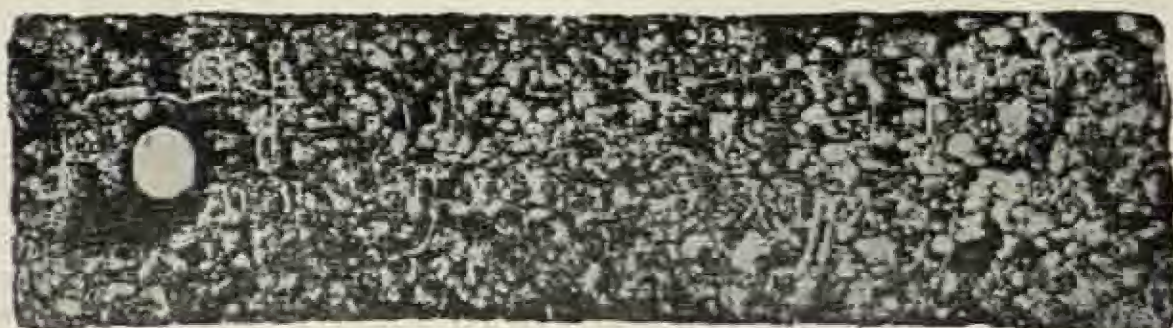
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Scale : Four-fifths

The village was made a permanently rent-free holding (cf. *agrahāra ā-chanda-sūra-tāraka-ādāyī kārīya* in lines 11-12= *agrahāram-ā-chandra-sūra-tāraka-ādāyīnam kṛitā*). The governor of the district in which the gift village was situated was advised to order the collection of the multitude of tolls and customary offerings (*śūṅg-aśṭya-vāta-chayanya vidiseta* in lines 13-14= *śūṅg-śṣṭya-vāta-chayanāni vidīśet*) by the aid donees and their descendants (*tāpanti putt-ānuputtakāya* in line 13= *śūṅg-putr-ānuputrikāya*). A sentence after the above reads *amābhakṣa haṁti ya eka bādhā-piṭā karanti* (lines 14-15)= *sambhṛīkṣāḥ bhānti ye eka bādhā-piṭāḥ kar-anti*. In this *amābhakṣa-sambhṛīkṣa* means either 'fallen [from duty or right path]' or 'fried [by the fire of royal wrath]', more probably the latter. The stipulation was that the officers should not cause any obstruction and inconvenience to the donees in the latter's enjoyment of the gift land. The next sentence states that those officers who would exempt the *agrahāra* with all the customary exemptions would be made happy by the donor (*saṁva-parihāreḥ a ta pariharamāni ta amābhā ye nandam dātavyā itī* in line 16= *saṁva-parihāreḥ ye ta pariharamāni te amābhā eka nandam dātavyā itī*).

The **date** of the charter, discussed above, is quoted in lines 17-18 while the document ends with the verse *Bahubhīra-saṁdhā dātā, etc.*, in lines 19-20.

The **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription are Veṅgīpura (modern Pedda-Vengi near Elūru in the West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh) whence the grant was issued, Dhārikāṭāra which was the village granted by the charter and Duggampī that was the native place of the donees. I am not sure about the location of Dhārikāṭāra and Duggampī.

TEXT¹First Plate²

- 1 Vijasa(ya)-Vemgipurā bhagavato Chāltarathā-
- 2 m[ā]m[ī]-pā[ṭ]-āṣṭ[ī]-h[ī]m[ā] paramadevātā-
- 3 happa-bhaṭṭāraka-vāda-bha[ṭ]-to [Sā]³ laṅkāyana-sa-

Second Plate, First Side

2⁴

- 4 gotto yuvama[h]jā⁵ rā[ṣ]a-sri[śr]⁶-Achaṇḍavarmma [Dh]āri[k]ā-
- 5 tūra gāmeṣakā savra-sama[gg]rā savā⁷ [āna]-
- 6 peti [[*] atth-idāṇi⁸ amha-dhammo(mn-ā)yu-bala-vā-

Second Plate, Second Side

3⁹

- 7 hana(na)-vibhav-issariya-ppavaddhan-attham kula-gottassa ya
- 8 satthi-[sa]i[th]iyan-appāyan-attham Bh[e]māya-
- 9 Kassapa-sagottāya Duggampī-bhātukāya

¹ From impressions.

² This side has not been numbered as the inscribed faces of the other plates.

³ This shikara has been engraved on something else that was previously inscribed at the place.

⁴ This figure is engraved in the left margin against the beginning of line 6.

⁵ The letter r was originally written in place of ā.

⁶ Śundā has not been observed here.

⁷ Sanskrit *gāmeṣakā*=*śara-samagāra-saraka*.

⁸ Sanskrit *atth-idāṇa*, in which *atth* is a more particle introducing the narration of the grant proper.

⁹ This figure is inscribed in the left margin against the beginning of line 8.

(Lines 17-18) Year thirtyfive—35, the sixth fortnight of the rainy season—6, the third day—3.

(Lines 19-20) *Bahubhir-vasudhā dattā*, etc.

2. Tāṇḍigrāma Grant of Vikramādendra III, Year 14

The inscription under study was lent to us for a short time for examination by Dr. R. Subramanyam, Superintendent, Nagarjunakonda Excavation Project, Guntur, in January 1957. It was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1956-57, No. A 1. The exact findspot of the inscription is not known to us.

This is a set of five thin plates. The measurement of the different plates is not uniform as expected. Thus the length of the five plates is respectively 6.2, 6, 6.4, 6.4 and 5.95 inches while their height is likewise 1.725, 1.65, 1.725, 1.75 and 1.75 inches. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner side, the other four plates having writing on both the sides. The first and second plates are consecutively numbered in the left margin on the reverse, though the other plates do not bear such numbers. A copper ring (about .3 inch in thickness and 2.5 inches in diameter) runs through a hole (.45 inch in diameter) near the left margin of the plates in order to hold them together. The ends of this ring are soldered beneath a bronze seal with an oval surface measuring 1.05 inches in length and .875" in breadth. It bears the emblem of a standing humped bull facing the proper left and not the lion generally believed to have been the crest of the Vishnukundin family to which the charter belongs.¹ There is a crescent symbol above the bull and a damaged solar symbol above the crescent. The ring with the seal weighs 18 *tolas* while the weight of the five plates together is 38½ *tolas*.

There are altogether thirtyfive lines of writing on the nine inscribed faces of the five plates, the reverse of the fifth plate having three lines and the other inscribed faces of the plates four lines each. A passage omitted from line 28 on the reverse of the fourth plate is engraved in the lower margin of the face in question so that it looks like having five lines of writing.

The characters of the record belong to the early Telugu-Kannada alphabet and resemble those of other Vishnukundin charters including the Chikkulla plates² of Vikramādendra III who was also the donor of the present grant. The use of the symbol for 10 and the figures 1, 2 and 4 is noticed in the inscription, as also of the initial vowels *a* (line 17), *ā* (lines 26, 27 and 30), *i* (lines 21, 29 and 30) and *e* (lines 2, 5) and of final *m* (lines 1 and 34). *Viarga* is written in two different ways, the two vertically placed dots being joined in some cases by a slightly curved stroke (cf. *pāṇi* in line 4). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. In respect of orthography and style also the present record resembles the Chikkulla plates and other Vishnukundin charters. The introductory section, however, is not couched exactly in the same language as the Chikkulla plates, though several passages are common to both the charters.

The grant was issued in the 14th regnal year of the Vishnukundin king Vikramādendra III, called Vikramāndrabhṭṭārakavarman in the present record but Vikramāndravarmān in his Chikkulla plates. The exact date is quoted as *grī 2 dī pratipadī*, i.e. *grī 2 dī 1* or the first day or *tūthī* of the second fortnight of the summer season. Originally, this season used to be counted as beginning on Chaitra-badi 1 and ending on Āshāḍha-audī 15, so that the date of our record would be Chaitra-audī 1. It is, however, difficult to say whether the old calculation was followed during the Vishnukundin period in the South. We know that the Chikkulla plates were issued by the

¹ Cf. *Soc. Sci.*, pp. 122, 128, 139. The seal of the Chikkulla plates of the same king is stated to bear the figure of a well-executed lion (above, Vol. IV, p. 194).

² Above, Vol. IV, pp. 193ff.

same king in his 10th regnal year on the 5th day of the 8th fortnight of summer (Āshāḍha-sudi 5 according to the old calculation). Thus the present charter was issued nearly four years after the Chikkulla plates. The rule of the Vishnukundin king Vikramāditya III was assigned by us elsewhere to c. 620-31 A.D.¹ It was also suggested that this king was extirpated by the Chālukya monarch Pulakēśin II of Badami sometime about 631 A.D. The length of the reign of Vikramāditya III as indicated by the present charter would, however, suggest that he probably ruled in c. 616-31 A.D. The dates of his immediate predecessors as previously suggested by us also require to be modified as follows: his father Indra, c. 587-616 A.D. (not c. 590-620 A.D.); his grandfather Vikramāditya II, c. 535-87 A.D. (not 535-90 A.D.).²

The inscription begins with the word *svasti* and introduces the donor **Vikramādityabhattachārakavarman III** of the **Vishnukundin** family in lines 1-24 as the son of **Mahārāja Indrabhattachārakavarman**, the grandson of **Mahārāja Vikramādityabhattachārakavarman II** and the great-grandson of **Mahārāja Mādhavavarman** (i.e. Mādhavavarman I, son of Vikramāditya I).³ It may be mentioned here that the father and grandfather of the donor of the present charter are mentioned as *Rājan* (not *Mahārāja*) in the Ramatirtham plates of his father,⁴ while his own Chikkulla plates⁵ mention Indrabhattachārakavarman as *Mahārāja* but do not apply the title *Rājan* or *Mahārāja* to Vikramāditya II or Mādhavavarman I. Unlike the Chikkulla plates which are stated to have been issued from the victorious *vāṇaka* (the king's camp or residence) at *Lēndulāra*, the present charter does not indicate the place whence it was issued. It is not impossible that *Lēndulāra* was specially mentioned as the place of issue in the Chikkulla plates because it was not the normal residence (i.e. the capital) of the Vishnukundin king.

Unlike his predecessors, Vikramādityabhattachārakavarman III is not endowed with the title *Mahārāja*, but is described as *mukhi-mahārāja* (king of the earth), etc. He is, however, called *Mahārāja* in the Chikkulla plates of his 10th regnal year. This does not appear to be of any special significance since, besides similar irregularities in the Vishnukundin records already referred to, the epithet *Paramamahādēvara* applied to the king in the Chikkulla plates is also wanting in the charter under study. Our inscription describes the donor as 'the dear son' of his father and as 'the crest-jewel on the crown of the Vishnukundin dynasty'. As we know, the Chikkulla plates call him 'the dear eldest son' of king Indrabhattachārakavarman.

In the description of *Paramamahādēvara Mahārāja Indrabhattachārakavarman*, the father of the donor, the epithets 'an ornament of the Vishnukundin family', 'extremely devoted to the Brāhmanas' and 'a righteous conqueror' are not found in the Chikkulla plates. But the reference to his success in many *chāturdanta-samayas* and against certain *dāyādas*, i.e. relatives who may have opposed his accession, are found in both the epigraphs though not exactly in the same language. The epithet *anēka-chāturdanta-samaya-sādhya[ta-vijaya]* is found in the Chikkulla plates as *anēka-chāturdanta-samaya-saṅgha[ta-dvāda-gaṇa-vijaya]*. Since *Chāturdanta* is the same as Indra's *Airāvata*, the elephant of the east, Kielhorn suggested that the epithet indicates the Vishnukundin king's success against his eastern neighbours.⁶ It is, however, not impossible that the expression *chāturdanta-samaya* or *chāturdanta-samaya* means merely 'a war of elephants'.⁷

¹ The Classical Age, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 216.

² For another view on the genealogy and chronology of the Vishnukundins, see *Ibid.*, p. 206, note 1; pp. 233 ff.

³ His name is wrongly quoted in his son's Polamuru plates as *Vikramāditya* (cf. *Soc. Ed.*, p. 335, text line 4).

⁴ Above, Vol. XII, p. 134 text lines 5 and 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 196.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 194 and note 2; cf. *Soc. Ed.*, p. 113.

⁷ Cf. *gāthā-cīrāṇa* in Bhaskar's *Lit.*, No. 1229. The war of elephants is mentioned also in such other records as the Kadota grant of Mārasimha II (text line 7: *mukha-chāturdanta-gaṇa-sādhya-chatur-vijaya* (textil. *śaṣṭhi-gaṇa*)).

The epithet *yathāvidhī-vinirgāpita ghaṣik-śreṣṭha-punya-samāhaya* in his description, also found in the Chikkalla plates, was translated by Kielhorn as 'who acquired a store of merit by emptying water-jars [at donations made] according to precept', though he admitted that the word *vinirgāpita* does not have the sense of 'emptying'. It seems that *ghaṣikā* has to be understood here in the sense of a *brāhmapurī* or Brāhmaṇa settlement. Thus *vinirgāpita* would appear to be a mistake for *vinirgāṭita* in the sense of 'donated' (cf. Prakṛit *vinirgāṭita*-Sanskrit *vinirgāṭita*).¹ Then the passage in the Chikkalla plates would mean 'who acquired a store of merit by dedicating Brāhmaṇa settlements according to precept'.²

The donor's grandfather, **Mahārāja Vikramēndrabhaṭṭārakavarman** (Vikramēndra II), is described in our record as one who purified both the Viṣṇukunḍin and Vākāṭaka families by his birth. The same epithet also occurs in the Chikkalla plates which, however, give the name *Vākāṭaka* as *Vākāṭa*. There is no doubt that the mother of Viṣṇukunḍin Vikramēndra II was a princess of the Vākāṭaka family of Nāṇdivardhana-Pravarapura or of Vatagūlma. But her father cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.

In the description of **Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (I)**, the great-grandfather of the donor, we are told that the said king was devoted to the god Śrīparvatādevīn, the tutelary deity of the Viṣṇukunḍin family, and that he performed eleven horse-sacrifices, one thousand *kratus* or minor sacrifices, the *sarvamēdha* sacrifice, eleven *bahusūtaras*, eleven *paṇḍarīkas*, the *vijāsika* and the *puruṣamēdha* and other *kratus*. Although the performance of eleven horse sacrifices and one thousand *agnishōṃas* or *kratus* by king Mādhavavarman I is well known from the copper-plate grants of the Viṣṇukunḍin family, some of the informations supplied by our record (e.g. the number of *bahusūtaras* and of *paṇḍarīka* quoted in both the cases as eleven) are not found elsewhere.³ It should, however, be noticed that the Chikkalla plates attribute the performance of such other sacrificial rites to Mādhavavarman I as *yādhyā* (*ukthya* I), *śikṣāṇa*, *prādhīrāṅga* and *prājāpatya*, which are not mentioned in our record. But the most significant and unique epithet of Mādhavavarman I in our inscription is *dēvīdēva*, 'supreme god', which shows that he was regarded as a god at least as early as the 14th regnal year of his great-grandson. That he was regarded as a *paramāhṃsa* or saintly being was, however, already known from the Chikkalla plates.⁴

The grant proper is recorded in lines 24-29. It is stated that the village called **Tūṇḍi-grāma**, which was situated in **Vaiyārakara** and in the *pārśva* of **Charmapura**, was granted by king Vikramēndrabhaṭṭārakavarman in favour of the Brāhmaṇa **Svāmīśarma** of **Ākt-grāma**, who was the son of **Rudraśarma** and a student of the *Āpastambasūtra* and belonged to the **Kaundinya gṛha**. The word *pārśva* used in this section may indicate a small territorial unit. It may also mean that Charmapura and Tūṇḍi-grāma were abutting on each other. If *pārśva* is the same as *prastha* known from some inscriptions,⁵ it may also be supposed that revenue was assessed for the two villages jointly.

Line 30 contains a statement to the effect that the order regarding the execution of the grant emanated from the king's mouth. A passage in prose followed by a verse in lines 30-33 states that the person responsible for the resumption of the gift land would be committing the same sin as the murderer of the mother, a cow, a Brāhmaṇa, an infant, a woman and an ascetic. This is followed by the well-known stanza, *Bahubhīr-mandhā dattā*, etc., in lines 33-34. The date of the grant, already discussed above, is quoted in line 35 with which the document ends.

¹ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 157, text line 1.

² Cf. *Soc. Sci.*, p. 157.

³ The Khauṣpur plates (above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 313 ff.), ascribed to Mādhavavarman I, probably speak of his eleven *paṇḍarīkas* and *bahusūtaras*.

⁴ Kielhorn understood the word *paramāhṃsa*, used in the Chikkalla plates, as 'supremacy'.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 29, note 1.

The importance of the inscription lies in two facts. In the first place, it is dated in the 14th regnal year of Vikramāndravarmā III and shows that the said king ruled at least for about 14 years. As we have already seen, his other known record, viz. the Chikkulla plates referred to above, was issued in the 16th year of his reign. We have also discussed the effect of the date of the present record on the chronology of the Vishnukūṇḍins previously suggested by us.

Secondly, it endows the Vishnukūṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I, the donor's great-grandfather, with the epithet *śrī-śrīdeva*, 'the supreme god'. This is not found in any of the known records of the family. The present epigraph which is the latest inscription of the Vishnukūṇḍin dynasty so far discovered thus clearly shows that Mādhavavarman I was deified. Another epigraphic instance of a somewhat similar nature is found in the Bhuvanewar inscription dated in the 34th regnal year of the Eastern Gāṅga monarch Anagabhadra III (c. 1211-39 A. D.) who is mentioned in the record as *Bhugavata*.² A difference between the two cases, however, is that, while the Vishnukūṇḍin king seems to have been deified after his death, the Eastern Gāṅga monarch was partially deified even during his life time.

As we have seen elsewhere,³ some legends gradually developed around the glorious name of the Vishnukūṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I. But that he was regarded as a god by his descendants is known for the first time from the present inscription. We had also occasion to notice elsewhere⁴ that new elements were introduced in the description of king Mādhavavarman I in the later epigraphs of the Vishnukūṇḍin family. The point is clearly demonstrated by a comparison of the claim regarding the performance of sacrifices by him in his own records with the sacrifices attributed to him in the inscriptions of his great-grandson. Thus the Ipur⁵ and Polamuru⁶ plates issued respectively in the 37th and the 40th or 48th regnal years of Mādhavavarman I himself have the following passages: (1) *agnishītoma-sahasra-yājī-hīra** [*ayagagarbha-pravṛtāḥ śkādāt-āśvamedh-ābhīrītha-vidhātā-jagat-kalmāśah*], and (2) *kratu-sahasra-yājī hiraṇyagarbha-pravṛtāḥ śkādāt-āśvamedh-ābhīrītha-māna-vigata-jagat-kāśah*. In both these inscriptions, Mādhavavarman I claims to have celebrated one *hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna*, eleven horse-sacrifices and one thousand *agnishītoma* or *kratus* (minor sacrifices). We have as yet no copper-plate grant issued by Vikramāndra II, son of Mādhavavarman I. The Ramatirtham plates⁷ of king Mādhavavarman's grandson Indravarmā do not add to the said claims when they describe the donor's grandfather as *śkādāt-āśvamedh-ābhīrītatītha-vidhātā-jagat-kalmāśa-kratu-sahasrayājīn*. As a matter of fact, the claim of Mādhavavarman I to have celebrated the *hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna* is omitted in the Ramatirtham plates. Similar is the description of Mādhavavarman I in the Ipur plates⁸ of his other grandson Mādhavavarman II: *śkādāt-āśvamedh-ābhīrīth-āvalbhātā-jagat-kalmāśay-agnishītoma-sahasra-yājīnāḥ*. But, in the Chikkulla plates and the Tūṇḍigūṇḍa grant of Indravarmā's son, Vikramāndravarmā III, we have respectively the following passages referring to the sacrifices performed by the donor's great-grandfather: (1) *śkādāt-āśvamedh-ābhīrītatīth-āvalbhātā-jagadku(t-ta)kalmāśayā kratu-sahasra-yājīnāḥ sarvaśkādāt-ābhīrīthā-pravṛtāyāḥ bahuśucarpa-paṇḍarika-purnamēdha-rājapīṭya-yādēkya(nēkya?)-śkādātī-rājapīṭya-prādhīrājya-prājāpaty-ādī-anēka-vicidha-prīthi-gaṇa-vara-śata-sahasra-yājīnāḥ** [*kratu-sar-ānuś(hīta(n-ā)-dīś(hā[na?]-pratik(hīta-purnamēdha(hītrāya*], and (2) *śkādāt-āśvamedh-ābhīrīth-āvalbhātā-jagat-kalmāśayā kratu-sahasra-yājīnāḥ sarvaśkādāt-ābhīrīthā-pravṛtā-sarva-bhūta-svarājyaḥ bahuśucarpa-aikā-dadaka-yājīnāḥ śkādātā-paṇḍarika - prāpta-sarva-ardhāḥ yathāvidhy-anuś(hīta-rājapīṭya-ōpa-pādī-*

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 12.

² See, *Sil.*, p. 154, note 1; *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 202. The Khampur plates recording a grant of land in the Satara region would suggest that the king led a successful expedition against the western parts of the Deccan. But the inscription seems to be spurious.

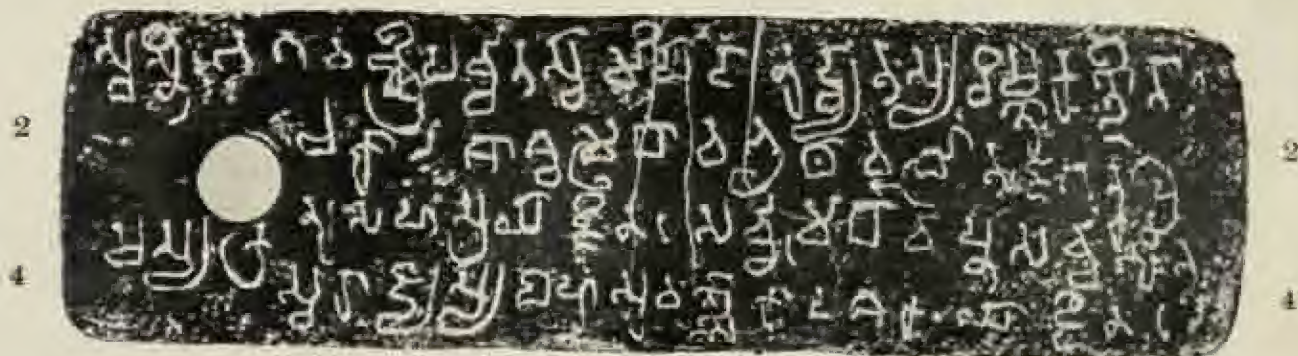
³ *The Classical Age*, op. cit., p. 206, note 1.

⁴ See, *Sil.*, pp. 335-36.

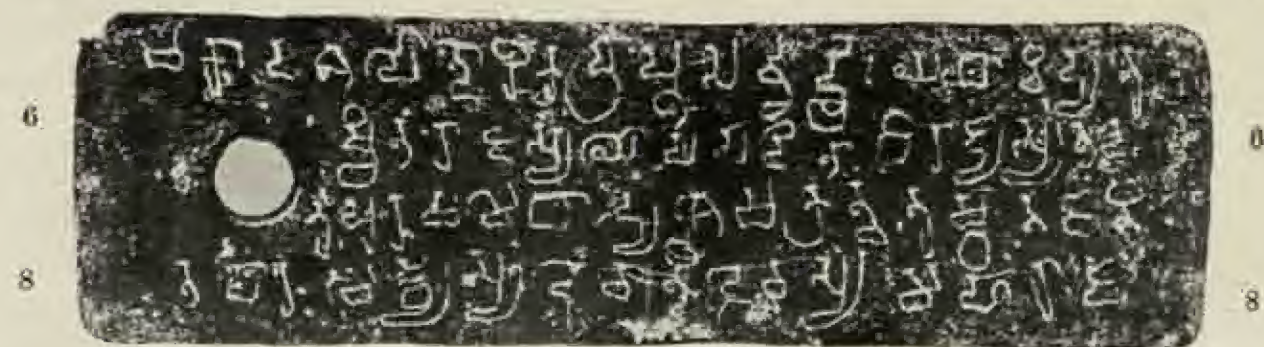
⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 338.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 334.

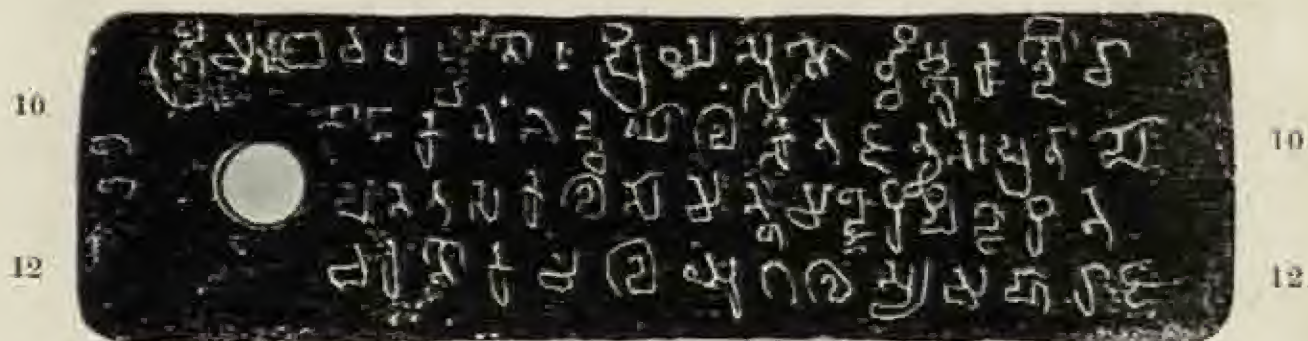
⁷ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 124, text lines 1-4.



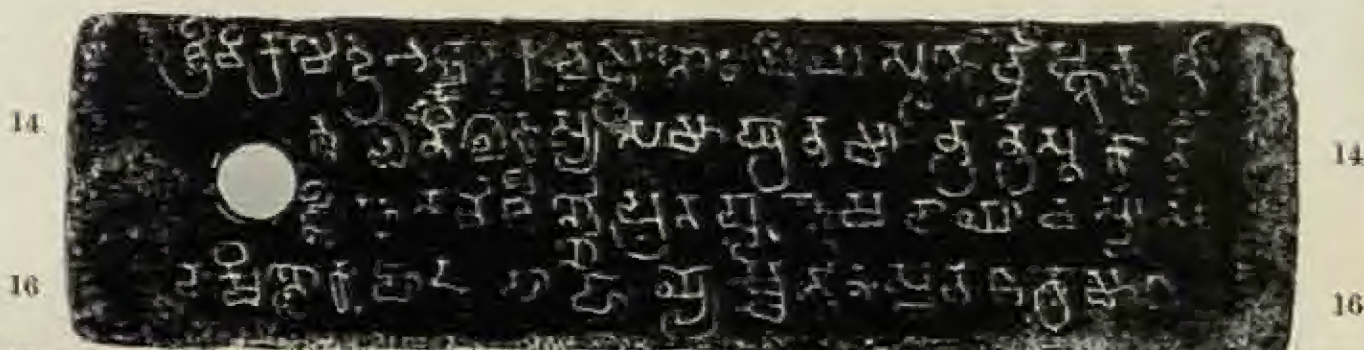
ii, a



ii, b



iii, a



8
 0
 18
 20

22
 24

26
 28

30
 32

ādhirājyasya tad-anu parushamēdh-ādya-aśēsha-kṛaty-annabhāna-janīta-pāramēshthyasya dēvātīdēvasya. These records add a number of details, though the *hrapṛyagarbha* is not mentioned in either of them. Both the epigraphs describe Mādhavavarman I for the first time as having obtained the status of a *paramēshthī* or saintly being. The later of the two epigraphs has a few more details than the earlier one. Thus, in the Tūṇḍi-grāma grant issued four years after the Chikkulla plates, Mādhavavarman I is not only called the supreme god additionally but the number of the *bahumuvara* and *paṇḍarika* performed by him is specified as eleven in both the cases. This has to be regarded as a step towards the fuller development of the Mādhavavarman saga.

There are four geographical names mentioned in the inscription. They are the localities called Āti, Charnapura and Tūṇḍi-grāma and the district of Vaiyāṅkara in which Tūṇḍi-grāma is stated to have been situated. We are not sure about the location of these places.

TEXT

First Plate

1*

- 1 Svastī Bhagavach-Chhriparvvatasvāmi-pād-ānuddhyātasya Vishṇukunḍī(ḥ)ṇā[m]
- 2 śkī[da]ḥ-dēvamēdh-āvabhṛith-āvadhaute-jagat-kalma-
- 3 shasya kṛatū-sāhaara-yājinaḥ sarvāmēdh-āvāpta-sarvabhūta-
- 4 eva(svā)ṇījyasya bahumuvarṇy-alkādaśaka-yājinaḥ

Second Plate, First Side

2*

- 5 śkādaśa-paundarika-prāpta-sarv-ard(dhō)ḥ yathā-vidyā(dhy-a)nu-
- 6 sh(hī)tanīta-rājasya(āḥ)y-ōpāpādīta-śāhīrājyasya tad-a-
- 7 nu parushamēdh-ādya-aśēsha-kṛaty-annabhāna-janī-
- 8 ta-pāramēshthyasya dēvātīdēvasya mahārāja-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 9 īti-Mādhavava[r]mmanāḥ priya-sūnōr-Vishṇukunḍī-Vā-
- 10 kākaka-vamāc-ādvay-ālakṛīta-janmanāḥ pratāp-ō-
- 11 panata-sakala-śālmanta-mūḥjari-pūḥjarīta-
- 12 chatana-kamala-yugalasya mahārāja-

Third Plate, First Side

- 13 īti-Vikramēndrabhaṭṭī[ā]rakavarmanmāḥ priya-sūnōr-Vishṇukunḍī(ḥ)-
- 14 kula-tīlakasya samāghrāta-mātra-trasta-kūndī-
- 15 ābhūta-vīśrṇṇa-pranaśhī-(ā)śēsha-dīyādasya an-
- 16 dakshīy-āika-bāhu-sāhāy-ō[ch]chaik-unīta-sva-va[di*]śa-kram-āga-

* From impression.

* This is engraved in the left margin.

* These three śkalas have been engraved beneath the ring-hole between lines 3 and 4.

Third Plate, Second Side

- 17 t-ādhirājyaśya anūka-chātundanta-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-vijayina[^{h*}]
 18 patatasmāhāśvataśya putramatrā(hra)lmapyaśya yathā-vidhi-
 19 cūṁry[ā]pā(t)la-gbaṭik-āvāpta-puṇya-saṁchayaśya
 20 dharmama-vijayika-mahārāj-**Endrabhaṭṭārakavarmma**[^{h*}]

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 21 priya-putra[^h] tri-**Viśhpakunḍy-anvaya-makuṣa-chūla**(dā)mañi[^h]
 22 Hata iv-śpataihata-prabhāvaḥ sakala-bhuvana-rakāhā-
 23 bhār-aike-śāśya[^{h*}] mahant(n)ya-guṇā ma-
 24 hā-mahēndraḥ **Vikramēndrabhaṭṭārā**(ra)kavarmma(rmmā) **Vaiyērakarē**

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 25 Tūṇḍi-nāmadhāya-grāmā [grāmā¹]yākā[n²] śvama-ājñāpaya-
 26 ti yathā astmai **Aki-v[ā]stavyāya** Kaunḍinya-
 27 angōtāya Āpastamba-sūtra-pāṅgatāya
 28 Rūdrasarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Svāmīśarmmaṇē [**Charmmapūrā**(pura)-pārīvē]³ Tūṇḍi-
 gr[ā]mā⁴

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 29 smābhīr-āddattaḥ sarvva-bādha-parihārēṇa datta ity-śāle-ājñā-
 30 panā [¹] ājñāptan² aṁ-mukham-śvaḥ(va) imāni eha pātakāni
 31 vāḥpayatuḥ(taḥ) [¹] Vi(Ni)ghnatān mātṛi-gō-viprah(pra)-bāla-yō-
 32 bhī[¹]tapaśvīm[¹] yā galie-śā bhavēd-vṛittī[¹] harateś-śāśan-ā[¹]kitāḥ(tām) || [¹]⁵

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 33 [Babubhīr-vvaśndhā dattā [bahubhī]ś-eh-āmpālī[tā].]
 34 yaśya yaśya yadā bhūmi[¹]tasya tasya tadā phalam || [²]
 35 Śarīva 10 4 grī [2] dī pratipadi⁶ [¹]

3. Ekallahāra Grant of Trilōchanapāla, Śaka 972

This set of copper plates was secured by an Exploration Assistant of the Western Circle of the Department of Archaeology, Baroda, who was stationed at Brosch (Bharuch), headquarters of the District of that name in Gujarat. It was received for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in July 1928 from Mr. S. R. Rao, formerly Superintendent of the Baroda Circle.

¹ These aksharas are engraved in the lower margin of the plate below the central part of line 24.

² We have generally ājñāpti in the same context elsewhere.

³ The metre of this stanza and the following one is āśvāpajh.

⁴ After this, some letters appear to have been rubbed off by the engraver.

THREE COPPER PLATE CHARTERS—Plate III

2. Tāṇḍigrāma Grant of Vikramēndra III, Year 14

v, b

34



Size : Actual

SEAL



(from Photograph)



There are **three plates** in the set, each measuring 9·7 inches in length and 7·2 inches in height. The plates are consecutively-numbered, the first and third bearing the respective numbers in the left margin of the inscribed faces and the second in the corresponding place on its reverse. There is a hole (·8 inch in diameter) about the middle of the upper margin of the plates for the ring holding them together to pass through. The circular seal (about 3·1 inches in diameter) affixed to the ring bears the figure of Garuḍa in the centre facing front. Below this figure, there is the representation of a boat facing proper right. While the crescent, parasol, goad, sword and drum symbols are found to the left of the Garuḍa figure, the representation of the sun, two standards with a bird each on the top, a chowrie and a pair of cymbals are noticed to its right. The first and third plates contain writing only on the inner side, the second plate being engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 56 lines of writing in the inscription distributed on the inscribed faces of the plates in the following order : I—12 lines ; IIa—13 lines ; IIb—15 lines ; III—16 lines. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory, a number of letters having suffered from corrosion especially on the first plate and the first side of the second.

In point of **palaeography, language, orthography** and style, the present copper-plate grant closely resembles another charter of its donor, the **Lāṭa Chaulukya chief Trilōchanapāla**, viz. the Surat plates¹ issued in **Śaka 972, Vīṭpita**, Pauṣa-badi 15, solar eclipse, Tuesday, corresponding to the 15th January 1051 A.D. The only point of palaeographical interest worthy of notice is the use of the Bengali type of *saṁskṛta* in one case in line 53. This may suggest that the engraver was an East Indian employed under a West Indian government.

The record under study was issued by **Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Trilōchanapāla**, son of Vatsa, grandson of Kīrti, great-grandson of Gōgi or Gōggi and great-great-grandson of Bārāpa or Bārappa, in the same year and month, but on **Pauṣa-sudi 9, Monday**, on the occasion of the sun's entry into the **Makara-rāśi**. The date corresponds to the **24th December 1050 A.D.**, though the *tithi* in question ended the next day and the *saṁskṛanti* took place on the previous day. It will be seen that the present grant was issued about three weeks before the Surat plates.

Like the Surat plates, the present record is also composed in verse with only a few small passages in prose. Some of the verses are common to both the charters although in a few cases there are variant readings ; cf. verses 1-8, 11-17, 21-23, 27-28, 36-37 of our record respectively with verses 1-7, 13-15, 17, 16, 19, 18, 20, 25-27, 32-33, 41-42 of the Surat plates. These 22 verses do not include the common stanzas in the imprecatory and benedictory section about the end of both the charters. Verse 8 in the description of Bārāpa is found in the Surat plates as verse 15 in the description of his grandson Kīrtirāja. Verses 9, 12 and 26 of the Surat plates referring to Lāṭa in association of Bārāpa, Kīrti and Trilōchana respectively are not found in our record. Considering the variation in the reading of some of the stanzas, it is interesting to note that the writer of both the documents was the same officer of the Chaulukya chief, viz. **Mahāsāṁdhivigrahaka Śaṅkara** whose name is given as Śaṅkara in the Surat plates and as Sa[ṁ]dhikaraiya in the present record. As pointed out by the editor of the Surat plates, the meaning of some of the stanzas is rather obscure. There are altogether 43 stanzas, of which verses 1-42 are numbered consecutively.

The inscription begins with the symbol for the *prapada* and the *māṅgalika* passage *jayat-ch=ābhayaṇi=cha*. Then follow 37 stanzas in various metres, which may be grouped into such sections as *namaskāra*, genealogy of the donor, description of the donor and particulars of the grant together with date, etc.

Verses 1-3 contain adoration respectively to the gods **Dēvadēva (Śiva)**, **Harī (Viṣṇu)** and **Aja (Brahman)**, while verses 4-7 describe the mythical origin of the **Chaulukya family**. We are told how the progenitor of the family was born out of the *chuluka* (a small vessel) or the palm of the

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 201-02 and Plates ; Bhattacharya's List, No. 1002.

hand-hollowed to hold water) of the god Virūchi (verse 3), how he, the *Mahārāja Chaulukya*, was advised by the creator to marry a daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler of Kanyākubja (verse 6) and how a Kādāmba dynasty emanated from the sage Chaulukya (verse 7). Verses 8-10 respectively introduce the following three rulers of the Chaulukya family, viz. *Bārappa* (called *Bārappa* in the Surat plates), his son *Gōggirāja* (or *Gōgirāja*), his son *Kirtirāja*. Verses 11-19 contain vague praises of the last named ruler, viz. Chaulukya Kirtirāja, while verse 20 introduces his son *Vatsarāja*. Verses 21-23 are in praise of the chief Vatsarāja, the last of the stanzas referring to the umbrella made by him in gold and jewels for the god Sōmanātha and to a *sattra* (free feeding institution) that he built at the border of his territory. Sōmanātha may be the celebrated deity of the same name worshipped at Prabhāsa-pattana in Kathiawar. This stanza also occurs in the Surat plates with slight modification of the language in the latter half of it.

Verse 24 introduces the donor of the grant, *Trilōchana*, as the son of Vatsarāja and verses 25-26 are in his praise. Verses 27-35 record the grant made by Trilōchana. The date is given in verses 28-29 as the *Śaka year 972, Vikrīta, Pausa-sudi 9, Monday, sankrama* of the sun meaning his entry into the Makara-rāśi. Verse 30 states that the donee was the Brāhmaṇa Tārāditya who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and was the *sthānika* of the *mahāsthāna* called *Rōhiṇī*. *Mahāsthāna* means both a holy place and a great temple while *sthānika* in the same context would mean a temple priest. Thus the donee Tārāditya was the priest of a temple at Rōhiṇī. We know from verse 31 that the Brāhmaṇa had three *pravaras*, viz. *Āgīrasa*, *Bārhaspatya* and *Bhāradvāja*.

The gift village was *Ēkallabhāra* situated in the *Karmāntapura-116* (verse 32) and it was granted with the exclusion of the right involving the following five items of income, viz. *nidhāna*, *ālīpaka*, *kumāri-sāhasa*, *mahā-dāśa* and land previously given to Brāhmaṇas and gods (verse 33). Of these, *nidhāna* often occurs in the passage *widhi-sādhāna* apparently in the sense of *nidhi-sādhāna* of other records and would therefore mean 'deposits on the surface of the ground'. The word *ālīpaka* may correctly be *ālīpaka* derived from *ālīpaka*, 'a bee', probably in the sense of 'income from bees (i.e. wax, honey, etc.)'. The expression *kumāri-sāhasa* no doubt refers to the power to deal with cases of violation of the modesty of an unmarried girl and *mahā-dāśa* the five great crimes related to the *pañcā-mahāpātaka* (murder of a Brāhmaṇa, etc.). The donee of our grant was not entitled to the privileges involving the items enumerated in the verse.

Verses 34-35 describe the boundaries of the gift village. It was bounded in the east by the localities called *Nikusādhī* and *Vihāpaka*; in the south by the *Kurunālā* (*nālā* in the name probably meaning 'a canal'); in the north-west by *Kuṇḍalikā*; and in the north by *Dadhīsthāna*. This enumeration of the boundaries is followed by two stanzas (verses 36-37) containing the donor's prayer to people for the maintenance of his gift and a statement regarding the merit to be derived from the protection of the grant and the sin resulting from its resumption. Verses 38-43 are some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas introduced by the passage *tathā ch-uktam* (line 47). The name of the donor *Trilōchana* has been inserted by the author in verse 43 of this section.

At the end of the document we have, "This is the signature of the illustrious *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Trilōchanapālādēvarāja*" (lines 54-55) and a statement to the effect that it was written by *Mahāsāndhibhīṅgahika Saṅkaraiya* in the presence of *Mahāmūṣya Ākalaiya* and other officers of the *Srikaraya* or record department (lines 55-56).

The Chaulukya family represented by Trilōchanapāla of the Surat plates and *Ēkallabhāra* grant is also known from other epigraphic and literary sources. The Surat plates¹ of Śaka 940 (1018 A.D.), issued by his grandfather *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Kirtirāja* of *Lāṭa-dēśa*, give the name of Bārappa's father as *Nimbārka* and mention Kirti's Rāshtrakūṭa feudatory *Śamabhu*, son of

¹ Bhāradvāja's List, No. 1082.

Amrita and grandson of Kunda. The Rewa inscription¹ of the Kalachuri year 812 (1060-61 A.D.) refers to the defeat of Trilochana, probably the Lāṭa Chaulukya chief of that name, by Vapula or Vapullaka, a general of Kalachuri Karka of Tripuri. Among literary references, the *Ras Mātā*, mentions Bārappa as a general of 'Telip, the sovereign of Telingana' who is no doubt the Later Chālukya king Tailapa or Taila II (973-97 A.D.) of Karpāṭa,² from whom the former apparently received the governorship of Lāṭa. According to Māṛṣṭuṅga's *Prabandhaśintāmaṇi*,³ the Sōlāṅki king Mūlarāja (c. 961-96 A.D.) was defeated jointly by Bārappa and the (Chāḷukya) king of Śākambhari and fled to the Kanthā-durga. Hēmachandra's *Dvayāyākāṅga* describes how the Sōlāṅki army entered Lāṭa after crossing the Śvabhavatī (modern Sabarmatī) at the southern boundary of the Sōlāṅki kingdom and advanced as far as Hīṣṇakaśehha (Broach) and how Mūlarāja's son Chāmunda killed Bārappa.⁴ But Bārappa's son Rēggī appears to have succeeded in retrieving the fallen fortunes of his house. The Nausari plates⁵ (Vikrama 1131-1074 A.D.) of Sōlāṅki Karmarāja (c. 1064-91 A.D.), descendant of Mūlarāja, however, show that his feudatory Darabharāja was ruling in that year from Nāgasārikā, probably the same as Navasārikā or Nausari. Thus the Chaulukya house of Lāṭa, owing allegiance to the Chālukyas of Karpāṭa, appears to have been ousted by the Sōlāṅkis before 1074 A.D.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, Kanyākubja is the well-known Kananj in the Farrukhabad District of U.P. We are not sure about the location of the mahāsthāna of Rōhidā, the village of Rkallahāra and the places mentioned in the description of the boundaries of the latter. The territorial unit called Karmāntapara-116, in which the gift village was situated was probably a tract in the present Broach District. It is mentioned in the Surat plates (Śaka 789)⁶ of the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Dhruva III as a tract in which the gift village called Pārāhaṇka was situated.

TEXT

[Metres: verses 1 *Śroṅgharā*; verses 2-3 *Vanīasthasitā*; verses 4-11, 14, 22-23, 27-33, 35-41 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 12-13, 15-16, 19 *Upajūti*; verses 17-18, 20, 42 *Indravajrā*; verse 21 *Sārdūlavikrīṇṭita*; verse 24 *Vasantatiloka*; verses 25-26 *Ārgyūti*; verse 34 *Upajūti*; verse 43 *Upajūti* (*Śālīnī-Upēndravajrā*).]

First Plate

1*

- 1 [5] || jayāś-śi-ābhyudayaś-śa || Vā(Bā)ṇaś cīp-āśahamālā kamalam-śim-athā bījapūraṁ
trīṇ(śū)lāṁ khaṭvāṅgam dāna-
- 2 hastāṁ(śt-ā)bhaya kara-sahitāḥ pāpāyā dhātayāntah¹ ||*|| rakṣamāna vyamjayamtaḥ
śakala-rasa-mayāṁ Dēvadēvayā cā-
- 3 itarā nō chēd-ōvaṁ kathāśi nyā(vā) tribhuvanam-akhilāṁ pūlitāṁ dānuvābhyah || 1 ||
Dadhāti mālām-atha cakra-

¹ Ibid., No. 1236 i of *OII*, Vol. IV, pp. 276 ff.

² Ray, *DBNI*, Vol. II, p. 937.

³ Tawney's trans., p. 23.

⁴ *Jad. Ast.*, Vol. IV, p. 111; Ray, op. cit., p. 939.

⁵ Bhāṇuḍakar's list, No. 141.

⁶ *Jad. Ast.*, Vol. XII, p. 185, text lines 4-9 on Plate III.

^{*} From impressions.

¹ This is engraved in the left margin near the beginning of line 6.

² The ten-armed Śiva described here is rarely met with in sculpture.

- 4 kaustukhan [gadām] dhanuḥ saṁ[saṁ]kham-ih-aiva paṇikajam[jam] | Hariḥ sa pāṇi
mṛdā[ā]dhīpō bhūba[vaṁ] rasapu¹ sa-
- 5 rvyāshu nishanna[pa]mānasah || 2 || Kamaṁjaluch darūḍam-atha [arṇahā] bi[vi]-
bhur=bbihkarti mālām bhuvan-ābhaya-
- 6 pradah || (|) pūyā[ā]jō lōkam=as[ā]ham=[ūr]i[|]tam samō=pi ś[ā]hai ra[|]itō rasis-tu
yah || 3 || Kadāchid=dai-
- 7 tya-khōd-ō[1*]tha-chintā-mah[da]ra-mah[tha]nādv[|]t | Vi[r]jūchōs=chuluk-āmbhōdhō rāja-
ratnam pumān-abhjit[bbāt] || 4 || Dēva
- 8 kirā karavāq=iti natvā prāha tam=ē[va] sah | samādīah[|]arttha-saṁsiddhan tush[ah]
ārahvā[ā]bhavich=[cha*] tam[taim] ||²
- 9 || 5 || Kanyākubjō mahārōja [Rāsh[ra]kū]asya kanyakān[kām] || (|) lavdhā[ā]bhivā
sukhāya tasyā[ā] tvam Chaulukyā-ā-
- 10 punhi samtatit[im] || (6 |) [i]tham=ā[tra] bhavō[ā*] kahātra-samtatit=visitā kila |
Chaulukyād=vitatā nadyāḥ
- 11 srōtām=iva mahādhāt || 7 || Satitāna-tamtuahu prōtām[tā]s=Chaulukyō maṇayō
nripāḥ | tasyāḥ tu ma-
- 12 pi-mālāyā[n*] nāyakō Bāba[ra]pō=bhavatu[va] || 8 || Tasyāpi su[ā]ddha-
vaṁsa[ā]jaya Gōg[gi]rājah

Second Plate, First Side

- 13 antō= bhavajji[|]t | ji)tvā vairi-bala[ā*] yēna prajānām-abhayam kṛtām[im] || 9 ||
Tasmād=abhūd-guṇi rājā K1-
- 14 rtirājō [ma]hābalah | kirtiā yēna jagat=kṛishṇaḥ dhavallkṛitam=āsu[ā] tat || 10 ||
Gōḥ pūḍō pā[r]tthivā
- 15 bhāri padā[ā]yata[n]ḥ guraḥ | sūtō kṛhira[ā*] ai[ā]rā k=āpi mōtya[tā] sūtaha
tath-aiva cha || 11 || Ā-jama drishṭā[ā]tmanō-
- 16 karasya mo[ā] tath=ā[pū]yata sarva-lōkah || (|) yath=āmrit-āpūṛṇa-ghaṭ[|] samānam
n=ārihya[ā]t=āpi stati-bim[ā]n-pā-
- 17 [tāh] || 12 || La[ga]mā tathā kṣmāpati-pāgi-pādō yuthā sthitaḥ vakahasi ratna-
sārah || (|) gōḥ[ā] tyaḥadbbi[ā] srūti[|].
- 18 [kumā]lābhyaṁ kṛtvā padam mukhyam-ath=āsu[ā] tam [ta*]t || 13 || Samō=pi
aprihan[ā]yath[ā] pakvāḥ[kv-ā]nasy-āva yōhitām[tām] | bhō-
- 19 [ga-ā]na para-srōpāt[ā]m=uchchishṭasy-āva varjitaḥ || 14 || Sa y[ā]van-
ānna[ā]ta-gajēndra-pārvō[rā]d-dhāva[n*]-manō-mā-
- 20 na[ra]yad=āvam=ātat | tasmād=itō h=indriya-khētakēna vilamghitā vaishayikī na sūnā
|| 15 || Ālam[ā]b-
- 21 [ābbh]ta-mahādhāt=ān=ullamghya juṣṭam patanam guḍō[p-ā]ghaḥ | katō=nyathā
tō saka[ā] bhābhūva[ā*] katham cha [tā*] ta[t*]-sa-
- 22 he vridh[ā]m=āp[ā] || 16 || Kāya[yō]na gāh-ādi-nibhēna jivō vyōm=āva jaditō=

¹ Root carāṇa.

² The mark of penetration is here unnecessary.

³ The reading may also be Gōgi.

THREE COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS—Plate IV

3. Ekallahāra Grant of Trilōchanapāla, Śaka 972

2

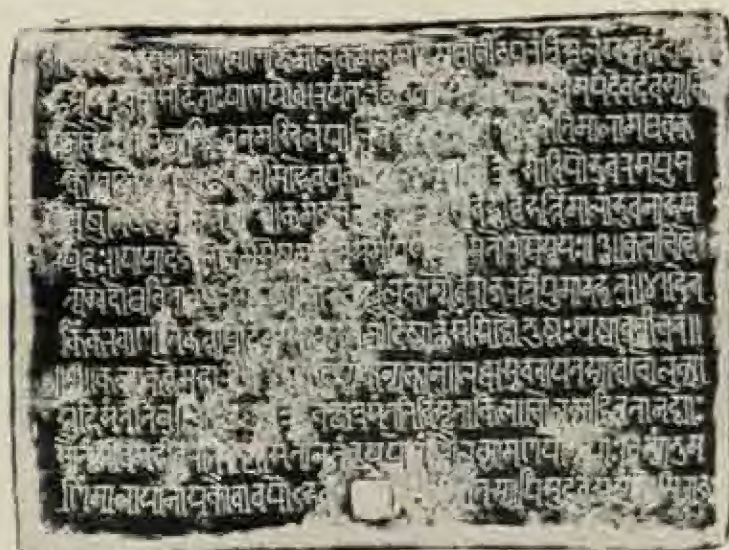
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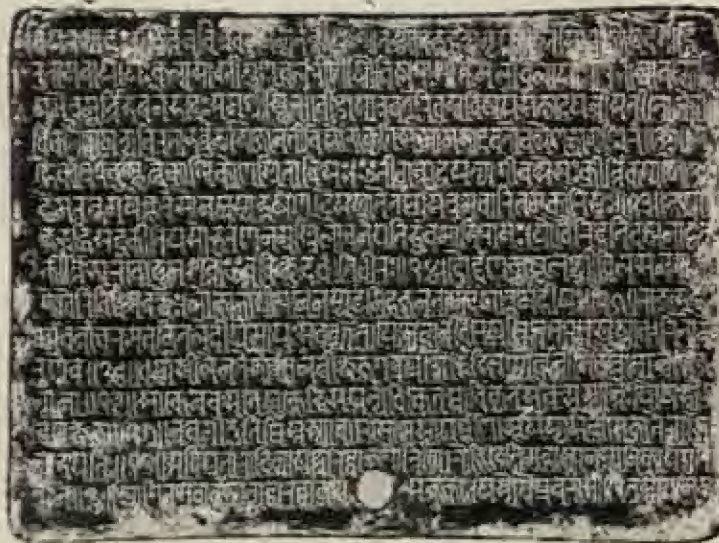
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- 23 na(nn=a)hama(m-ē)va ma{tvā} lakṣmā[m] asmā[m*] eō-rthi-[ja]nair-a[hhu]mā{t}a || 17 |
Yā(Ya)tr-ātma-phā tapas prādānē at-
24 kō-pi satvā{tvā}d-bhavadat phala{lā}ya | rājyō-pi chintā-vikadō{t-ō}[r]ja-bhāva pi{pā}
jākanā yachekṣata ōva dharmam |
25 | 18 ||| Chittō na kasy-āpi trishat{āhā} na dātā parasya dhim{chhīm}dyād-amitāh mitām
mitāna ||| atah sa grīhā-

Second Plate, Second Side

2*

- 26 ti parasya dūh{khām} datta[m] cha vittā[m] va{ba}humanyatō-rtthi || 19 || Tasmād
abhūd-Vatsa-nripah kṣitā{ō} rājy-ōpadō{ā}i-gu-
27 rutām-avāpa | yāh kalpa-ā{ā}khi guṇa-va{ā}rīpām yō Vahgura-āsīt-Kamal-āva{ba}
lāyāh || 20 || Ā hu{hā}lyād-i-
28 yamē(m-a)tra mārṭti-bhavanē bhadrē{h}drah samah āri sthitā |* vrid-āpy-atra vadbūr-
iva aya-vishayam sathebhādayanti sat | tām-ōva-
29 dhikātām nayaty-aviratā{m*} bhartur-mmānō jānati Vahgōr-ākṣiti-sa{ā}myam-asya
dadhātō Vatsā-nūma-āchirā{ram} || 21 || Sa-
30 b-alk-āhva{ba}ra-dustharvō kākhi{t*}-kōpā-iritā dīah{āh} | it-iv-āchchādaya{t*}-
tyāgī Vatsāsub{āh} kirtti-ka{r*}ppa{ā}h* || 22 ||
31 Hōm-ratna-mayam chhūha{chhā}tram Sōma*na{nā}chasya bhūshana{m*} | dēa{ā}-
prā{m*}hā tathā satra{tra}m-avāritam-akāri sah || 23 || Tasmā-
32 d-ābhūd-vina{ā}da-kl{r*}ti-yasō{ō}bhar{ō}ha namratī{=Tri}lōchana-patir-bhuvamā-
(n-ā)bhīrāmah | yō vairi-dantī-dalan-āhrita-
33 kirtti-bhārah vāghm-āsaktā* iva dikahu dadhāti vīrah || 24 || Dōs-dīay{d*}a-
kṣīha-lakṣmī-vilasa-aṅgha-
34 gō vairi-vihvamā-ākahah | lōkānām pālanēna apu{aphu}tam-ihā janat-ānūda-pātra{m*}
mahipah || 25 || Rāj-ābhūd-īha-
35 mma-dhātā cha{chi}ram-avanitā dīgham-āyuh sa dadhyāt | yē-ēdānt{m*} dhar-
tya{m*} sthīratara-vapuhā dhātā Mō-
36 ru-āva || 26 || Dharmma-si{ō}lēna tēn-ōhūn va{cha}hāh vīksh{y*}a jagat-īnayā-
(yam) | gō-bhā-hirasya-dīdānt dattāy-andha* dvija-
37 nmanā{hā} || 27 || Sā{Sā}hō nava-satō* yuktē dvīsaptaty-adhikō tathā ||*||
Vikṛita-savatasayāntōh* Paushasya {ō}-
38 dūha-pakṣajā || 28 || Navamī tu titha-tasyā{th*} vārō Sōmasya parvayā |
Sōryasya samk{r*}amē || 29 || rāsu{āu}-
39 ā* bhapatā || 30 || Sa vipra-Tārādityāya Bhāradvāja-sa*gōtrīnē | Rōhiḍ-ēti
mahā-ēhāna-sthānikāya gu-ā-

* This word is redundant.

* This is included in the left margin near the beginning of line 23.

* The *desa* is redundant.* Read *vāghm* no *āh* for the sake of the metre.* The intended reading may be *stha*.* Read *āh*.* Read *vatasay-dāt*.* The reading expected here is *Makar*. The word *kāla* of course means the Pūrva-Phalgun nakṣatra.

40 tmanā || 30 || Ā[ū*]ṛitasa-Vū(Bā)ṛhaspatya-Dvā(Bhā)radvājaścha(j-ēti)-samjñakāḥ |
yasya(sy=ai)tā pravaraś=trīpi¹ tasmā grāmam=a-

Third Plate

3²

- 41 dā[n*]-nripaḥ || 31 || Karmamāntapura-nāmya-śatē tu śhōḥśe(ś-ē-ō)[itarā || pra-
dattaś=ch=śdakām=a-
- 42 yam-Śkallahāra-śa[ū*]jñakāḥ || 32 || Nidhāu-ālipakā vā(bā)hyā kumāri-sāhasa[ū*]
tathā [i*]
- 43 mahā-dōya(śhō)vara paśch=śdam(yath) dattis=cha dvija-dāvayāḥ || 33 || Yasya tu
pūrvvasyā[ū*] dīś [grāman*] Nikusāḍhi- Vi-
- 44 hāpakau | dakṣhiṇataḥ Kurumālā paśchim-ōttarataḥ Kunḍal[i]kā [i*] 34 ||
U[i*]taratō Dadhisthā-
- 45 nam-[i]ty=śghāta-śhatashṭayam || [35 [i*] Tasmā[d*]-dvija-varasy=śaya bhā[ū*]jatō
na vikalpanā | karitavyō kārṇha-
- 46 na mata(rāḥ) śidh=śśidhū-śām-śkhyakāḥ || 36 || Ath=āivam yaśi śpt=śeyā(śya)
śb(ea) tadā pāpā(pa)bhāḥśas[ū](nam) | pā-
- 47 lanō(uō) tu parō dharmō haraś pātaka[ū*] mabāt || 37 || tathā ch=śktam(ktam) |
Kanyāmakam(m=śkām) gavāmakam(m=śkām) bhūmō-
- 48 r=ānīh-śśidham=a[ū*]gala[m*] | haran=śśakam=āpūti yāved=śhūta-samplavāt(vam)
|| 38 || Śva-dattis par=śdattis vā yō (harā)-
- 49 ta vasmāharā[ū*] | śhaṣṭi-varṇa-śhaṣṭi(śrī)pi viśthāyā[ū*] jāyatō krimiḥ || 39 ||
Yas=tu pālayatō bhūmī[ū*] [bhū]-
- 50 nīpālas-tath-ōttarāḥ | aś dātūḥ phalam=āpūti samāch dirghach cha jīvati || 40 ||
Va(Ba)hūbhū=vvamūdhā bhā-
- 51 kīś śjāhī(bhū) Sagar-śdībhū | yasya yasya yadā bhūmī=tasya tasya tadā phala[m*]
|| 41 || Agnī=apa-
- 52 tyam prathama[ū*] suvarṇam bhū=vvaiśgavī sūrya-śśātā-cha gāvaḥ | lōkā=trayas-
tōna bhavarāti dattā yaḥ kāmochanam³ gām
- 53 cha mahāś cha śadyāt || 42 || Sāmānyō-yam dharmma-śa(ś)tu[r*]=śripasāśh kālē
kālē pālanīyō bhava-
- 54 bhūḥ | aśa-vahsa(śa)jā vā para-varṇsa(śa)jā vā Trilōchanāḥ prācithayātō
mahāś[ū](ān) || [43 [i*] śvaśtō-yam mahāmā[ū](śa)ś-
- 55 aśa(śa)śa-śr-Trilōchanapālādēvarāśaya cha' || chha || śikhitam a[ū](śa)śanam⁴
idam mahāmātya-śr-Ākulaiya-
- 56 prahṛīti-śrīkarṇa-samakharā mahāś[ū](ū*)bhivigrahīra-śr-Sakaraiyaś' || mahgalaś
mahā-śrī ||

¹ Read *trapes*.² This is engraved in the left margin about the beginning of line 46.³ This is really half of a stanza in *Śvetasūtra*.⁴ This *monoceros* is of the Bengali type.⁵ This word is redundant.⁶ *Syādhi* has not been observed here.⁷ The intended reading is *śaśkharīyāś=śaśkharīyāś*.⁸ There is a symbol here looking like the upper right half of a trident.

No. 2—PRAKASA INSCRIPTION OF SIMHANA'S TIME, SAKA 1156

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 31.5.1961)

The slab of stone bearing the inscription published here was discovered in the house of Shri Prabhakar Master of **Prakāśā** which is a prosperous village in the Shahada Taluk of the West Khandesh District, about 9 miles from Shahada and 62 miles from Dhulia. The stone slab is found embedded in the flooring near a well in the compound of Shri Master's house so that people have to stand on it while drawing water from the well. It is therefore quite natural that the writing on the slab is considerably rubbed off.

A photograph of the inscription was received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in 1954 and the record was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1954-55, No. B 89. Since the epigraph could not be fully deciphered from the photograph, the findspot was later visited by the officers of the Epigraphical Branch for copying it.

The inscription is written in 24 lines covering an area about 1 foot 8 inches in breadth and 2 feet in height. The characters of the record are Southern Nāgarī and its language is Sanskrit. No peculiarity of its orthography is worthy of mention. The record is a eulogy written in fifteen stanzas with a few passages in prose. The date of the inscription is quoted in lines 20-21 as the **Saka year 1156, Vijaya, falling in the reign of the illustrious Śiṅghaṇa-mahārāja**, i.e. the Yādava king Simhana, c. 1210-47 A.D. The year Vijaya of Jupiter's sixty year cycle as calculated in South India corresponded to Śaka 1155 expired and Śaka 1156 current, i.e. 1233-34 A.D. No other details of the date are quoted in the inscription.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of the Sun-god called **Vikramārka** by two brothers named **Haradēva** and **Mahādēva** who belonged to a family of **Brāhmaṇas** of the **Ātrīya-gotra**.

The inscription begins with the *asthigata* : *Om svasti*, followed by a passage in prose introducing the sage **Atri**. Next follows verse 1 (lines 2-3) which introduces **Tōjasvin** or the Sun-god as the dispeller of the darkness that was the demons at the instance of the said sage. It is difficult to say what particular story of our mythology is referred to here since it is not readily traceable in the epic and Puranic literature besides the vague association of **Atri**, the Sun-god and the **Asuras** in the *Mahābhārata*, *Anuśāsana-parvan*, chapter 146. **Prakāśā** being a holy place at the junction of the **Tāpī** and the **Gōmū**, there was probably a *śāla-parvā* recording the mythological traditions of the place and the story referred to in our inscription may have found a place therein.

Verses 2-6 in lines 4-9 introduce the family sprung from the sage **Atri** and describe the many qualities of its members. Verse 7 (lines 9-11) mentions a ruling chief of the family, by name **Prabhuvara**, as well as **Abhrāśyāma** who was the son of **Prabhuvara**. **Jagadēvaprabhu**, son of **Abhrāśyāma**, is introduced in verse 8 (lines 11-12) while the following stanza (verse 9 in lines 12-15) apparently mentions **Siddhiprabhu** and **Vaidyanātha** respectively as the son and grandson of **Jagadēva**. Verse 10 (lines 15-16) speaks of **Dēvala** who was the son of **Vaidyanātha** and the next two stanzas (verses 11-12 in lines 16-20) mention the two sons of **Dēvala**, viz. **Haradēva** and **Mahādēva**, who are stated to have built the temple of **Vikramārka** that became an ornament of

Prakāśā. The heroes of the eulogy were thus Haradēva and Mahādēva who were Brāhmanas of Ārōya-gōtra and belonged to a family of ruling chiefs. Whether this family had its headquarters at Prakāśā, the findspot of the inscription under study, although that is quite possible, cannot be satisfactorily determined since Prakāśā is a holy place and it is equally possible to think that the two brothers visited it on pilgrimage and caused the temple to be built on the holy spot.

The following passage in prose in lines 20-22 quotes the date discussed above as falling not only in the reign of **Sūbhapa-mahārāja** but also in the *vyāpāra* or administration of **Sahasraliṅga Vaijū-nāyaka** who was no doubt Sūbhapa's viceroy ruling over the district including Prakāśā. The name of this Yādava subordinate is not known from any other record. The use of the word *vyāpāra* in the sense of administration in the passage in question reminds us of such passages as *amukha mudrā-vyāpāraṁ paripanthayati* used in introducing viceroys in certain early mediæval inscriptions.¹ The word *vyāpāra* used in the present context obviously means *mudrā-vyāpāra* of the other records.

Verse 14 (lines 22-23) following the above section in prose again refers to the construction of the temple of Vikramārka by Haradēva and Mahādēva while the last stanza of the record (verse 15 in lines 23-24) contains a prayer to the effect that the god Vikramārka may grant prosperity to the two brothers who built his temple and their fame may spread on account of the temple. The record ends with the *maṅgala* : *smṛti*.

There is no geographical name in the inscription except Prakāśā where the temple of the Sun-god called Vikramārka was built.

TEXT²

[Moktesa : verses 1-6, 8, 10, 12-15 *Anuśṭubh* ; verses 7, 9 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* verses 11, 13 *Varanantatīkṣā*.]

- 1 ओं स्वस्ति समस्त[मुनिमनुज]वृद्धवृद्धारकवचपदारविदद्वंद्वः परा(र)-
- 2 मेष्टि(ष्टि)सम[*] समस्तसद्गुला(णो)वे[तोत्रिनामा] महर्षिरासीत् ॥ वित[ते]
सप्ततन्ती तु³
- 3 [स्व]सदस्याचुरं तमः । द्वे(ध्व)मयामाल [तैजस्वी] महर्षिवचनात्पुरा ॥[१*]⁴
- 4 आ(अ)स्ति स्वस्तिमती तस्य संततिविविधुता भुवि । यद्योत्पना(जा)ः सुसंपन्ना
न-⁵
- 5 येन वितयेन च ॥[१२*] वृत्तवतः प्रभावतः सर्व्वे सन्मणिसन्निभाः ।
वेदवेदांगवे-⁶

¹ See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 164.

² From impressions.

³ There is a *dhupa* at the end of the line to cover a little empty space.

⁴ There appear to be traces of an unnecessary *akṣara* at the end of the line.





(from Photograph)

- 6 सारो दातारः पात्रपर्व्वसु ॥[13*] अर्थात् कर्मणे ये[षां] स्त(त)था कर्म विमुक्तये ।
यशसे जी-¹
- 7 वितं येषां प्रजापं दारसंग्रहः ॥[14*]² दानं दया दमः [सत्य]मेतद्येषां]
कुलव्रतं(तम्) । आपद्यपि च क-
- 8 स्थायां न त्यजति कदाचनः(न) ॥ [५*] यथा दिवि विराजंते तेजोभि-
स्तारका[स्त्वि]माः । तथा भुवि वि-
- 9 राजते यशोभिस्तेतिमानुषैः ॥[16*] तस्याभूजगतीघरः प्रभुवरः³ कर्ता कुलस्योजतेवि-
- 10 प्रव्रातशिरोमणिर्गुणमणिसामस्य जन्मा[वनिः] । सनुस्तस्य ततोधिकः सम-
- 11 भवत्तंस्तंस्त्वरैर्गुणैरभ्रस्यामसुनाम यस्य विदितं द्वीपेषु सप्तस्ववि ॥[७*] जगदेवप्र-
- 12 भुस्तस्माद्भूदद्भुतपौरुषः । यत्कीर्त्तिकीमुदो कर्णकुमुदेमृतमन्नवत् ॥[1८*] पुत्रस्त-
- 13 स्य कलाकलाप[ति] ७ — — यस्तु सिद्धिप्रभुपंस्याद्यापि विभूतिभूतिनि-
- 14 चयः पौत्रप्रपौत्रे ७ — । — — ७ मरप्रभावसदृशः श्रीवैद्यनाथः कृती स-
- 15 स्यं(स्या)नगलदानवारि ७ ७ — [ता]द्यापि संशुष्यति ॥[९*] देव]लस्तस्य पुत्रो-
भूतपेशलं य-
- 16 द्वच[ः] सदा । दयादानादि[स] . . .⁴ संततिर्यस्य राजते ॥[1१०*] तस्मात्सजो
विजयते हर-
- 17 देवनामा येनात्मनाम लिपि(लि)तं दिवि चंद्रविजे । भ्राता महोपपदलिपि(वि)-
- 18 त एव देवो [देव*]द्विजातिजनतां(मा)नसराजहंसः ॥[1११*] सुभ्रातरो द्विजवरो
त[र]णे-

¹ There is a *dashā* at the end of the line to cover a little empty space.

² This verse reminds us of Kālidāsa's *Raghavacharita*, I, 7 : *Yadast vjyāśāhānān prajāyān grāhamāśānām* ।

³ We have taken *Prabhuvārā* as the personal name and *Jagatībhū* as his epithet because the word *prabhū* occurs in the names of *Jagatībhū* and *Siddhiprabhu* who were respectively his grandson and great-grandson.

⁴ The intended word is no doubt *sariponnā*.

- 19 रघस्ताम्रैवोरनानमनयोः कलिकालमध्ये ॥[१२*]¹ ताभ्यामेतत्कृतं रम्यं वि-
- 20 क्रमाकंसुरालयं(यम्) । येनात्तकारभूतेन प्रकाशा[त्तौ*] प्रकाशते ॥[१३*] शक-
- 21 नृपकालाती(ति)क्रान्तसंवत्सरेषु ११५६ विजयवत्सरे श्रीसिषणमहाराजरा-
- 22 ज्ये सहस्रं(स)लिगवैजुनायकव्यापारे ॥ हस्देवमहादेवो कलावप्यविकला-²
- 23 बुभौ । कालेस्मिन् कुक्तो दिव्यं विक्रमाकंस्य मंदिरं(रम्) ॥[१४*] [न]दको
विक्रमाकौयं य[च्छ]-
- 24 तु धियमेतयोः । स्फायतां च यशः शुभ्रं वाक्दुर्वि तदालयम् ॥[१५*]
स्वस्ति ॥

¹ The latter half of this stanza is omitted through oversight.

² Read *śaharava*.

No. 3—RAMESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF NISSANKAMALLA

(1 Plate)

S. PARANAVITANA, PERADENIYA, CEYLON.

(Received on 27.5.1961)

This inscription is engraved on the surface (3 feet 10 inches square) of a stone *śaṅga*, now used as a *baḷi-piṭha* and placed close to the *dāvaya-stambha* of the Rāmanāthasvāmī temple at Rāmēśvaram in the Ramanathapuram District, Madras. It was copied in 1905 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, who queried whether it is written in the Vattejatta script.¹ I learnt of this inscription from Shri K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar when I was attached to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, from 1923 to 1925, as a scholar of the Ceylon Government. Shri Subrahmanya Ayyar remarked on the peculiar manner in which the writing had been executed and said that the script appeared to him to be Sinhalese. Though I was anxious at that time to have a look at the inscription, I could not get an estampage to be examined before I left India to join the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Some time after, when I was Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon, Shri C. B. Krishnamachari, then Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, kindly sent me, at my request, an estampage of the record. An examination of this revealed that the inscription is in the **Sinhalese language and script** and that it is of **Nissankamalla**. A brief notice of this record has been included in the 'Epigraphical Summary' of the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 195-96. The estampage sent by the Superintendent for Epigraphy is preserved in the collection of the Archaeological Commissioner in Colombo. In January 1960, Shri K. G. Krishnan, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund, who kindly supplied me with a second estampage, requested me to furnish him with the text and translation of the inscription to be included in the *South Indian Inscriptions*. I supplied him with a Romanised transcript and an English translation. The full decipherment of what is still preserved of this record revealed that, in spite of its fragmentary character, it is not without interest to the student of Ceylon history and archaeology, and I wrote to Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist for India, for his permission to make it the subject of an article to a learned journal in Ceylon. While very kindly acceding to my request, Dr. Sircar invited me to contribute an article on this record to the *Epigraphia Indica*, and it is as a result of this kind invitation that the present paper has been written.

The letters are inscribed between ruled lines, 1 inch to 1½ inches apart, and range in size between 1 inch and 1½ inch. The writing, commencing at the upper right hand corner, is continued rightwards on all four sides before a second line is begun below and about an inch to the right of the point at which the first began, the result being that the lines progressively decrease in length. The writing is continued in this manner towards the centre of the surface until a space of 5 inches square is left. This space is occupied by the engraving of a lotus, in each of the eight petals of which there had been a Tamil letter. Only one of these is now legible, and their significance is therefore lost to us.² In numbering the lines, in the text, each one of them is taken as running through all the four sides of the stone. This peculiar method of arranging the writing is seen on a number of stone *śaṅgas* of Nissankamalla found at Polonnaruwa and other places in the Island.³

¹ *A. S. Ep.*, 1905, No. 90: see p. 34.

² [They appear to be mason's marks.—Ed.]

³ See, e.g. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, Plates 25 and 26.

The use to which the *śāna* has been put for some time has been detrimental to the writing and, even when estampages of the record were prepared over half a century ago, about half of it had become almost totally illegible. I understand that the writing on this *śāna* is completely effaced now.

The script is Sinhalese of the second half of the twelfth century and conforms to the type with which we are familiar from numerous epigraphs of that period. The individual letters in this record, however, are somewhat smaller in size than those in other records of the time. The language is Sinhalese of the same period and, as is usual, contains a fair admixture of Sanskrit *śaśmas*. In style, there is a definite striving after literary effect.

The inscription bears no date; but, as will be shown later, its date can be fixed within the limits of four or five years by internal evidence. It contains an eulogy of a king styled **Kaṭṭiṅga-chakravartī**, who is referred to in the *Chūḷavamsa* by the name of **Kitti Nissanka**¹ and, in the epigraphical records, by the name of **Nissāṅkamalla** with additions of various magnificent epithets.² He was a scion of the **Kaṭṭiṅga-vamsa**, with which a number of Sinhalese rulers, including Mahinda IV and Vijayaśāhu I, had contracted matrimonial alliances.³ The Kaṭṭiṅga from which this royal stock hailed, as I have demonstrated elsewhere,⁴ was not the well-known Kaṭṭiṅga in India, but a region in the Malay Peninsula, referred to in Sinhalese historical writings by the name of *Jāvaka* and *Tambaliṅga* (*Tamaliṅgamu*) also.⁵ But this Malayan royal family had been founded by immigrants from Kaṭṭiṅga in India and was probably related to the Eastern Gāṅga.

Nissāṅkamalla, son of Śrī-Jayagōpa and Pārvati-mahēdēvi of Sinhapura (Singora), was invited to Ceylon by Parākramabāhu and trained in royal accomplishments. He is referred to as the *śēṣa* of Parākramabāhu, a term which may mean sister's son (Sanskrit *dhūgīśya*) or son-in-law. Most probably, he was related to Parākramabāhu as son-in-law, having espoused a princess named Subhaditā who was actually a daughter of that monarch, or else bore a relationship to him enabling her to be called a daughter of his.⁶ Parākramabāhu, when he died in 1186 A.D. after a reign of thirty-three years, was succeeded by Vijayaśāhu II. But this monarch was murdered at the end of one year, and Nissāṅkamalla, assuming control of the Sinhalese kingdom in 1187 A.D. reigned for nine years.⁷

Nissāṅkamalla was no favourite of the chronicler and his reign has been dealt with perfunctorily in only nine verses. But, as if he had a premonition of the treatment he would receive from the author of the *Chūḷavamsa*, Nissāṅkamalla makes up for this neglect by the numerous and lengthy epigraphs he has left behind, not only in the capital city of Polonnaruwa, but also at other places throughout the length and breadth of the island.⁸ These epigraphs extol, in hyperbolic language, the greatness of the family of Nissāṅkamalla, his own accomplishments and virtues, his extraordinary liberality, his solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, the administrative reforms that he effected, his religious benefactions and the magnificent buildings that he erected for the glory

¹ See *Chūḷavamsa*, Chapter 80, verse 18.

² See *Ep. Zey.*, op. cit., pp. 89, 95, 115, 145, 174 and 288.

³ *Chūḷavamsa*, Chapter 54, verses 9-10; Chapter 59, verses 29-30, 46-50.

⁴ See S. Paranavitana, 'Ceylon and Malaysia in Medieval Times' in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the R. A. S.*, N. S., Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 1-42.

⁵ *Ep. Zey.*, op. cit., p. 115.

⁶ For the relationship between Nissāṅkamalla and Parākramabāhu, see H.C.P. Bell in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. V, pp. 24-30, and *The Concise History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), p. 228.

⁷ *A History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), Vol. I, pp. 508 F.

⁸ *Chūḷavamsa*, Chapter 80, verses 18-20. For inscriptions of Nissāṅkamalla, see *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, No. 9; Vol. II, Nos. 13-30 and 42; Vol. III, Nos. 11 and 35.

of Buddhism, and his military exploits. The present document is but a brief sample of the magniloquent claims of this monarch. All these effusions of Nissankamalla's panegyrists were due not solely to a desire to satisfy the megalomania of the ruler, but were to a great extent meant to be propaganda designed to secure the island dominion to the Kalinga dynasty. At least with regard to most of the buildings, for the construction of which Nissankamalla claims credit, the veracity of the statements in the epigraphs is established by monuments yet extant.¹

In his earlier inscriptions, Nissankamalla refers to Parākramabāhu with respect as his senior kinsman.² In many of the later epigraphs, however, he charges Parākramabāhu with oppressive rule, claims to have relieved the people of the burdens of taxation imposed on them by his predecessor, and casts sneers at him. In many matters such as architectural undertakings and religious reforms, he has tried to excel the achievements of Parākramabāhu.³ Like Parākramabāhu, he claims to have conquered the Pāṇḍya country, to commemorate which achievement he constructed a tank named Paṇḍu-vijaya.⁴ Though the loudness with which Nissankamalla has blown his own trumpet has made him suspect with historians, there is no doubt that he was a man of tireless energy and achieved much within his brief reign of nine years.

Among the achievements for which Nissankamalla claims credit in the present epigraph, the tours of inspection within his realm, the *śulābhāra* gifts, the unification of the Saṅgha, the restoration of the Mahāsthūpa at Anurādhapura, the standardisation of the grain-tax, the introduction of copper-plate grants, the expeditions to the Pāṇḍya country and the building of a shrine at Rāmaśvaram are referred to in numerous inscriptions of his, published as well as unpublished.⁵ But this repetition in the contents of his inscriptions does not allow one to fill the portions illegible in one inscription from corresponding passages in other better preserved records. For his scribes, as if intently to avoid dullness, have introduced variations in vocabulary and phraseology in stating one and the same fact. Thus, in most published records referring to the Pāṇḍya expeditions, the word *desavāsa* is used in the sense of 'on two occasions';⁶ but the present record has the synonymous *de-śeṣā* in its place. What is stated succinctly in one document is given with greater elaboration in another.

Thus the paragraph referring to the restoration of the Ruvanvāli Dāgāba (Mahāsthūpa) at Anurādhapura opens by quoting the words which the king is said to have uttered, viz. 'Do you see how a certain king has caused it to be re-built'. This is clearly a sneer at his predecessor, Parākramabāhu, who is credited in the chronicle with the restoration of this monument.⁷ The stūpa is likened to 'a lotus to the Pihiti kingdom'. The king is said to have ensured the success of this architectural undertaking of his by pleasing the workmen, evidently by paying them handsome wages. He is also said to have established a monastery encompassing the Dāgāba. These details are probably also given in the Vānduruppe-vihāra inscription in Müller's *Anc. Ins. Ceyl.*, pp. 102 f.

In the passage referring to the regulation of the grain-tax, this record has the phrase *maḍaran sataraka* in place of *maḍaran sataraka* in other documents,⁸ establishing beyond doubt that *sataraka* has to be broken up as *sata-saka* and that the whole phrase has to be translated as 'four

¹ For the monuments of Nissankamalla, see S. Paranavitana, *Art and Architecture of the Polonnaruwa period*, pp. 23 and 29 ff.; *A History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), Vol. I, pp. 524 ff.

² *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 115 and 189.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 95, 116 and 175.

⁴ *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, Vol. II, p. 187.

⁵ *Cl. Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 120, 178 and 290.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 151 and 154.

⁷ *Chāyavartā*, Chapter 78, verse 97.

⁸ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 119 and 286.

aka coin of *maḍaran* and not as four *maḍaran*, as Wickremasinghe has understood it.¹ Similarly, *sakak* and *tenaka* have to be analysed as *sa-akak* and *ten-aka* and translated as six *akas* and three *akas* respectively, as Codrington has done.² As these are shown to be compounds of a numeral with the designation of a coin or weight, *maḍaran*, which precedes them, cannot mean a coin, as Wickremasinghe's translation leads one to assume.³ *Maḍaran* should therefore be of the same connotation as the modern 'mad-money', 'a due paid in cash to a landlord by a tenant on being assigned a field for cultivation',⁴ or is equivalent to the term *māḍharatran*, 'gold equal in fineness to the māḍha coin', occurring in a Sinhalese literary work of the fourteenth century.⁵

In line 5, we are told that the subjects of Nissāṅkamalla, far from taking part in any traitorous activities, were overjoyed on the reflection that he was a scion of the dynasty to which belonged **Suḷu-Kaliṅga, Vell and Kaḷava**. 'Suḷu-Kaliṅga' is the Sinhalese form of the Pali *Chulla-Kāliṅga*, the hero of the *Kāliṅgabodhi-jātaka*, who, after a romantic youth, became a *chakravarti* monarch at Dantapura in Kāliṅga.⁶ In numerous inscriptions, Nissāṅkamalla boasts that he was descended from the Kāliṅga-chakravarti who had the power of transporting himself by air, by means of the *chakra-ratna*, as it has to be understood. This Jātaka has received elaborate poetic treatment in Sinhalese prose and has been inserted with little justification in the *Dharmapradīpikā*, a commentary on the Pali *Mahā-buddhavaṃsa*, in explaining the phrase *Dantapurī vjāḍa kubbā*.⁷ It is possible that this was a piece of political propaganda by the author who probably appropriated for the purpose a literary work already existing in his time. This fact may not be without significance in deciding the date of the *Dharmapradīpikā* which, on other grounds, has been assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century.⁸ *Vell* and *Kaḷava* may be names of other kings of the Kāliṅga dynasty well-known at that time; but I cannot find these names, or their Sanskrit or Pali equivalents, in literary or epigraphical sources. This reference to Suḷu-Kaliṅga and others among his forebears has not been met with in any other inscription of Nissāṅkamalla.

The reference to Nissāṅkamalla's introduction of the practice of issuing copper-plate charters contains nothing new. The account of the king's two expeditions to the Pāṇḍya country is introduced with familiar phraseology;⁹ but the boast 'who indeed are these over the whole earth that can stand in front of the Kāliṅga-chakravarti', and the statement that the tribute sent by the princes of South India was preceded by an oath undertaking to pay tribute are not found in other records. It is also interesting to note that the word *vela*, found in several other records of Nissāṅkamalla,¹⁰ is used here in a context clearly indicating its meaning to be 'oath'. It is no doubt akin to Tamil *vai* in *vai-kkīṭṭi*,¹¹ and may be the same as Sanskrit *vellā*, 'limit', 'boundary', with the secondary meaning of 'agreement', 'covenant', just as Sanskrit *maryādā*, originally meaning 'limit', 'boundary', etc., developed these secondary meanings. The *Vēlaikkāra*, thus, would be the counterparts of the warriors called *Saśasaptakas* in the *Mahābhārata*.¹²

The present record gives the information that Nissāṅkamalla remained in the Pāṇḍya country for three months, presumably on two expeditions, and repaired a dilapidated shrine. In the

¹ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 117 and 288.

² H. W. Codrington, *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1935, p. 32.

³ *A History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), Vol. I, p. 548.

⁴ H. W. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁵ *Pāraṇip-paṇas-jātaka*, Colombo ed., 1929, p. 1662.

⁶ Jātaka, No. 479, Jātaka Translation, Vol. IV by W. H. D. Rensu, pp. 142-148.

⁷ *Dharmapradīpikā*, ed. Ven. Sri Dharmapala Nayaka Thera, 8th ed., 1961, pp. 296 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. ii; C. E. Godakumbure, *Sinhalese Literature*, Colombo, 1935, pp. 45-51.

⁹ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 142, 148 and 155.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112 and 123.

¹² S. Sorenson, *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, London, 1904, p. 611; s.v. *Saśasaptakas*.

corresponding statements in other records,¹ the impression given is that the *śaḥaya* was built anew by him. The reference to an alms-hall built at Rāmeśvaram is also found in other records;² the present epigraph states that he acquired a village and dedicated it to the alms-hall. The missing portions of the relevant paragraph probably contained a reference to his going through the *śālāhāra* ceremony which, we are told by the Adam's Peak inscription, was conducted at a place named *Dāvakuḥaṇi*,³ evidently in the vicinity of Rāmeśvaram.⁴ The statement that Niśaṅkamalla, during these expeditions, visited the islands of **Puvagu** (modern Puṇḍuḍivu), **Miṇṇak** (Maṇināga), **Kappa** and **Kāra** (Karai-tivu) occurs only in this epigraph. The *śāna* itself, we are told, was the one on which the king sat, and was named *Nṛitya-gīta-dāna-rinōḍa*, obviously after a *rinōḍa* of the king. It is specifically called *vir-śāna*, 'a hero's throne'.

The interest of the inscription lies, not so much in what it states, but in its mere presence at the place where it has been found. The contents indicate that it has been found more or less in its original setting. The people of Rāmeśvaram who were then, as now, no doubt Tamils, would not have been able to read and understand the inscription. Even if it was read and explained to them, only those references to Niśaṅkamalla's visits to the Pāṇḍya country, the repair of the temple by him and his charitable activities there would have interested them. What Niśaṅkamalla claims to have achieved in Ceylon would have left them cold. The inscription therefore must have been addressed to Sinhalese who, at Rāmeśvaram, could only have been soldiers in an army of occupation. For, it is difficult to think of Sinhalese who had gone to aid Rāmeśvaram as colonists; nor is there any clear evidence for the presence of a Sinhalese community of traders, or even of pilgrims. And, the presence of a Sinhalese army of occupation at Rāmeśvaram at this time can be explained from the events during the two or three decades preceding the date of this inscription.

We have seen above that Niśaṅkamalla came to the throne in 1187 A.D. and reigned for nine years. This record mentioning, as it does, many of Niśaṅkamalla's activities after he ascended the throne, must have been set up towards the close of his reign, at least during its second half, i.e. in or after 1192 A.D. It is well-known to students of South Indian history that, in or about 1169 A.D. Parākramabāhu the Great, the uncle or father-in-law of Niśaṅkamalla, despatched a powerful expeditionary force to the Pāṇḍya country to fight on behalf of a Pāṇḍya ruler who had solicited his assistance. This army, under the command of *Iaṅkāpura*, landed at a place called *Talabilla* (modern Dhanushkōṭṭi), captured Rāmeśvaram and entrenched itself in a stronghold at *Kunḍukal*, a few miles beyond Rāmeśvaram. From this base, the Sinhalese army advanced, crushed all opposition and captured *Madhūrā*. Parākramabāhu's nominee was installed on the *Madhūrā* throne, and the Sinhalese general advanced beyond the Pāṇḍya borders to the realm of the Chōḷas. After a series of brilliant victories, as we are informed by the Chōḷa records, the Sinhalese army was defeated by a Chōḷa general and forced to retreat. But the Pāṇḍya prince *Kulaśekhara*, on whose behalf the Chōḷas intervened, eventually came to Parākramabāhu's side. And when he was ousted and his rival, the original protégé of the Sinhalese king, was placed on the throne of the Pāṇḍyas, he too, after a short while, allied himself with Parākramabāhu against the Chōḷas.⁵ This alliance with Parākramabāhu, one after the other, of the Pāṇḍya princes who gained the throne with Chōḷa support, risking the consequences of Chōḷa enmity, not to speak of being reproached for ingratitude, seems to be inexplicable unless it is believed that the Sinhalese king

¹ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 134; Vol. II, pp. 120 and 130.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 120, 133 and 290.

³ [The word *śālāhāra* means a temple.—Ed.]

⁴ *The Ceylon History of Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 29.

⁵ For this war, see Nīlakaṇṭha Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1955, pp. 366-72.

was able to convince them, by a show of military strength, that coming over to his side was to their advantage. And this could not probably have been done if Parākramabāhu had no military forces in South India itself.

It may be true that, as the Chōla inscriptions assert, Laṅkāpura suffered a crushing blow from the Chōlas, he himself losing his life; but the remnants of the Sinhalese army could have retreated to the strong fortress of Kundukal which they could have defended until reinforcements arrived from Ceylon. It therefore appears that the Sinhalese hold on Rāmaśvaram continued throughout the reign of Parākramabāhu up to that of Nissāṅkamalla. At any rate, Nissāṅkamalla himself does not claim to have captured Rāmaśvaram; if he did so, his panegyrists would not have failed to make much out of such an achievement. As his numerous inscriptions are silent on this, the inevitable conclusion is that he retained control of this strategic point as a result of the military campaign of his predecessor. Thus the two visits of Nissāṅkamalla to South India would have been undertaken to inspect the Sinhalese garrison already stationed there. Prudence would have dictated that, in order to face any possible hostile reception from the Pāṇḍya or an attack by the Chōla, he was accompanied by an adequate force.

Some of Nissāṅkamalla's records picturesquely describe how, when he arrived in South India, the mother of the Pāṇḍya ruler sent messengers requesting him to take over the whole of the realm, leaving just one village for the maintenance of her family.¹ This may be rhetoric; but the Pāṇḍyas at this time were yet in a weak condition after nearly two centuries of conflict with, and subjection to, the Chōlas. They had to wait for another two decades for their remarkable resurgence under Sundara-pāṇḍya. In need at any time of Sinhalese assistance against Chōla aggression, the Pāṇḍyas would have received Nissāṅkamalla with a show of friendship, if not subservience as claimed by him, when he visited Rāmaśvaram.

On both these visits, Nissāṅkamalla spent only three months in the Pāṇḍya country. The restoration of the *śrīvilāsa* cannot therefore have been carried out while he was sojourning in the Pāṇḍya country. At the time when the present inscription was indited on a throne at Rāmaśvaram, which Nissāṅkamalla made use of, the restoration was an accomplished fact. He may therefore have issued orders for this undertaking during his first visit; before his second visit, it had been brought to completion. The interval between the two visits must therefore have been considerable, at least two years.

The shrine at Rāmaśvaram figures also in the Chōla account of the campaign of the generals of Parākramabāhu I in the Pāṇḍya country. The Ārpākkam inscription mentions that the Sinhalese troops under Parākramabāhu's general looted the treasures of the temple, and put a stop to the worship.² The act of Nissāṅkamalla in renovating the temple and making liberal donations to the Brahmanas was no doubt meant to reconcile the local inhabitants. In this also, we see another instance of his adopting a policy diametrically opposed to that of his predecessor.

In his inscriptions Nissāṅkamalla also claims to have received presents from the Chōla country on the occasion of his visit to South India.³ The Chōla inscriptions, on the other hand, claim victories over the Sinhalese about this period. In an inscription⁴ of Kulōttunga III (1178-1210 A.D.), it is claimed that the Sinhalese soldiers had their noses cut off and rushed into the sea. A record⁵ of the same monarch's twenty-first year states that he 'adorned with his feet the crown

¹ Ep. Zey., Vol. II, pp. 152 and 156.

² A. R. Ep., 1680, pp. 6-9.

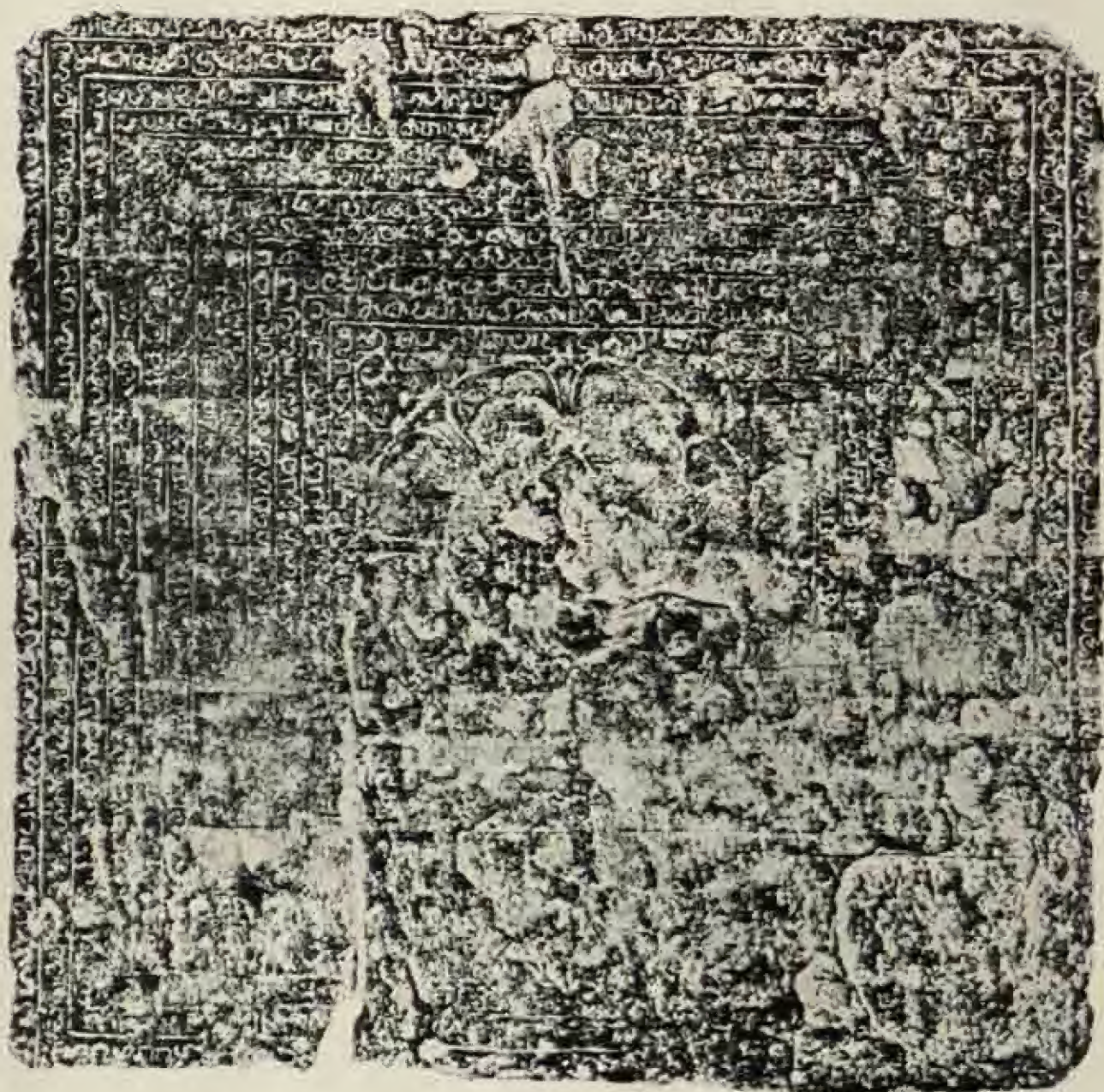
³ Ep. Zey., Vol. II, pp. 152 and 156.

⁴ *Ill.*, Vol. III, p. 212.

⁵ A. R. Ep., 1902, No. 179.



RAMESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF NISSANKAMALLA



(from Photograph)

- 7 [gam-val] nishkaṇṭaka koṭṭi eṇṇehi tabā [dva]ndva-[yuddhā]ṇā[re] Jambu-
dvīpayāta de-iddakā vāḍa tun-masak muḍallehi vāḍa hindā Apratimalla yana
viruduva....
- 8 Kālīnga-chakravartin-vahanse idiriyehi añño nant muḍa poḷovā kavura da
apa vinn kaḷamanā nam paḍḍuru dena veḷa pera vā evū paḍḍuru geṇā si.....
- 9 [de]ḷayehi jirōṇa devālaya karana pariddem ananta vatta devā eṇṇi Nissārika-
śvara nam yut devālayak uḍḍvā.....
- 10 ye ayāta nagā gam-varak=ut geṇā vattayāta latā vadāra nāvātā lakṣa-gaṇa
suru vālayehi aturuvā maṇḍapaya sarakā aṇṇa.....
- 11 Puvagu-divayina Miṇimā-divayina Kappa-divayina Kāra-divayina ādi-vū
no-ek divayin baḷā vadāra ma.....
- 12 vāḍas supāp[-piyūm vā karavā nra(ṇi)tya-gāṭa-dāna-vimoda gam vīra-siṅ-
[hāsanaye]hi.....

TRANSLATION¹

(Line 1) Hail ! The Sovereign Lord Kālīnga-chakravartin, who possesses the prowess of a lion and who is the Lord of the Three Siṃhalas,² in one year from his accession to the sovereignty toured round Latākā and inspected thoroughly, as if they were an āmalaka fruit on (the palm of his) hand, many well-known places such as villages, market-towns, seats of royalty as well as places difficult of access on account of water, places difficult of access on account of marshes, places difficult of access on account of forests and places difficult of access on account of mountains such as Samanola (Samanas-kūṭa, i.e. Adam's Peak)³.....

(Lines 1-2) He gave annually five *śulabhāras*, the five personages including..... Their Majesties the Queens and His Highness the Heir-apparent (*vāḷa-pāṇa*)⁴ having ascended the scale pans; thus he made the poor affluent and the affluent illustrious. He caused to be erected shrines of the Buddha in the Three Kingdoms⁵; he unified the sects (of the Saṅgha)⁶ and thus he made the State and the Church prosper.....

¹ In the translation, some of the clauses ending with absolutes have been treated as sentences ending in finite verbs so as to make the style less cumbersome in English.

² *Siṃhi* (Pali *Siṃha*), *Māyā* and *Kubera* (Pali *Kubha*) were the three kingdoms into which Ceylon was divided in ancient times.

³ The tours undertaken by Nissankamalla in his kingdom are referred to in a number of his inscriptions. See *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 141 and 142.

⁴ The *śulabhāra* gifts of this king are referred to in several of his inscriptions in very much the same phraseology as in this document; see, e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 18 and 175. According to these references, the five personages who ascended the scale-pans were the king, his principal queen *Śubhadrā*, the second queen *Kalyāṇavati*, his son *Vimālaka*, the heir-apparent, and his daughter *Sarvabodhadevī*.

⁵ The name as 'The Three Siṃhalas'.

⁶ The three Nāgīyan were the Mahāvīra, Abhayagiri and the Jetaṇṇa. The credit of unifying these three sects is given in the chronicle to Parākramabāhu I; but, in several of his inscriptions, Nissankamalla too claims to have done this. See *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 134. Vol. II, pp. 81-82.

(Lines 2-3). Having uttered 'Do you see how¹ a certain king has caused it to be restored' he caused vast treasures to be spent, made the workmen to rejoice and effected the restoration of the great *dāyāba*, the sacred Ruvanvālī,² which is like unto a lotus for the Pihiti kingdom. Around that *dāyāba* he made the members of the Saṅgha take up residence in *pīrimans*, and gave the name of Mahāvihāra (to that monastery).

(Line 4). He enacted a law that the (grain)-tax on an *amūṣa* (sowing extent) of the best grade (of fields) should be (not in excess of) one *amūṣa* and three *pāṣas* and six *akas* as *maḍaran* (levy), on an *amūṣa* of middle grade (of fields), one *amūṣa* and two *pāṣas* and four *akas* as *maḍaran*, and on an *amūṣa* of the lowest grade (of fields) the tax to be one *amūṣa* and two *pāṣas* and three *akas* as *maḍaran*.

(Line 5). He caused supreme joy (to the people) by their reflection : King Suju-Kaliṅgu, Vell and Kaḷava of widespread fame are indeed kings of the lineage of this (king) ; and, far from there being any sort of disturbance caused by any one, the subjects being stirred with emotion.³

(Line 6). He introduced the practice of granting charters written on copper-plates so that heritable lands, granted to last as long as the sun and the moon endure, may not become like lines drawn on water, on account of the grant being written on palm-leaves which are in danger from termites and rats, but ensured that, associated with the lineages of these (concerned) the names of those who have done deeds (to merit such grants), and the names of the kings who granted such gifts do last for a long time.⁴

(Line 7). Having eradicated thorns⁵ in the villages as well as in the forests, and having placed the country in tranquility, he being desirous of single combats, proceeded to Jambudvīpa (India) on two occasions, and tarried there for the full duration of three months his *śruda* of Apratimalla⁶

(Line 8). 'Who indeed are those over the whole of the earth that can stand in front of Kāḷiṅga-chakravartī ? What remains to be done by us therefore is to accept the tribute sent (to us) with an oath of paying tribute (in the future)'⁷

¹ This is obviously a sarcastic reference to his predecessor Parākramabāha I who is recorded in the *Cāḷukyaśāhi* (Chapter 78, verse 97) to have repaired this *dāyāba*. Nissankamalla's inscription at Ruvanvālīya (*Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 70 ff.) gives a detailed account of his work there.

² This is the shrine originally built by Dutthagamini in the second century B. C., and is referred to in the *Mahāvamsa* as Mahāvihāra.

³ This paragraph does not appear in any of the king's known inscriptions. What it conveys is that the people were so impressed by the fact that Nissankamalla was a scion of the Kāḷiṅga dynasty, to which belonged a *Cāḍrasasti* king of old, that none thought of stirring up trouble in his kingdom. *Suḍa-Kaliṅga-Vell-Kaḷava* has been taken as a copulative (*śabdarūpa*) compound with the case-termination *as*, attached to the last name *Kaḷava*. It is also possible to take the stem form of the last name as *Kaḷava* with the case-termination *as* attached to it. In that case, the indeclinable which follows the compound has to be taken as *du* and not *śu*, as has been analysed in the above interpretation. *Kaḷava* may be etymologically the same as *Kaḷāṇṇa*.

⁴ For Nissankamalla's claim to have introduced the practice of granting charters on copper, see *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 133 ; Vol. II, pp. 155 and 159.

⁵ For similar claims by the king in other inscriptions, see *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 119, 133 and 138. For the expression 'having eradicated thorns' (*śakāḥśānta* *loṇa*) see, *Aśokaśāstra*, Rāmasestry's trans., second ed., pp. 245 ff.

⁶ What is stated is that as none accepted the king's challenge to a single combat, he justified his title of *Apratimalla*, which is given in a number of inscriptions, e.g. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 148.

⁷ This passage does not occur in any other inscription, though similar words are found in many records, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 120.

(Line 9). He gave incalculable treasure to repair a dilapidated shrine (*devōlaya*) in the country, and erected here the shrine named Nissānkeśvara.¹

(Line 10). Having raised it to the revenue of he acquired a gift-village, and assigned it to the *śrī*-*hah* (*śātra*) ; again, having spread hundreds of thousands of *śrī*. on the *śātra*, and having decorated the pavilion.²

(Line 11). He was also pleased to inspect numerous islands including Pavagu Island, Miṣinak Island, Kappa Island and Kāra Island.³

(Line 12). Having made the faces of appear like full-blown lotuses. on this throne of heroes named Nṛitya-gīta-dāna-vinoda (literally one who rejoices in dance, singing and gifts).

¹ Cf. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 129 and 289.

² The words *śrī* and *śātra* occur nowhere else, and the significance of the phrase is not clear.

³ These are the Sinhalese names of islands between North Ceylon and South India. Pavagu-divayina is most probably the modern Ponguḍu-diva. Miṣinak is Maṣinḍa in Pali and appears to have been used at times for Nāga-dīpa, the ancient name of the Jaffna Peninsula. Kappa-divayina is referred to in old Sinhalese writings ; but there does not appear to be a modern name corresponding to it. Kāra-divayina is the Kāra-dīpa of *Jātaka* No. 499 ; it is now known as Katal-diva.

No. 4—TWO SONGIRA CHAUHAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BARLUT

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND K. V. RAMESH, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.4.1961)

The two inscriptions forming the subject of the paper are engraved, the second in continuation of the first, on a stone slab broken into three pieces. The inscribed slab now lies in the compound of the Śāntinātha temple at Barlūt in the Sirāhi District of Rajasthan, about 13 miles to the north-west of Sirāhi. Shri Achalmal Modi of Sirāhi drew our attention to the inscription.

The two inscriptions together consist of nine lines of writing which cover an area about 4' 4" in length and between 5' 5" and 6" in height. The letters, somewhat indifferently engraved, are not uniform in size. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory, some letters here and there being damaged and a few completely lost at some places, especially along the two vertical breaks in the stone.

The characters of the inscriptions belong to the *Nāgarī* alphabet of about the thirteenth century and are regular for the period and area in question. The two records are engraved on the stone in the form of a single epigraph by the same person at the same time. The language of both the records is *Sanskrit*. The second inscription, in which a number of abbreviations have been used, consists of two parts. The first record is written in prose and verse, the second being composed in prose only. The composition is rather poor and the language not free from errors. Often two *doṣṭas* have been placed at the end of the first half of a verse and three *doṣṭas* at the end of its second half. The stanzas are consecutively numbered. The orthography of the inscriptions is characterised by the use of *anuvāra* in place of class nasals as well as in that of final *m* at the end of the first and second halves of stanzas. Reduplication of *m* after *r* occurs in some cases. The text exhibits some orthographical errors.

The first record is dated in *Vikrama* 1283, *Jyēṣṭhā*-śudī 6, Thursday (apparently the 7th May 1226 A. D.), falling in the reign of the Sōngirā Chauhān ruler *Udayasimha* of Jālōr. This ruler, who was the son of *Samarasimha*, grandson of *Kirtipāla* (Kittu) and great-grandson of king *Alhaṇa* (*Vikrama* 1209-15) of Nāḍōl, is known from records of his time with dates ranging from *Vikrama* 1262 to *Vikrama* 1306.¹ The second inscription, which commences after the end of the first in line 5 is dated *Vikrama* 1330, *Phālguna*-śudī 11, Sunday (18th February 1274 A. D.), falling in the reign of *Udayasimha*'s son *Chāchigadāva* whose known dates range between *Vikrama* 1319 and 1334.² The first part of this record ends about the close of line 6, its second part beginning there and ending in line 9. The two inscriptions were apparently engraved together on the stone slab on or shortly after the latter date. Both of them record some pious deeds of a Chauhān chief named *Ahhaṭa* and certain other persons with reference to a Jain establishment, the modern representative of which is the Śāntinātha temple at Barlūt.

1. Inscription of the time of *Udayasimha*, *Vikrama* 1283

This record consists of nine stanzas and some passages in prose. The last of the stanzas is the well-known verse *Baḥubhīṣa-paruṣhā bhūktā*, etc.

The first three stanzas describe the rulers of the Chauhān dynasty from king *Āsarāja* of Nāḍōl down to his great-grandson *Manayasimha*. Verse 1 introduces *Āsarāja*, the lord of Nāḍōla, who is described as the moon in the growth of the ocean that was the *Chāhāna* family. *Āsarāja*'s ancestors, who are usually mentioned in the genealogical accounts of the Nāḍōl and Sōngirā Chauhāns, are not referred to in this epigraph.

¹ Bhattacharya's List, p. 382.

² *Ibid.*, p. 383.

The first half of verse 2 speaks of king **Ālhaga** who was **Āsacūja**'s son, its second half stating that **Gajasirha**, the son of **Ālhaga**, was the 'lord of **Māṇḍorapura**'. We know from the **Jhāmvrā** inscription,¹ dated **Vikrama 1219**, that **Mahārājaputra Gajasiṃha** was in charge of the administration of **Māṇḍavyapura** (**Māṇḍor**).

Verse 3 mentions **Bachchihālā** (**Vatsalā**) as the wife of **Gajasirha** and states that **Manapa-sirha** was **Gajasirha**'s son. It appears that **Manapa-sirha** was born of the said queen. This inscription, for the first time, gives the names of the wife and son of **Gajasirha**, son of the **Nāḍol** **Chauhān** king **Ālhaga**.

Verse 4 states that, in the *paṭṭa* of **Manapa-sirha**, there was the noble-minded **Āsaṭa** who had a well dug in a village, the name of which is uncertain. The relationship between **Manapa-sirha** and **Āsaṭa** cannot be determined. The term *paṭṭa* seems to be used here in the usual sense of 'throne'. It therefore appears that **Manapa-sirha**, son of **Chāhamāna Gajasirha** of **Māṇḍor**, was ruling over the district around **Barlūt** near **Sirōht** under the **Sōngirā** (**Jālōr**) branch of the family and that, on his death probably without an heir, the area passed on to another chief named **Āsaṭa**. That **Manapa-sirha** was dead when the present inscription was inscribed seems to be supported by the internal evidence of the record as will be seen below. **Āsaṭa** was also a member of the **Chauhān** family as his son **Ābhata** is described as belonging to the **Chāhumāna-varaṇa** in line 4. Both **Manapa-sirha** and **Ābhata** are called **Rāja**, an abbreviation of **Rājaputra** or **Rācat**, in the prose part of the epigraph, though the full title **Rājaputra** is applied to **Ābhata** in verse 7.

Verse 5 is in praise of **Āsaṭa** described as the most valorous among the **Kṣatriyas**, while the next stanza (verse 6) introduces **Āsaṭa**'s son in whom **Ābhata**'s good qualities, which had become destitute [on **Ābhata**'s death], are stated to have found their abode. The reference seems to be to **Āsaṭa**'s deceased father **Ābhata**, after whom **Āsaṭa** probably named his son. **Āsaṭa**'s son **Ābhata** is referred to in the verse as *śa-durga* probably meaning 'one having a unique fort under him'.

Verse 7, which is imperfectly preserved, expresses the desire that **Rājaputra** (i.e. **Rācat**) **Ābhata**, who was like a father to his subjects, may flourish for a long time. Verse 8 speaks of **Ābhata**'s minister and treasurer **Yasōdhara** who probably belonged to the family of a goldsmith named **Nāma**.

The eight introductory stanzas discussed above are followed by a section in prose. It commences with the date which, as we have seen, is given as **Vikrama Samvat 1283, Jyēṣṭha-sūdi 8, Thursday**. The date corresponds to the 7th May 1228 A. D., the *tithi* quoted being a mistake for *sūdi* 9. The reigning king then was **Mahārājapala Udayasirha** and his minister was **Yasōvira**. **Udayasirha**'s other known inscriptions endow him with the title **Mahārājā-dhīrāja**. **Yasōvira**, the minister of the **Sōngirā** **Chauhān** ruler,² is known to have been a son of **Dasāja Udaya** and a minister apparently of the **Sōngirā** of **Jālōr** as early as **Vikrama 1245**.³

The following section of the inscription records three different gifts made by **Rāja** (i.e. **Rājaputra**: **Rācat**) **Ābhata**. The details of the gifts are as follows: (1) gift of land, for the merit of **Rāja** (**Rācat**) **Manapa-sirha**, in favour of the god **Sāntinātha** and of the **Manapa-sirha-rihāra** for a temple (*devagṛha*) belonging to the **Bṛhad-gachchha**; (2) gift of a *pīṭha* (probably a raised platform) in favour of the god **Sāntinātha** in the village of **Valadaṭṭha**, i.e. modern **Barlūt**, the *landspot* of our inscription; (3) gift of [the income of] an *uraghatta* for the expenses of offering worship to the god **Sāntinātha** for the merit of the donor's forefathers. **Ābhata** was joined by his sons and grandsons, including **Harisatā** (**Haraharāja**) and **Rāja** (**Rācat**) **Prthamarāja** (**Prithivī-rāja**), in making the last of the gifts mentioned above. The fact that the gift was made for the merit

¹ *JPASS*, Vol. XII, pp. 102 ff.; Bhendarkar's List, No. 314.

² Cf. Narayana, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 154.

³ Cf. Jayanta Vijaya, *Arbudasatīkhaśāstrāṇḍikā*, Part II, Nos. 150-51.

of Manavasimha and that the *vihara*, one of the beneficiaries of the gift, was named after him suggest that he was not alive on the date given in the inscription and thus seems to support our interpretation of verse 4. It appears that Ābhata and his father had some reasons to be especially grateful to Manavasimha who seems to be called Ābhata's *pūrnija* (ancestor) in line 5.

The discovery of the inscription at Barlūt near Sīrōhi is of considerable interest. Kirtipāla, the grandfather of Udayasimha, established himself at Jālōr (Jālōr) 38 miles to the north-west of Sīrōhi.¹ The successors of Kirtipāla naturally set their eyes on the possessions of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati and Ābū, who were the feudatories of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. During the greater part of Paramāra Dhāravaraha's rule, however, the Chauhāns of Jālōr did not succeed in encroaching conspicuously upon the territories of the Paramāras.² That the Chauhāns had at last penetrated into the Sīrōhi region of the Paramāra territories was so far known only from the Sundhā hill inscription³ of Chāchigadāva, dated Vikrama 1319, which includes Rāmasainya (Rāmsēn in the Sīrōhi District, about 23 miles north-west of Sīrōhi) in the territories under the sway of his father Udayasimha. Since Barlūt is situated about 12 miles to the south-east of Rāmsēn, our inscription corroborates the evidence of the Sundhā inscription regarding Udayasimha's hold over the area. The importance of the epigraph under study is that it furnishes the earliest date for the rule of the Sōngirā Chauhāns over the Sīrōhi region.

The circumstances which led to the inclusion of this territory in the Chauhan kingdom are not clear. Udayasimha may have appropriated the Sīrōhi area from the Paramāras sometime before Vikrama 1283. The region around Mount Ābū and Chandrāvati, however, did not fall into the hands of the Chauhāns until the time of the Dēvdā king Langigadāva⁴ whose known dates range between Vikrama 1372 and 1377.⁵

We do not know when exactly the Dēvdā Chauhāns established themselves in the Sīrōhi region. Kirtipāla, younger brother of Gajasimha and grandfather of Udayasimha, had a grandson named Mānavasimha or Mahasimha.⁶ D. Sharma says⁷ that 'the founder of Dēvdā line was Mānavasimha' and that 'Mānavasimha's descendants were the founders of the Chauhan kingdom of Chandrāvati and Mount Ābū'. D. C. Ganguly says⁸ that Mānavasimha's successors constituted the Dēvdā branch and that the branch was 'founded by Vijaya, also known as Dēvarāja, the son of Pratāpa and grandson of Mānavasimha'. The inscriptions of the Dēvdā Chauhāns trace their descent to Mānavasimha while the bardic chronicles of Sīrōhi state that the family name Dēvdā was derived from Dēvarāja, another name of Vijaya.⁹ Ojha regards the Sīrōhi bardic chronicles as unreliable and states that the dynastic name Dēvdā was prevalent even before the time of Vijaya alias Dēvarāja.¹⁰

It appears that the Dēvdās were originally governing the Rāmasainya area under the Sōngirā Chauhāns of Jālōr. The inscription under study, however, suggests that the branches of the Chauhān family represented by Manavasimha and Ābhata were ruling over the area before the appearance of the Dēvdās in the same region as late as Vikrama 1330. It is therefore possible that Vijaya alias Dēvarāja became a ruler of Rāmasainya sometime after Vikrama 1330 and that

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 77, verse 36.

² L. B. Doshi, *Chauhānīyātrīpātram*, p. 201.

³ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.; Bhattacharya's List, No. 361.

⁴ *Ind. Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 919 and 1127; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.

⁵ Bhattacharya's List, p. 383.

⁶ Above, Vol. IX, p. 156, text line 10.

⁷ Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 and 147.

⁸ *The Struggle for Empire (History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. V)*, ed. Majumdar, p. 88.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁰ Ojha, *Sīrōhiyātrīpātram*, pp. 102-53.

the power of the Dēvās was firmly established in the region and their territory expanded at the time of Vijaya's son Luṭṭiga.¹

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Valadadtha, as stated above, is modern Barlūt, the findspot of our record. The other places are Naḍūlapura and Maṇḍārapura which are the well-known towns of Nāḍāl and Māṇḍār respectively.

3. Inscription of the time of Chāchiga, Vikrama 1330

This record consists of two parts, the first of them being a short passage in prose. It commences with the word *evam* followed by the date which is given as **Vikrama Samvat 1330, Phālguna audī 11, Sunday**, corresponding, as already indicated, to the **18th February 1274 A. D.** The reigning king *Mahāmaṇḍalakeśvara Chāchigadēva* is described as having crushed the forces of his enemies with his strong arms and as having obtained a boon from Umāpatī (i.e. Śiva).

The inscription then states that, when *Maha* (i.e. *Mahattama*) Jāpāka was holding the post of *Srikaraka*, i.e. was in charge of the department of records under Chāchiga, *Rāja (Rūca) Abhata* in association with his sons and grandsons including *Harimārī (Harsharāja), Rā (Rāja-Rūwat) Prithimārī (Prithivirāja), Rā Ajayasiṃha, Rā Bīḍhāla, Rā Apagharī, Sūmatiaṇḍa* and *Bāja Bānḍharī*, built the *Manapaṣiṃha-vihāra* for the merit of *Rā Manapaṣiṃha*. This *Manapaṣiṃha-vihāra*, if it was really 'built' in Vikrama 1330, could not have been the institution of the same name to which Abhata made a gift of land in Vikrama 1283. But the fact that the two inscriptions, the first recording gifts in favour of the *Manapaṣiṃha-vihāra* and the second recording the construction of a *vihāra* of the same name, were engraved on the same stone, which could be fixed for display only at one place, appears to suggest that the second epigraph may really refer to the construction of some additional buildings of the same religious institution.

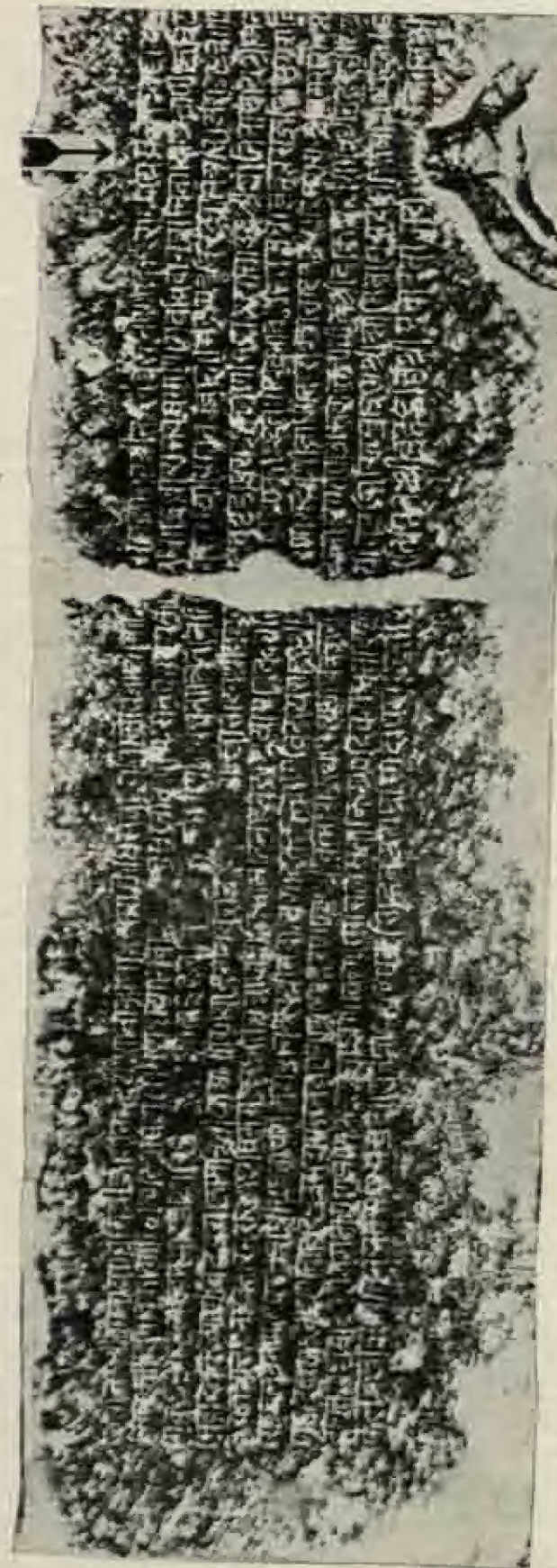
The language of the second part of the inscription is defective. But it mentions *Śrīkṣāṭhīn* (banker) *Padmasiṃha* who was the son of *Dālhaṇa* and *Paṃseiri (Padmaśrī)*. He belonged to the *Ambāl gōtra*, the *Nāṇala santāna* (family) and the *Prāgvāta* community and was constantly devoted to the Jain *Tirthaṅkara Śāntiṃha*. *Padmasiṃha* is stated to have built 'this building' (*ayam prāsādaḥ*), for the sake of *dharma*, apparently along with a number of his relations belonging to the *Prāgvāta* (modern Pōrwād) and *Uṇḍavāla* (modern Ūwāl) communities and the members of his family including his wife, the *Bāi*, his sons *Araṣiṃha* and *Narapāla* and his grandsons *Jālā, Karmasiṃha* and *Tjāhpāla*. The word *Bāi* is an honorific expression used in Western India along with the names of ladies. The personal name of *Padmasiṃha's* wife is not mentioned in the record. What building is really indicated by the word *prāsāda* is not clear from the language. It may be that it was a temple of *Śāntiṃha* attached to the *Manapaṣiṃha-vihāra* mentioned in line 6 as having been caused to be made by *Ābhata* and his sons and grandsons. It is also not impossible that the additional structures in the *Manapaṣiṃha-vihāra* were made jointly by *Ābhata, Padmasiṃha* and others.

The persons whose names are mentioned before that of *Padmasiṃha* probably as those of his relations are the following: (1-2) *Śrīkṣāṭhīn Pūhaḍa* and *Prāgvāta Vyavahārīn* (tradesman) *Vataurāja*, son of *Prāgvāta Śrīkṣāṭhīn Bōhaḍi*; (3-4) *Kumaraṣiṃha* and *Lākhapa*, sons of *Vyavahārīn Sarapā*; (5) *Jālā*, wife of *Jasurā (Yādārāja)* who was a *śrāmāṇa* (lay follower of Jainism) of the *Bṛihad-gachchha, Chakravarī-gōtra* and *Uṇḍavāla* community; (6-11) *Jālā's* sons *Mahaḍa, Sadharapa, Prāha, Mālūpa, Sūmasiṃha* and *Vijaya*; and (12-14) *Sāvaḍa, Guṇapāla* and *Mōhana*, sons of *Prāgvāta Dhanaḍāva*.

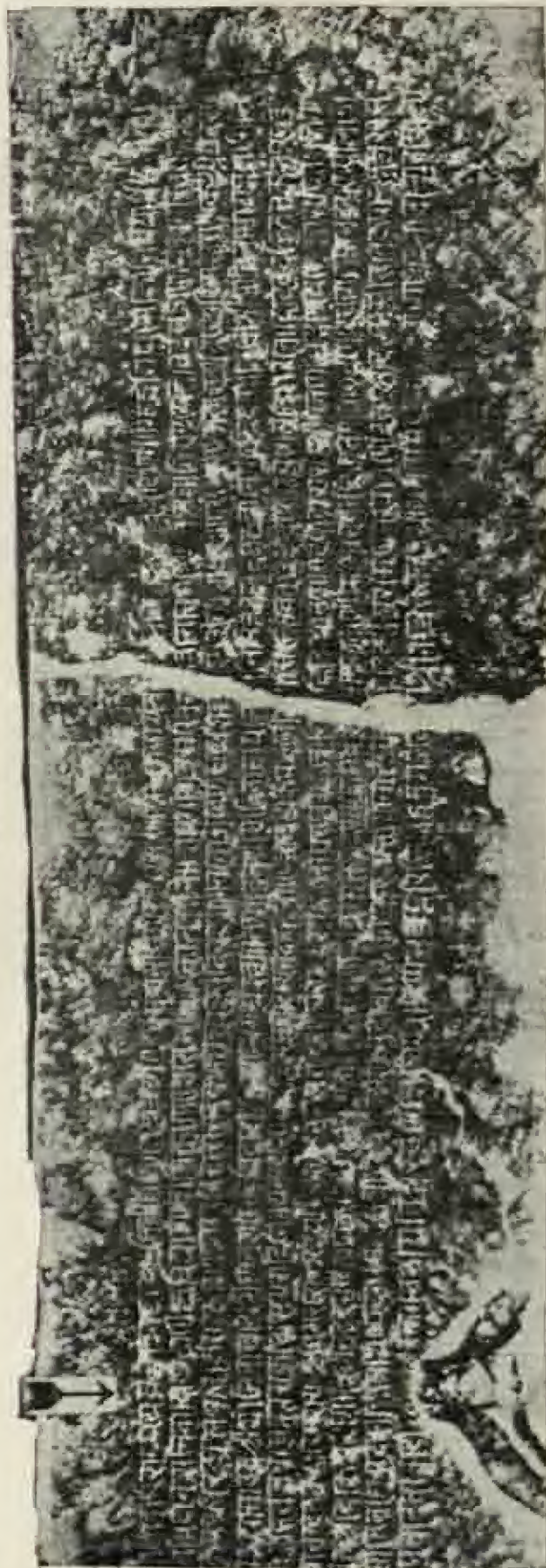
¹ It is said that two inscriptions containing the dates Vikrama 1225 and 1229 outside the Achalādevara temple at Monūtāl mention the dynastic name Dēvās (loc. cit.; Lala Sitaram, *History of Sircāl Raj*, pp. 139-40; L. B. Desai, op. cit., p. 197). But no such inscriptions are known to us.

TWO SONGIRA CHAUHAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BARLUT

Left Side



Right Side



(from Photographs)

The building constructed by Padmasimha and others was consecrated by Guṇabhadra-sūri, the disciple of Dhanśivara-sūri of the *śaṅkā* of Sarvadēva-ācārya of the Bṛihad-gachchha. The record ends with the well-known passage : *maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ*, and a prayer to the effect that welfare may come to the community of [Jain] monks. This is followed by the names of Chachā, Chāpā and Āhā, the sons of the artisan Gaṅgā. They appear to have been responsible for building the structures and engraving the inscriptions.

TEXT¹

No. 1

[Metres: verses 1-5, 8 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 6 *Upajāti*; verse 7 *Mohai*.]

- 1 Siddham² || nama[h*] śrī-Sāntiāya || evaṣṭi śrī-jayō-bhaya-dayas-cha || Chōhān-ānvaya-pāthōdhi-samavarddhana-vidhan vi[dhu][h*] || Śrīmān-i [h-A]sarājō-bhāt³ śrī-Naḍūlapur-ādhipa[h*] || | 1 Karpūr-ā[bbha]-yaśāstatvō⁴ Alhagaḥ prthivīpati[h*] || tat-putra[h*] śrī-Gajasimha(ha) śrī-Mamḍorapur-ōvarn[h*] || | 2 Sa[tya]-nyāya-va(ha)[lād-bhā]jyā Bāhchha[la(lā)] kahatriyāyaḥ⁵ | Gajasimhā(h=ā)ūga]jō-bhūdhayā śrī-Manapa-
- 2 atriṅga(ha)ka[h*] || | 3 Vivēk-ātma-śeti tat-paṭtē⁶ Asat-ākḥō(khyō) mahāsaya[h*] || Nārvā . . . [dī]pura[tō] vāpiṇ yaḥ samakārayat || | 4 Yaś-cha || Ādhārā(rah) sarva-dha[r*]-māpām-ava[llhī]-dāna-ālinā[m*] || yaḥ pratāpō kahatriyāgām dhārmikāgām ārō-maṇi[h*] || | 5 Kālō Kalau dōha-gaḥḍhu sarpaṇ⁷ [sa pa]traḥ⁸ lōbhō mahāmānam-ōva | nīrārayas-tv-Ātha[ra]-sādud(d-gu)ṇ-aughaḥ-tam-ārārōha prabhu-
- 3 m-ēka-dutya[m*] || 6 Yama-iva bhaya-hētur-yō-riśhu- . . . jō ya iha Bālī- . . . [rtha]jō vīdakānam⁹ || Avani-ti[la]ka-rachayā¹⁰ pit-ōva prajānām¹¹ || eo joyatu chira-kāla[m*] || Abbatō rāja-putra[h*] || | 7 Tasya viśvāsa-sudana[m*] kōśa-rakṣhā-vīchakṣaṇaḥ | Nāna-sauvarpa¹²-sūd-vaṇṣē=[bhūch-cha] maṁtri Yasōdharuḥ | 8 Sam¹³ 1283 Jyēsthā-śudi 8 Gurau mahārāga-āri¹⁴-Udaya-
- 4 simhadēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rā]yō maṁtri-śrī-Yasōvīrō || Chābunāna-va[m*]śa-[h*] . . . rāja¹⁵-Abbatōna śrī-Bṛha[ū-gachchha]-dāvaga[h*]-ā[r*]tham rāja¹⁶-Munapaṇiṅga(ha)-āra-(āṛ)yaśō dēva-śrī-Sāntināthāya śrī-Manapaṇiṅga(ha)-vīhārāy-āgryā bhūmih pra-dattā || tathā dēva-śrī-Sāntināthāya nā . . . nimittān Valadaūtha-trā(grā)mō pītha[h*] pradattā(ttaḥ) || tathā Śrī-Sāntināthāya pūjā-nimī-

¹ From inked impression.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Soundā has not been observed here.

⁴ The intended reading may be *yaśā-mat*.

⁵ The intended reading may be *Kahatriyāgām*; cf. *Māhātmya* (above, Vol. XXX, p. 122).

⁶ The space for the two akṣaras looks like a blank.

⁷ The author's idea is not quite clear here.

⁸ Read *putra* as for the sake of the metre.

⁹ The space for the three akṣaras looks like a blank.

¹⁰ The space for the four akṣaras looks like a blank.

¹¹ The intended reading seems to be *yachānām*.

¹² The intended reading may be *śāśā yaḥ*.

¹³ The *śaśā* is redundant.

¹⁴ Soundā has not been observed here.

¹⁵ The reading does not appear to be *śāśā* meaning the *Savārṇya pīṭha*.

¹⁶ The space for three or four akṣaras here looks like a blank. The intended reading may be *śāśāśā*.

¹⁷ *Niḥa* stands for *Rājya* or *Rāṇa*.

¹⁸ The intended reading does not appear to be *śāśā* for *śāśā*.

- 5 *nam rāja¹ Abhātāna putra-Harṣi² parśv³ rāja⁴ Prithimarāja-prabhṛti⁵ putra-putra-ādi-samūhāna pū⁶ [r⁷] va⁸ ja-śrīyasa⁹ dēvaka¹⁰ . . . ghaṭṭa¹¹ śka 1 pradattah || yathā || Va(Ba)hubhī[r¹²] vasullā bhuktā rājabhī¹³ Sagar-ādibhī¹⁴ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaś(lam) || 9 ā-chandir-ārka[m¹⁵] pālan[ya]h(yam) ||*

No. 2

Sa(Sva)eti [|| *] Sanyat

1330 varshē Phā[ī¹]guṇa(na)-śudī 11 Ravan dōrda[m]ṣa-dalita-sakala-prachandā-

- 6 *ripa-bala¹ Umāpati-vata-lubdhā-prandha-pratāpa-mahimajdalsāvara-śrīmach-Chāchigadōva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē śrī-śrīka[ra]gō maha² śrī-Jāpākē rā³ Abhātāna pu⁴ Hē(Ha)-nisatē rā⁵ Prithimarā rā⁶ Ajayashūgha(ha) [rā⁷] Śinghala rā⁸ Anagharā [Sū]marā rāja⁹ Bāhharā [H¹⁰] putra-putra-ādi-[sa]bhāna Manasimha-vihārā rā¹¹ śrī-Manasa-simha-śrīyasa¹² kārāpitah¹³ || Tathā*
- 7 *Prāgrāja-vamś-ōdbhava-ār¹⁴ Bōhaḍi-putra(trau) sadā-sajana-vaśchhū[ta]u-ār¹⁵ Pāhaḍa-[h¹⁶] Prā¹⁷ vya¹⁸ śrī-Vatsarō(rā)ja[h¹⁹] vya²⁰ Sarnā-putra-Kuma[rasi]hā-Iśhapa-(khanu) tathā Umāvala-jāmya²¹ śrī-Chakrōdvārī-gotrō(triya) ā²² Jasarā-bhā[r²³]yā Jāśū [tat]-putra-Mahaja-Sadharā[ra] Prāha-Māhāpān(nā) Śōmāsīhā-Vijāḍo(dāh) va[ta]thā Prā²⁴ Dhapa(ha) dōhā(v-ā)hga-Śavaḍi-Guṇapāla-Mō-*
- 8 *haga(nāh) tathā Prāgrāja-vamśa-gagan-āhga-pū[rū]m-ōhdu(dau) A[n]vā(hā)l-gō-[tr]ē vya²⁵ Nāśala-samūhānō śrō²⁶ Dēvaniga-anta-Dēho[ra]thā[r²⁷]yā Pādmasi²⁸ [tā]t]-putrōga śrī-Samūtiātha-sadā-saktōna ā²⁹ Pādmasimghēna³⁰ śrī-Jina-dharmōga sad-āvasit-āntahkarānā bhāryā Bā putra[h] sa[d]-vivēki Anasimgha-Narapāla³¹ putra(trāh) Jaitā-Karmasī(sūhā)hā-ā³² [h³³]pāla-pramukha(khāh) [it³⁴]-ādi³⁵ -sa-*
- 9 *kala-kutūhō(mh-ō)pātāna sarva-samūha-samudāyōna Prā³⁶ ā³⁷ Pādmasi[m]hāna ayam prāsāḍō dha[r³⁸]m-ā[r³⁹]tham kār[ī]ah prāstīti(mhī)ah śrī-Brihaḍ-gachchhō śrī-Sarradōv-āchārya-samūhānō śrī-Dhanōdvāra-ārī-śāhyah śrī-Pūrpahhadra-sūribhīh [māhā]-ār[ī]h || sūbhām bhavātu śrī-Sramaga-samūgha[rya] || [sū]³⁹ Gadug-putra(trāh) Chāchā Chāmdā Xihā [|| *]*

¹ *Raja* stands for *Rājaputra* = *Rājan*.² The preceding is a name stands for *rāja*.³ The intended word seems to be *dhā-tāp*.⁴ The intended word is *araghatta* (water-drawing machine).⁵ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.⁶ *Mcha* is an abbreviation of *Mañātama*. For the globular mark after *sa*, a double *daṇḍa* was originally engraved.⁷ The abbreviation stands for *Rājaputra* = *Rājan*.⁸ The abbreviation stands for *putra*.⁹ Read *kārīah*.¹⁰ This abbreviation stands for *śāhāh*.¹¹ These abbreviations stand for *Prāgrāja-jāh pūtpa-samūhā*.¹² This stands for *ayam*.¹³ This stands for *Samūti*.¹⁴ This stands for *Prāgrāja-jāh pūtpa-samūhā*.¹⁵ *Samūti* = *Samūti*.¹⁶ Read *sa-putra* = *śrī-Samūtiātha-sadā-saktah* = *śrī-Pādmasimghā* *tasya*.¹⁷ Read *putra* and *śrī-Samūtiātha-sadā-saktah*.¹⁸ This stands for *Prāgrāja-jāh pūtpa-samūhā*.¹⁹ What looks like the numeral figure 1 is engraved after the double *daṇḍa*.²⁰ This is the abbreviation of *śrī-Rājan*.

No. 5—THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.6.1961)

1. Silailā Inscription of Aṅgasīmha's time, Vikrama 1162

There is an inscribed boulder at the foot of a hill belonging to the Kaimar Range near Silailā which is not far from Bhagwanpur, about ten miles to the south of Bhabua, headquarters of a Sub-Division of the Shahabad District of Bihar. Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, informed me of the existence of the inscribed boulder and I visited the place in December 1960 for copying the writing on it.

There are actually two inscriptions engraved on the boulder, the first containing five lines of writing and the second six lines. The letters of the first record are slightly smaller than in the second, individual akṣaras being about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high in the former and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height in the latter. The spaces covered by the two inscriptions, the second engraved below the first, are respectively about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 1 foot and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There is the representation of a bow with an arrow fixed to it and a spear-head at the end respectively of lines 1 and 2 of the second inscription. The real significance of these symbols cannot be determined, though they may be the insignia of the ruler mentioned in the record.

The preservation of the writing in both the epigraphs is unsatisfactory. Many letters in the first line of the first inscription are damaged. The purport of this record is not quite clear, though it uses the word *va(ha)li*, literally 'an offering', very probably in the sense of 'an offering of animals', i.e. 'an animal sacrifice', as it is usually understood in Eastern India. From the occurrence of the expressions *vaśāl-āśā* (a pigsty) in line 2, *vaśāli-va(ha)li* (sacrifice of pigs) in line 3 and *va(ha)li datta* (animal-sacrifice was offered) in line 4, it appears that the inscription recorded the sacrifice of certain animals in favour of a deity. The reading and interpretation of the second inscription is also very difficult; but it is of some importance as it throws new light on the early medieval history of the Bhabua region of the Shahabad District. The second inscription is therefore edited in the following pages.

The inscription is written in the Nāgarī characters of about the twelfth century A.D. Its language is Sanskrit, though the orthography exhibits the influence of local pronunciation (cf. *jasya* for Sanskrit *yasya* in line 5). The date at the end of the record seems to be the year (i.e. Vikrama) 1162, Vaiśākha-sudi 3, Monday. This date corresponds to the 9th April 1106 A.D., though correctly the *tithi* was sudi 4.

The record begins with the *śiddham* symbol followed by the word *śraṣṭi*. The following passage in lines 1-3 suggests that the transaction recorded below in the inscription was made when *Nāga* Aṅgasīmha was ruling from Vanthiān-Pātharapura. The next passage in lines 2-5 states that some land in the possession of the *Nāga* (apparently meaning Aṅgasīmha of Vanthiān-Pātharapura) lying in the village of Amaramāṭha in the Kasaramōla *pattalā* within Vārāṇasī was granted as a *śiṣu-dāna* by a person named Vinārti. The reading of the last part of the name of the village and the first part of the name of the *pattalā* or district is, however, not absolutely

beyond doubt. It appears that Vinūrti purchased the plot of land from the *Nāyaka* and granted it in favour of the god Śiva worshipped in a temple in the neighbourhood of the boulder bearing the inscription. The following passage in line 5 states that, having known the fact relating to the grant, the Brāhmaṇa should be regarded as a friend by the lord of the land. This suggests that the charge of the land granted in favour of the god Śiva by means of the epigraph under study was given to the Brāhmaṇa priest of the Śiva temple in the locality. The record ends with the date in lines 5-6 which has already been discussed above.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it supplies us with the name of a hitherto unknown *Nāyaka* who was ruling in Vikrama 1162 (1106 A.D.) over the territory including the area where the inscription has been found. We have inscriptions¹ of another *Nāyaka* named Pratāpachavala who belonged to the Khayaravāla (i.e. Kharwar) tribe and ruled from Jāpila (modern Japla in the Palaman District) over the Sasaram-Japla region of the Shahabad and Palaman Districts at least from Vikrama 1214 (1158 A.D.) to Vikrama 1225 (1169 A.D.). The Sonnerup-East-Bank plate² of the Kadamba *Mahādadhika* Udayarāja who was the son of Prharāja (the *Pradhāna-sachin* of a Khadirapāla or Kharwar king) and the grandson of Samantamha, gives the following genealogy of his overlord Indrachavala of the dynasty of Khadirapāla: (1) Sādharma; (2) his son Ranachavala; (3) his son Pratāpachavala; (4) his son Sāhassa; (5) his son Vikrama; and (6) his brother Indrachavala. This inscription is dated Vikrama 1254 (1197 A.D.) when Pratāpachavala's grandson Indrachavala was ruling. Aḅgasimha of our inscription seems to have been ruling over the land to the west of the territory under the Khadirapāla-Khayaravāla-Kharwar *Nāyaka* Pratāpachavala and may have been a contemporary of the latter's grandfather Sādharma. Whether Aḅgasimha was an aboriginal chief like Pratāpachavala cannot be determined without further evidence, though it is quite likely. It is also not altogether impossible that Pratāpachavala was actually a descendant of Aḅgasimha.

We have seen above³ that the relations of Pratāpachavala with the contemporary Gāhaḁavāla ruler Vijayachandira (1150-70 A.D.) of Banāras cannot be determined with certainty. Since, however, *Nāyaka* Aḅgasimha's territory formed a part of the Yāthiyāsi district, he was apparently a subordinate of the contemporary Gāhaḁavāla king Madanachandira (c. 1100-14 A.D.). Unfortunately, we have not succeeded in locating Yāthiyāsi-Pātharapura and the other geographical names mentioned in our record. They do not appear to have been localities within the present Bhabua Sub-Division of the Shahabad District.

TEXT⁴

1 Siddham⁵ svasti || Vajrothijāni-Pātharapurāt |⁶

2 Nāyaka-⁷ Aḅga[s]imha⁸-patē⁹ Vārāḁa- |¹⁰

¹ See Bhattacharya's List, Nos. 298, 338, 340, 1759; also above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 27 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 292 ff.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXXV, p. 153.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ Expressed by symbol.

⁶ To the right of the *śrī*śa, which is superfluous, there is the figure of a bow with an arrow fixed to it.

⁷ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁸ Sanskrit Aḅgasimha.

⁹ Possibly we have to suggest *śāḁasimha* (*śānti*?).

¹⁰ To the right of the *śrī*śa, which is superfluous, there is the figure of a spear-head.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR—PLATE I

1. Sīlīlā Inscription of Aṅgasīnha's time, Vikrama 1162

A

2

4

B

2

4

6

2

4

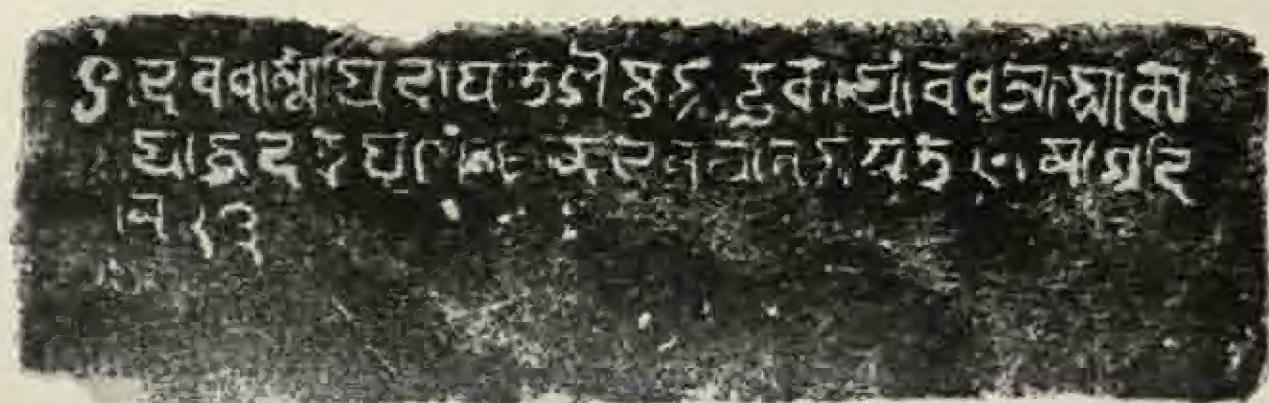
2

4

6

Size : One-sixth

2. Nōṅgaḥh Inscription of Maḍanapāla's time, Vikrama [1*]201



Size : Actual

3. syārṇ [Ka]sa[ra]mōla-pa[ita]lāyān Amaramē[tha]-grāmā |¹
 4. [nāyaka]-sachchā[rya] [mā*] [makarḥ*] śrī-Vimūrti[nā*] Śiva-sā[śā]sanādī kṛitvā[3] (tvā) |¹
 5. pradattāḥ |¹ marvā ja[ya]ya bhūmī tasya Vā[śa] (Brā)hmaṇa vā[śa] (bā)ḥ [h*] | (Sam 1162)
 6. Vaisāṇa[māka] [sa]d[i]* 3 Sāmā |

2. Nāggaḥ Inscription of Madanapāla's time, Vikrama [1*]201

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image found at Nāggaḥ under the Sikandra Police Station within the Jaimi Sub-Division of the Monghyr District. It was copied by Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant of my office, in January 1961.

This inscription contains three small lines of writing, the last one of which is much shorter than the others. The writing covers an area about six inches in length and a little above one inch in height. The record is written in Gandhāra characters of about the twelfth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit with considerable influence of the local pronunciation on the orthography. The date is quoted as the year 201 of the Pāla king Madanapāla who is known to have ruled in c. 1143-61 A.D. The year of the date apparently refers to some era. But it is difficult to think of any Indian era that would suit the date. It is, however, very probable that the engraver has omitted the figure 1 before 201 through inadvertence and that the year is actually Vikrama 1201. Although inscriptions referring themselves to Pāla rule were generally dated in the regnal reckoning of individual Pāla monarchs, there are a few Pāla inscriptions from U. P. and Bihar, which are dated in the Vikrama or Saka era; of (1) the Sarnath (near Banaras) inscription of the time of Mahipāla (dated Vikrama 1083; (2) the Gayā inscription of Govindapāla's time dated in Vikrama 1232; and (3) the Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla's time dated in Saka 1083 and regnal year 19.² The day of the date is quoted in our record as the 23rd of Mārgaśīrṣa. Since the months were regarded as Pūrṇimā,³ the 23rd of Mārgaśīrṣa probably indicates Mārgaśīrṣa and 8. This date seems to correspond to the 4th November 1144 A.D.

As we have seen elsewhere,⁴ the 4th May 1141 A.D. fell in the 18th regnal year of Madanapāla, so that the 4th May 1144 fell in the first year of his reign. The date of our inscription would therefore fall in the first or second year of Madanapāla's rule and prove to be the earliest epigraph of his reign so far discovered.

The inscription begins with a Siddham symbol and states that the image, on the pedestal of which it is engraved, was the *dāna-dharma* of *dānapati* Śāja and his *rudhā* (wife) Aśokā. The deity was apparently installed at a place called *Dakā*. We know that the expression *dāna-dharma* was used in Eastern India in the sense of *dāna-dharma* (a religious gift) when the object of the gift was the image of a deity. Likewise, the expression *dānapati* is known to indicate a person who took a vow to get an image of a particular deity made and installed in a shrine on the fulfilment of his desire. In the present case, it appears that the vow was taken by Śāja but that the image was dedicated for installation by his wife Aśokā.

¹ The *deva* is superfluous.

² Possibly the word *kakṣa* is to be understood here.

³ The letter *s* resembles the *ś* letter in standard in line 4; but it is joined here with the previous *akṣara* (i.e. *tvā*). The *s*-joined *akṣara* looks like an *ś*-joined *akṣara* of the previous letter.

⁴ See Bhattacharya's *Ind. Num.* 114 and 370; *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 143.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142, ante 3.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 142.

The following passage reading *ja(ya)d=atra pṛaṣaṣ(ṣyaṁ)* is followed by a globular mark often used in the medieval records of Northern India in order to indicate abbreviations of words, e.g. *ṭha*¹ for *ṭhakkura*, *Kā*² for *Kāyastha*, etc. In the present case, the mark has apparently been used to indicate the omission of a passage like *taḍ-bhavaṭu sarva-sattvānām-amitara-jñān-ānāp-tayā* usually found in Mahāyāna Buddhist records in similar contexts. The phraseology of our epigraph shows that the inscribed object was a Buddhist image. The date, discussed above, comes at the end of the inscription in lines 2-3.

Dakā seems to have been the old name of modern Nōngadh or of a neighbouring locality.

TEXT³

- 1 Siddham* ([*]) ā[4]va-dharminō-yaṁ dā[no*][pati-Sejaṣ[ṣ]u **Dakṣyārī** vadhū⁴-Aś(45)kā-
- 2 yā-ju(ya)d=atra p[u]ṣaṁ⁵ *2 [śrī]-Madanapāla-sammata* [1*]201 Māgrā⁶-di-
- 3 nē 23 ([*])

3. Ārmā Inscription of Madanapāla's time, Year 14

This inscription, engraved on what looks like part of a stone pillar, was discovered by Mr. A. N. Lahiri of my office in January 1961 at the village of Ārmā near the Kiul railway station in the Monghyr District. There are altogether twelve lines of writing covering an area about 9½ inches in height and 5½ inches in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. A letter at the beginning and end of the lines is damaged or broken away in some cases. But the break at the beginning of line 6 was there even when the inscription was incised. This is indicated by the fact that no letter appears to have been engraved at that place.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Gandhīya alphabet of about the twelfth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. But there are some errors of orthography and grammar. The date is quoted as a particular day of the month of *Vaiśākha* in the fourteenth year of the Pāla king *Madanapāla*'s reign. Since *Madanapāla* began his rule in 1143 or 1144 A.D., his fourteenth year roughly corresponds to 1157 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village in favour of a Buddhist monastery which must have existed within or in the neighbourhood of Ārmā where the inscription has been found. Besides the reference to the *vijaya-rājya* (victorious reign) of *Madanapāla* in relation to the date discussed above, mention is also made of the *rājya* or rule of *Piṭhipati Aśhārya Dēvasēna* who was no doubt a feudatory of the Pāla king and ruled over the area including the Ārmā region in the western part of the Monghyr District of Bihar.

Lines 5-12 of the inscription state that a village called *Khaṇḍapātaka-grāma* was granted in favour of the *Dhavalā-saṅgha* by *Sārthadēvikā*, the queen (*rājāl*) of *Mahāmāyāśālaka Jashkapāla*. The correct form of the *Mahāmāyāśālaka*'s name may be *Yakshapāla*, though we cannot

* From *impendens*.

¹ Expressed by symbol.

² *Śreṣṭhī* has not been observed here.

³ Read *pṛaṣaṣ*.

⁴ As indicated above, this globular mark was apparently used to indicate the fact that a passage like *taḍ-bhavaṭu sarva-sattvānām-amitara-jñān-ānāp-tayā* has been omitted here.

⁵ Read *saṁmat* which is an abbreviation of *saṁmatā*.

⁶ The intended reading is *Māgrā* which is an abbreviation of *Māgadhya*.



THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR—PLATE II

3. Ārmā Inscription of Maṇanapāla's time, Year 14



Size : One-half

be sure on this point.¹ Dhavala-saṅgha seems to have been the name of a local Buddhist monastery. The village of Khandapātaka is stated to have been granted together with its land and waters. It is, however, not stated that the gift village was made a rent-free holding in favour of the donee. The use of the sixth case-ending in *Dhavala-saṅgha*, instead of the fourth case-ending, may suggest that the monastery did not receive a revenue-free gift, but had to pay rent for the village. It has also to be noted in this connection that the petty local chief, whose wife made the gift, was not himself in a position to create a rent-free holding within his fief without the permission of Dāvasēna or Madanapāta. The passage *eva-bhū-sambuddh-ārkam-ā-chande-ārkaṁ kṛtvā*, 'having made [it, i.e. the gift village] a unit permanently attached to her own land', suggests that the lady purchased the village from the ruling authority.

The importance of the inscription lies in the mention of *Piṭhipati Achārya* Dēvasēna as the ruler of the territory including the Ārmā region in Western Monghyr. We have seen above² that the *Piṭhipatis* were the rulers of Magadha and generally acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pālas, that the *Piṭhipati* Vallabharāja and his son Dēvarakṣita of the Chhāṅkōra family and a later *Piṭhipati* named Bhīmayaśas were ruling over Magadha or South Bihar about the middle and the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. and that the status of *Piṭhipati* soon passed on to the members of an *Achārya* family represented by Buddhasēna (1234 A.D.) and Jayasēna (1261 A.D.), the son of Buddhasēna. The inscription under study suggests that *Piṭhipati Achārya* Dēvasēna (c. 1157 A.D.) was a predecessor of the *Piṭhipati Achāryas* Buddhasēna and Jayasēna. That the western region of the Monghyr District formed part of the territories under the *Piṭhipatis* of Magadha, generally identified with the Patna-Gaya region, is known for the first time from the inscription under study. It is usually believed that the Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts of East Bihar formed the ancient country of Aṅga which was, however, a separate province of the Pāla empire under the rule of a viceroy different from the *Piṭhipati* rulers of Magadha. During the reign of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (c. 1080-1125 A.D.), Aṅga was being ruled by the king's Rāshtrakūṭa maternal uncle Mathana or Mahana, while Magadha was first under *Piṭhipati* Dēvarakṣita and later under *Piṭhipati* Bhīmayaśas.

We are not sure about the location of Khandapātaka-grāma though it seems to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Ārmā, the findspot of the inscription.

TEXT³

- 1 [Ścīman-Mada[na]pāla[d]ā-
- 2 [va]-vijaya-rājyē [sa]-
- 3 [ma]ta⁴ 14 Vais[ā⁵]kha-dinē
- 4 ..⁶ Piṭhipaty-āchārya-Dēva-
- 6 [sēna]⁷-rājyē]⁸ mahāmāṇḍa-

¹ A Bāḥmana chief named Yakṣhapāla was ruling at Gayā about 1075 A.D. See Bhattacharya's List, No. 1760.

² See above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 80-81.

³ Cf. ibid., pp. 82-83.

⁴ From *imprema*.

⁵ A symbol for *śiddham* seems to have broken away at the beginning of the line.

⁶ Read *enkaṇṭ*.

⁷ The number of the day in the month is broken away at the beginning of this line.

⁸ The *śikara* at its re-engraved on something previously inscribed.

⁹ The *śaṅka* is superfluous.

- 6 'lika-īrī-Ja[shka]pāla¹- ||²
 7 aya rā[ñī](jñyā) īrī-Sar[tha]dō-
 8 vīkā(ka)yā Khandapā[ta]ka-
 9 grāma³ |⁴ sajalā-tha(stha)lēna |⁵ [ava]-
 10 bhū-[sam]vaddh-aikam⁶ |⁷ ā-cha[n]dr-ārkam.
 11 kṛitā ||⁸ Dhavala-saṅghasya pre-
 12 datta[ḥ]⁹ ||

प्राप्तम्

¹ The space for an akshara is broken away at the beginning of this line, though nothing was inscribed at the place.

² As indicated above, it is difficult to say whether Yakshapala was the name intended.

³ The *śloka*s are unnecessary.

⁴ Read *pramāṇa*.

⁵ The *śloka* is superfluous.

⁶ Read *śaśānka*.

⁷ These *aksharas* are engraved below the concluding part of the previous line.

No. 6—JODHPUR FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF SIMHARAJA, VIKRAMA 1054

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHADRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 12.6.1961)

In January-February 1961, an agent of one Mr. Sampat Singh Jain of Jodhpur, Rajasthan, brought to me three loose inscribed copper plates for examination. He was not in a position to tell me as to when, how and where exactly the plates had been found.

On examination, I found that the three plates contained two records, one incomplete and the other complete. The former record, written on the inner side of one plate containing the latter half of a land grant issued by one **Simharāja** (**Simharāja**), is the subject of the present paper. The other inscription, written on two plates and recording a grant of land by **Kaṣmarāja**, a *Tantrapāla* of Durlabha, is being published separately.

Simharāja's grant bears a date in **Vikrama 1054** and Kaṣmarāja's in **Vikrama 1069**. The donees in both the records happen to be one and the same individual, **Nannaka** by name, an inhabitant of **Bhillamāla**, modern Bhīnmāl in the Jalore District of the Jodhpur Division. Bhīnmāl may thus be taken as the provenance of the three plates. It may be of some interest to find out as to how they have come to be in the possession of their present owner.

The original charter was evidently composed of two copper plates, of which only the second is available now. It measures $21 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cm., and weighs 555 grams. It has two holes at the top for the rings which had held the two plates together. The extant plate has 13 lines of writing engraved on it, of which the last line is comparatively very short, having only five syllables. The alphabet is *Dēvanāgarī* of the period to which the record belongs. The language is Sanskrit, except for the donor's sign-manual at the very end, which is in *Prakrit*. The composition is in prose, barring the two-and-a-half verses towards the close. It contains many mistakes. As regards *orthography*, the following points call for notice: *anuvāsa* mostly takes the place of *para-uvāsa* as in *saṁbrāhmaṇa* in line 2; *r* is reduplicated before *e* in *trilōkī* in line 2; a consonant after *r* is often reduplicated; and *ḥ* is throughout indicated by the sign for *v*.

As for the contents, we learn from the extant portion that a certain village in the district (*paṭhaka*) of **Satyapura** was given as a perpetual gift to a *Brāhmaṇa* teacher (*upādhyāya*), **Nannaka** by name, hailing from **Bhillamāla**, on the occasion of the **Makara saṁkrāntī** falling in the lunar month of **Pauṣa** in the [**Vikrama**] year **1054**. The given date corresponds to Friday, the 24th December 997 A.D. The purpose of the gift was the increase of the religious merit and fame both of the donor and of his parents. The donor made the gift after a holy bath and after the worship of **Mahādeva**. While the name of the donated village is lost to us (it was evidently given in the first plate now missing), the name of the donor (which was presumably given with some details in the first plate now missing) is known to us from his sign-manual at the end, which reads: *tri-Siṅgharājā-saṁhastat*, the name *Siṅgharājā* being the vernacular form of Sanskrit *Siṅgharājā*. **Satyapura**, the district in which the donated village was included, is identical with the modern **Sāuchōr**.

It is not possible to state with absolute certainty as to who this **Simharāja** was, but he may tentatively be identified with the **Chāhamāna** monarch of that name. He figures prominently in

the Haras stone inscription¹ of his son Vighararāja. Such an identification will require some chronological re-adjustments in the known history, into which we do not propose to enter for the present.²

TEXT

Second Plate

- 1 ya[ty-a*]stu vṛ viditam yathā-bhāṣitā(bhā) saṁvatsara-ma(śa)tēṣu dāmaśu(śasu)
chaduahāmchā(tushpaṭchā)śa-
- 2 d-adhikēṣu Pausha-māsē nā³ Saṁ 1054 Makara-saṁkrāntau anātvā tīrthōki-
guru[m*] Mahā-
- 3 dēvaṁ-abhyarabha(rehya) matta-kari-karṇa-chand⁴chalām-abhivṛkehya bhāṣa(lakṣmīn)
giri(na)di-vēg-ōpamaṁ yaṁ-
- 4 vana(nāli)lāhya⁵ tripa-gata-pitvā(bindv-ā)śāśa jīvitāṁ(ta)m- aralōkyā ch-āyāṁ grāmān-
(mah) Satyapuri-
- 5 ya-pa[thā]kōḥ⁶ pradattam(tat) śri-Bhīlāma(mā)lād-vini[r*]gata-brāhmaṇa-u(ṇ-ō)pādhyāya
Nannakāya Gō-
- 6 viṇḍa-tu(en)āya m-pravarāya cānādr-ārkk-ārunava-tkīmta(lakṣit)-ama-kāl[unatavā*]
śā(ā)śanān-śāka-pu(pū)-
- 7 revaṁ parasyā bhaktyā pradattam(tat) mātā-pitṛtē-ātmanāś-cha paṇya(nya)-jānā(yāś)-
bhivṛṇḍhay⁷ para-
- 8 lōka-[pha]lam-aṅgikṛityō(tya) Asmat-kula-[kra]manu(m-a)dārauu(m-a)kālha⁸lauhīr-
anyaś-cha dānam-a-
- 9 dāma-nya na lōpanyaṁ(yam) || Yānti kālēna rājānō mahā paṇat-vasatā(śhātā) ||
- 10 tad-ātāś yā(yō) yadābhūktāś sa tadā [pha]lam-aṇutē || Svā-ātāśm(tām) para-datām-
(tām) vā yā hātā⁹
- 11 vaṁśāharān(rām) ||¹⁰ chashīhīr-vvataśa-saharā(śā)gī viśhā(śhā)yaś jāyatō kṛmī[ḥ] ||¹¹
Nāga-jāntu-
- 12 padhīmā¹² likhītāśāś¹³ Drōḇṇaś Chānu(dra)-putrāna(na) || dā¹⁴ Chandra(ndra)gupta ||
śri-Siharā-
- 13 jasi-avahatā[ḥ] ||¹⁵

¹ *Ahova*, Vol. II, pp. 116 ff. ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 60 ff.

² [Simhasaka of the present record appears to have been a local chief of the area in question. The *śakara* read as a and converted into śa in line 12 may be śa.—Rā.]

³ The syllable of seems to be superfluous.

⁴ This syllable *cham* looks more like *āma*.

⁵ The intended reading possibly is *vananam-ākalayya*.

⁶ The intended reading is possibly *Satyapuri-paṭhāḥ*.

⁷ The metre of this half verse is *Vaṁśāḥ*.

⁸ This syllable *ha* has a superfluous *v* sign below it.

⁹ The sense of this portion (eight syllables) is not clear.

¹⁰ Read *likhītāśāś*.

¹¹ This *dā* is an abbreviation of *dāśa*.

¹² Metre : *Janak*.



No. 7—THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAJASTHAN

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 2.5.1961)

1. Kusumā Inscription of [Vikrama] Year 693

About the middle of the year 1959, I received an indistinct photograph of a fragmentary stone inscription from Shri Ashmalal Modi of Sirohi, Rajasthan. The inscribed stone was reported to have been discovered in the village of **Kusumā** in the Reodar Tahsil of the Sirohi District, about 28 miles from the Abu Road railway station. The inscription was later removed to the Jodhpur Museum where it is now preserved. About the beginning of 1960, my colleague Dr. G. S. Gai visited Jodhpur and took impressions and photographs of the inscription. The epigraph was at first examined in my office by Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyam, one of my Epigraphical Assistants.

The inscribed stone is a **fragment**, its top, upper right and right sides being broken away and lost. The extant part of the record exhibits only twelve lines of beautifully engraved writing with another line at the top almost totally lost excepting traces of the lower part of a few *aksharas* at the beginning. The number of lines lost before this cannot be determined. Roughly speaking, about 90 *aksharas* were engraved in each line of the original inscription, of which only about 50 from the left are now preserved in the lower part of the record (cf. lines 6-12). In lines 2-4 nearly 20 *aksharas* are preserved while more than 25 *aksharas* can be read in line 5. The preservation of the writing in the extant part of the record is also not satisfactory, many *aksharas*, especially in lines 8-9, being more or less badly rubbed off. The last line containing the date is small.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the Siddhamātṛikā alphabet of about the seventh century A. D. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written in *verse* with the exception of the date at the end. Unfortunately not even a single *verse* is completely preserved in the extant part of the inscription. The **orthography** of the epigraph resembles that of other records of the area and age in question. The **year** of the date, written in numerical symbols, is 693, though the word *samvatsara* or any of its abbreviations has not been used in introducing the number. The year must be referred to the Vikrama Samvat so that it corresponds to 636-37 A.D. The exact date is quoted as the 5th of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a Śiva temple in what is called the **hermitage of the sage Kutea**. This temple was built on a hill in the neighbourhood of Kusumā, the findspot of the inscription, probably by a warrior named Satyabhata who was apparently the younger brother of the ruler of the area in question.

Lines 1-7 contain parts of several stanzas in the description of a heroic personage. Line 3 seems to refer to his feet as rubbed by the crowns of a large number of subordinate rulers so that he may be regarded as a king. His name and other details about himself and his family are broken away. But, considering the facts that the date of the record falls in the reign period of king Harshavar-dhana (606-47 A.D.) of Kanauj and that wide areas of Rajasthan appear to have been included in Harsha's empire, it is possible that the ruler referred to in our record was a feudatory of the Kanauj king. A stanza beginning in line 7 speaks of the said ruler's younger brother, by name Satyabhata, who is described as a great warrior.

Line 8 contains parts of a *verse* referring to a temple (*asthalo*) of 'the conqueror of the city' (*puram vijitā*), i.e. the god Śiva, which was apparently situated on a hill since it is stated to have

been lying in the sky (*pāra-antariksha-sthita*). It was probably built by Satyabhaṭa mentioned above. The same temple is mentioned as *viśāla-dēva-śāraṇa* at the beginning of line 10 which also speaks of an *ārama-pada*, i.e. a hermitage, in relation to the shrine. Line 11 contains parts of a stanza which prays for the longevity of the said temple (*śāraṇa*) situated in the hermitage of the sage named Kuteśa. This hermitage of Kuteśa is no doubt the same as the *ārama-pada* mentioned earlier. The Kuteśārama apparently stands for modern Kusumā.

Line 12 containing parts of two stanzas states that the *pūreś* (i.e. the eulogy quoted above) was composed by Śivagupta, described as the son of a Brāhmaṇa (*devjanman*) whose name is lost, and that it was engraved by the Kshatriya named Sthāvara who was the son of Rudravata and the grandson of Mātṛivahṇu.

The inscription ends with the date already discussed above.

TEXT

- 1 ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
- 2 *yataś-śakalair-iva pravratatā yudhi yasya pabhūbhū**
.....
- 3 *īphull-āvatamaśa-sphuṭa-mukuta-ghaṭā-kōṭi-ghṛīṣṭ-ō*¹ []* ****
- 4 ****aya chirāya ripubhi sthitam(tam) | yēn-ānākāḥ kṛdāt[ā] na [p]ra* []*²
.....
- 5 *d-ānandit-āli-ku[la-pa]lavam=udvahan[] []** *paryullasat-kirāṇa-manjari[] []*si-yaah[] []**
..... []*³
- 6 *nūnair⁴-iva yasya n-ārthibhiḥ kaluṣhitaṁ chōṭah* ⁵ *Śatadhara-dhavalā-prahh-āvabhāsa-*
śabalayati bhuva-āntara[m] [] [] []**
..... []*⁶
- 7 *yasya saṁgrāma-lubdhāna bāhunā dūhikham-āstam(tam)* ⁷ *ya[ay-ānn]jāḥ Satyabhaṭo*
bhaṭānām-agrōsaraḥ saṅgata-saṁkaṣṭaku | utkhāta
..... []*⁸
- 8 *parigat-ōm-śikhara[m] po(pū)[s]ṇ-ānta[] []kha-sthitam(tam) | siddhais-ārīṣṭam-udagra-*
kṛṣṭa-vadan[a]s-sandha[m] Viṣṭub Purā[ra]m-ātāt-tēna samān nijēna yataś ka[h]m
..... []*⁹ []*¹⁰

¹ From impressions and photographs.

² There is a mistake here; but it is difficult to restore confidently the word intended by the author. Can we suggest *prabhū-bhūnā*? But, in that case, the syllable before *pra* has to be regarded as short by a recognised poetical licence.

³ Metre: *Draṁśāmbhita*.

⁴ About 63 aksharas are missing in this part.

⁵ Metre: *Śaṅkhāṭā*.

⁶ About 64 aksharas are missing in this section.

⁷ Metre: *Anuśṭubh*.

⁸ About 64 syllables are missing here.

⁹ Metre: *Vaṁśastūṭaka*.

¹⁰ Nearly 45 aksharas are missing here.

¹¹ The intended word seems to be *anūnair*.

¹² Metre: *Śṛyā*.

¹³ The word seems to be *viśṛmāḥ* or *viśṛpāḥ*.

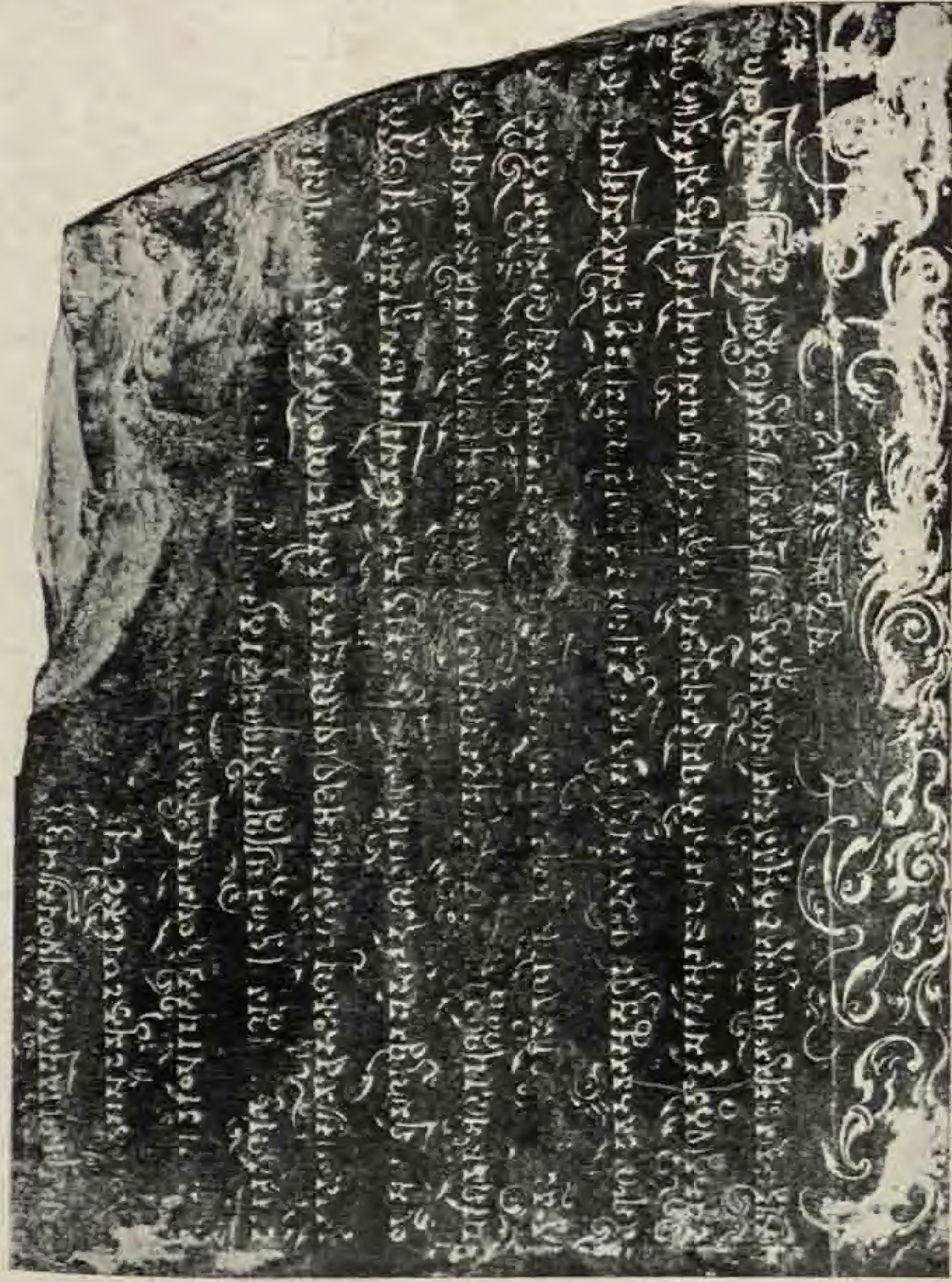
¹⁴ Metre: *Puṣpīṣṭhā*.

¹⁵ Metre: *Anuśṭubh*.

¹⁶ Metre: *Indraṁjā*.

¹⁷ Metre: *Śrīśūlāśṛīśūlā*.

1. Kusumā Inscription of [Vikrama] Year 693



2

4

6

8

10

12

2. Tasi Inscription of [Harsha] Year 182

A



Size : Two-thirds

- 9 tvā vidy[ul-]l[ā]k[ā]h[ā]-[cha]m[cha*]lō jiva-lōkē [||*]¹ Kusuma-saurabha-lobha-pari[bhramā
bhramara-vilhra]ma-dāyini dakṣiṇā | maruti vāti vi[bōdhi]ta—
[||*]²
- 10 viśāla-dēva-hhavanē stha(sthā)ṣu dhvaj-ādhaḥ kṛtām(tam) | siddh-ādhyāśita-randhra-
guchchha-gahana-chchhann-ōchchhalan-mēkhalām Mōrōḥ śrīṅgam-iv-ādām-ārama-pa-
[dāni] ka[lpā]—[||*]³
- 11 darā bhārtti | dhattē ch-ōddāma-rāmā-stana-jaghana-bhar-ābhōgam-ariddhāna Sambhūḥ
sadm-aitat-tāvad-ātām-achalam-tha mūnēr-āramō Kutsa-nāmma[h*]⁴ || Tāpjavam
[||*]⁵
- 12 sya dvijanmanah | sūnūnā Śivaguptēna kṛtā pūrva-āvidanipa(ba)nā⁶ || Mātṛivishṇu-tanū-
jasya Rudravatsaya sūnūnā | utkīpā Sthāvā(va)r-ā[kh]yāpā⁷ Kshattriyā[pa]* * * *
- 13 *600 90 3 Chaitra-ān 5⁸

2. Tasaī Inscription of [Harsha] Year 182

This fragmentary inscription is engraved on a stone slab which is built into the wall of the Śiva temple at Tasaī near Alwar, Rajasthan. Recently I received a few impressions of the inscription from the Curator, Government Museum, Alwar, and I am editing the epigraph from these impressions. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory. Some letters are damaged here and there.

There are fourteen lines of writing in the extant part of the inscription. The writing covers an area about twelve inches in length and twelve inches and a half in height. At least two lines of the original writing are lost above this part and one line below it.

The record was noticed by G. H. Ojha in the *Annual Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year ending 31st March 1920, p. 2. He says, "It is the lower part of a *prastāvi* of some temple of Vishṇu (Vāudēva-Baladēva) erected by Ragnāditya, son of Halavapa (and his wife Ghullā), son of Sujaya (and his wife Gōvā), son of Nāgasvāmin, son of Miya, the names of whose ancestors are lost. . . . The *prastāvi* was composed by Dēgata, son of Bhāga Dēddata, and was inscribed by Mākaja, son of Chāmūṇjadatta, a goldsmith, resident of Sarōdvarṭta. The *prastāvi* is called *vikaḥ-ākṣharā*, that is engraved in Vikaḥ (Kuṭila) or acute-angled characters, and is dated the year 182. It further mentions the endowments made for the proper performance of worship, namely two *palas* of oil for lamp, two *palas* of *guggula* (incense), forty garlands and eight *māshakas* of saffron, and two *chaṭṭikas* (i.e. pitchers) of *sāruṣi* (wine) on the twelfth day of the dark half of [every] month." He further observes, "The endowment of two pitchers of wine shows that the temple was not of Vishṇu proper, but of Baladēva, son

¹ Metre: *Sālitā*.

² Metre: *Dvayāṭmāḥa*.

³ Metre: *Śāntānāṭmāḥa*.

⁴ Metre: *Brugdhārā*.

⁵ The intended reading does not appear to be *śāntānāṭmāḥa.

⁶ Metre: *Asauḥṭmā*.

⁷ Read *v-ākṣharā*. The *ākṣharā* *v-ākṣharā* are written on certain letters that had been previously incised. It appears that *ākṣharā* was originally written with the omission of *va*.

⁸ Metre: *Asauḥṭmā*. It is difficult to say whether this was followed by another stanza recording the date.

⁹ This line is engraved below the passage "sūnūnā Rudravatsaya" in line 12. Better read *asauḥṭmā* at the beginning of the line.

¹⁰ This globular mark is redundant unless it was used to indicate the end of the writing.

of Vasodēva and half-brother of Kṛishṇa—who is also an incarnation of Viṣṇu and is represented to be very fond of drink." Unfortunately, many of these details are wrong. In the first place, it is not the lower part of the original inscription since a part of the writing seems to be broken away also from the bottom. Secondly, there is no name in the inscription like Sujaya regarded as the husband of Ūvā who was actually the wife of Nāgaśvāmin. Thirdly, the name of the author of the *prastāvi*, read as Dāgaṭa, seems really to be Dāsata which looks like a more suitable personal name than Dāgaṭa. Fourthly, the geographical name Śarōdvartta, of which the engraver is supposed to have been a resident, is based on a wrong reading. Fifthly, there is no justification for regarding the temple referred to in the record as not one dedicated to Viṣṇu but to Baladēva while the reference to the endowment of two *chupikas* of wine appears to be due to a wrong reading of a passage in line 14. As regards Miya's ancestors, his father was Bhava and it was a Brāhmaṇa family to which he belonged.

We are also inclined to disagree with Ojha when he finds a reference to the Kuṭiḷa alphabet in the expression *vikṛt-ākṣarā* and regards Vikṛta and Kuṭiḷa as the designations of the alphabet in which the inscription is written. This seems to be due to misunderstanding. It is well known that the expression *prastāvi-vikṛt-ākṣarā* occurs in the last stanza of the Aṣṭad inscription, which Fleet translated as '[this] eulogy [written] in beautiful letters'.¹ The name Kuṭiḷa was applied by earlier writers to the alphabet in which this and other inscriptions are written because the upright strokes of the *akṣaras* employed therein have at the bottom a small tail which is 'crooked, curved or bent (*kuṭiḷa*)' and the expression *kuṭiḷ-ākṣarāṇi*, 'crooked letters', was actually traced in the Dewal inscription² of Vikrama 1046. Fleet of course had no objection to the designation Kuṭiḷa for the alphabet even though he pointed out, "It does not seem to be employed with the specific object of recording a standing name of this style of writing."³ But Bühler draws our attention to the *Vikramādhikāra-śāstra* (XVIII, 42) referring to people being cheated by the Kāyasthas, 'using crooked letters (*kuṭiḷa-lipiḥkṛtā*)', to show that *kuṭiḷ-ākṣarāṇi* really means 'letters difficult to read'.⁴ Both Bühler and Kielhorn were inclined to avoid the use of Kuṭiḷa as the designation of the alphabet, the proper name of which appears to be Siddhamātrikā.⁵ Ojha's *Prācīna Bhāratīya Līpamālā* has really no argument in favour of the use of this nomenclature.⁶

But Ojha rightly assigns the date of the inscription to the Harsha era and takes it to correspond to 788 A.D. We had also occasion to refer to the date of the present inscription along with a number of dates found in records discovered in various parts of Northern India in order to show that they can be referred to no other reckoning but the Harsha era of 606 A.D.⁷

The characters of the inscription belong to the Siddhamātrikā alphabet of about the eighth century A.D. and resemble that of other contemporary epigraphs of the Rajasthan region. The engraving is beautiful as in similar other early records of the area. The record is written in Sanskrit. In orthography also, it resembles other contemporary records of the said area. The composition is entirely in verse but is rather poor in style.

The object of the inscription, which is a eulogy, is to record the construction of a temple of the god Viṣṇu by a person named Ranyāditya (verse 7 in lines 8-9). The name of this person reminds us of the Sun-god worshipped under the name Ranyāditya or Ranyāditya in Western

¹ *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 205, 208.

² *Above*, Vol. I, pp. 81, 92.

³ *CII*, op. cit., p. 201. He also draws our attention to similar other expressions such as *ruṣṭh-ākṣara-paṭipī-ṭhi*, and *ruṣṭh*, etc.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 59.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 168-69.

- 8 rimaññ(ah)ha)-cha guṇa-rañni-samu||[1*]valah || [0*] Ranyādityah antas-tasmā[d*]=divi[ja]-
va[ryā]-
- 9 d-e)āyata | tēn-ēdara kārītañ subhram Viahpūr-grīham-aunttamañ(mam) || [7*] Rachitā
[Dēsa[ā]-¹
- 10 n-āyam Bha[ṭṭa-Dōddēṭa-sūnuna | praastā² vatsara-ātē dvāstē vi[kat-āksha]rā || [5*]
- 11 [Chāmu]jodadatta-puttrēna(pa) Māhaṭṭha vipaśchitā | utkirṇā su(ava)ṇṇak[ārēna(pa)]
Śarō-
- 12 rdhiakthāna-vānā³ || [9*] Dvā palē [d]ipa-tailasya gu[g*]ḷasya pala-dva[yañ(yam)] ||
- 13 chstvārīśā(rimā)ti-mālā-cha kṇakumasy-śhīṭha(ah)a-māshakāḥ || [10*] Dyāda[śyām]
- 14 'krishṇa-pakshasya vāṇyāś-cha d[v]ikā⁴-dvayam(yam) | p[ā]-ā[rtham Vās[adē]vasya⁴
- 15 || [11*]

3. Kāmān Inscription of [Harsha] Year 263

The town of Kāmān, about 35 miles to the north-west of Bharatpur, headquarters of the District of that name in Rajasthan, is well known to the students of Indian epigraphy for the two early medieval stone inscriptions it yielded. The first of these two epigraphs was found on a pillar built into the inner side of the court-wall of the old mosque known as the Chaurāṭ Khāmbā which was constructed with materials from older Hindu temples of the locality. This is a fragmentary inscription which does not bear any date but is roughly assignable to the 8th or 9th century A. D. on palaeographical grounds. It was edited by Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 34 ff. The inscription is known to record the construction of a temple of the god Vishnu by the grandmother of Vatsadāman who was a ruler of the Śūrasēna family. In ancient times, the Śūrasēnas had their capital at Mathurā, about 40 miles from Kāmān. But, later, Mathurā is known to have become the centre of power of other ruling families such as the Śaka Kshatrapas and the Nāgas. The Śūrasēna prince, mentioned in the Kāmān inscription of the 8th or 9th century, may have had his headquarters at Kāmān.

The second early medieval stone inscription from Kāmān, also fragmentary, was obtained from a large well about half a mile from the town and lies in the possession of Vallabh Lalji Mahārāj Gōsāl at Gōsāl. This epigraph is of the nature of the Styādōṅī and Āhūr inscriptions⁵ being a collective record of a number of donations and endowments made on different dates in favour of certain deities. The most important of these deities seems to have been Kāmyakṣvara (mentioned in Document No. 3), apparently the god Śiva installed in a temple at Kāmyaka, i.e. Kāmān, while Document No. 8 mentions Pramīparāśi and Chāmupāka who were no doubt Śaiva ascetics related to Kāmyakṣvara's temple. The dates of the different records contained in the inscription range between the years 180 and 279 obviously referable to the Harsha era and corresponding

¹ Ojha reads the name as Dēṭṭa.

² The word praastā had been used in the sense of praastā.

³ Read Sarāśhīkthāna-chañ. Ojha here apparently reads Sarāśhīkthā-nīchāñ, 'by an inhabitant of Sarāśhīkthā'. It is, however, impossible to read Sarāśhīkthā since rdhiakthā is quite clear.

⁴ The space for an akshara or two is left blank at the beginning of this line.

⁵ The akshara dē does not look like dē (cf. pā in line 11). Ojha apparently reads vāṇyāś-chañ[ā] and explains chañ[ā] as 'a jar'. But cf. pā in line 10. With dē, cf. akshara or quarter measure (above, Vol. XXX, p. 170).

⁶ Only the first part of the second half of the stanza could have been engraved in this space, so that the concluding syllables of the stanza were engraved in another line.

⁷ See above, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff., Vol. XII, pp. 22 ff. See also the Nanana copper-plate inscription edited, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 234 ff. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 19, note 7, and p. 159.

respectively to 788 and 885 A.D., though the latest date was read by V. V. Mirashi as the year 299 while editing the inscription in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXIV, pp. 329 ff. The first of the eight different documents contained in the inscription records the creation of a permanent endowment by the *Gōśāhikas* while the last of them also speaks of the *Gōśāhikas* as responsible for the utilisation of certain incomes of the temples in meeting the expenses of white-washing, vermillion and lights. These *Gōśāhikas* were apparently members of the *gōśāhī*, i.e. a corporation or committee of supervisors in charge of the religious institution referred to in the inscription just as the *Pāṇḍās* (superintendents of temples) of today. Although, however, the religious institution in question was principally Śaiva in character, Document No. 4 stipulates the permanent supply of 60 garlands [per day] by the florists of Kāmṛyaka, of which 34 were to be supplied at the temple of Viṣṇu and 26 at the shrine of Chāmunda. This shows that the religious institution at Kāmṛyaka contained temples of other deities besides that of Śiva.

The third of the early Kāmṛn inscriptions published here is engraved on a stone slab embedded in the outer side of the wall of the Chaurāṣī Khāmbā not far above its plinth. This part of the wall was hidden from the view owing to an accumulation of earth. The Northern Circle of the Department of Archaeology discovered the inscription in the course of a clearing operation a few years back. I received a few impressions of the inscription from the Superintendent of that circle in 1958 and visited Kāmṛn in order to prepare better impressions in January 1960. The inscription was first examined in my office by my colleague Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan.

Unfortunately, like the two other Kāmṛn inscriptions referred to above, the present epigraph is also **fragmentary**. There are altogether 23 lines of writing covering an area about 2½ feet in length and a little less than 1½ feet in height. But the first four lines in the upper part and the initial section of all the other lines, about half a foot in length on the left side of the inscribed slab, are almost totally damaged and cannot be read at all. Some passages in line 5 can be made out, though their reading cannot be regarded as beyond doubt. The position is better in regard to the clearer part of lines 6-11, though here also there are some passages, the reading of which is rather doubtful. The difficulty in the decipherment of this part is enhanced by the fact that it contains a number of personal names. The clearer part of the remaining lines can be deciphered without trouble. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the verses, the text of not a single of which is completely preserved, the meaning of the passages is not always clear. Between 60 and 70 *akṣaras* were originally engraved in each line of the epigraph. But the largest number of them that can be confidently read in a single line now is only about 40.

The fragmentary inscription under study is written in the Siddhantaṭpikā characters of about the 8th or 9th century as in the case of the other two Kāmṛn inscriptions referred to above. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting a passage containing the date at the end, the extant part of the epigraph is written in verse. The date, which is written in words, is the third of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha in the year 263 apparently referable to the Harsha era and corresponding to 869 A.D.

The decipherable parts of several verses in lines 6-7 refer to the *Gōśāhikas* born in respectable families while similar parts of certain other stanzas in lines 8-11 enumerate the names of these *Gōśāhikas*. The following names can be made out in the stanzas in question: (1) Dhūṇḍaka, son of Vāṇka; (2) Tikkaṭa, son of Viṣṇu; (3) certain persons residing at Avimōlasṭpura (i.e. Avimōlapura);¹ (4) Dōpūla born of Nasari; (5) Nagguka, son of Nannuka; (6) Jāpuṅga, son of Kōmbaka; (7) Śrīdhara born of Prayāga; (8) Gaṇḍēvara; and (8) the three brothers named Nāgaṭa, Siddhanāga and Śivaviṣṇu who were the sons of Isāna. A stanza ending in line 11 states that the *Gōśāhikas* mentioned above by name were devoted to the god Mahāśa (Śiva).

¹ Cf. Hamthrapura called Hamthra-kumra-satpura in the Chittorell grant (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 178).

The section of the inscription in lines 11-20 following the part discussed above, records the object for which the eulogy contained in our inscription was composed. This was the excavation of a step-well (*vāpi*), the construction of a temple (*śaṭha*) and the offering of *pinda* by certain persons called 'the sons' so that it must have been offered by them to their deceased parent or parents. These people who offered *pinda* were apparently the persons who were responsible for the creation of the step-well and temple in memory of the deceased. Both the step-well and the temple are referred to again in a stanza ending in line 14 and for a third time in line 15 while the temple alone is further mentioned in line 20. The offering of *pinda* with the waters of the *Gaṅgā* and other things including sesame and flowers is referred to in line 18.

The excavation of the step-well and the construction of the temple are attributed to the *Gōṣṭhikas* (see *sad-Gōṣṭhikāḥ kṛitāḥ* in line 14 : cf. *sad-Gōṣṭhik-āyukāḥ* in line 19). This may suggest that all the *Gōṣṭhikas*, whose names are enumerated in the upper part of the inscription (lines 8-11 discussed above), were responsible for the pious works. But there are a few points which appear to go against this view. The reference to the offering of *pinda* to the parent or parents by the persons in question suggests that the said two pious deeds were done in memory of their parent or parents not by a large number of people but by a few persons who were brothers. The passage *Nāgaḥ-siddhānāgaḥ-sivaviṣṭhaḥ* in a verse beginning in line 17 seems again to indicate that one of these brothers responsible for the pious works was Nāgaḥ. As we have seen, the three brothers Nāgaḥ, Siddhanāga and Śivaviṣṭha, the sons of Īśāna, are mentioned (line 10) at the end of the list of the *Gōṣṭhikas*. It is thus possible that it was these three brothers who were responsible for the excavation of the step-well and the construction of the temple in memory of their deceased father Īśāna. The enumeration of all the *Gōṣṭhikas* in the first part of the inscription may, however, suggest that their corporate body as a whole had some responsibility in regard to the step-well and temple. They were probably the trustees of an endowment created for the maintenance of the pious works of the three brothers.

The step-well was excavated in a village (cf. *grāmaḥ* in line 14), the name of which is lost. Whether this was Avimśhapura, the only locality mentioned in the record (cf. line 8), cannot be determined. But the place where the step-well was excavated seems to have been in the suburbs or the vicinity of Kāmān. The temple appears to have been built by the side of the step-well as in similar other cases known to us.¹ That the temple was not built far from Kāmān is probably indicated by the utilisation of its materials for the construction of the Chaurāsī Khāmā mosque at that place.

We have seen above that the *Gōṣṭhikas* are mentioned in line 11 as devoted to the god Śiva (*Mahāśa-śaivāḥ*). They would, therefore, appear to have been superintendents of a Śaiva religious establishment. It may thus be supposed that the deity installed in the *śaṭha* or temple referred to in our inscription was the god Śiva. But, as we have seen above, one of the Kāmān inscriptions, previously published, speaks of the shrines of the deities Śiva, Viṣṇu and Cāmuṇḍā in connection with the religious institution in charge of the *Gōṣṭhikas* at Kāmāyaka. Moreover, the latter part of the last foot of a stanza preserved in line 20 of our record reads — — — *Harau Harīś-ka bhagavān sad-gōṣṭhikāḥ āthāpitaḥ*. The reference here is to the installation of three gods, two of whom were Hara (Śiva) and Hari (Viṣṇu). It seems that the word *Harau* in the dual was joined in the *śaṭha* compound with the name of another deity. Since, however, metrical requirement shows that the syllable immediately preceding *Ha* was short, the lost word does not appear to have indicated a name of Śiva's consort Pārvatī, which would generally end in a long syllable. It is thus not impossible that this lost name was meant to indicate the god Brahma who, together

¹ Cf. the excavation of a *vāpi* and a *śaṭha* for the god Śaṃkha in memory of one's deceased younger brother in the Narwar inscription of Vikrama 1355 (Abore, Vol. XXXII, pp. 344).

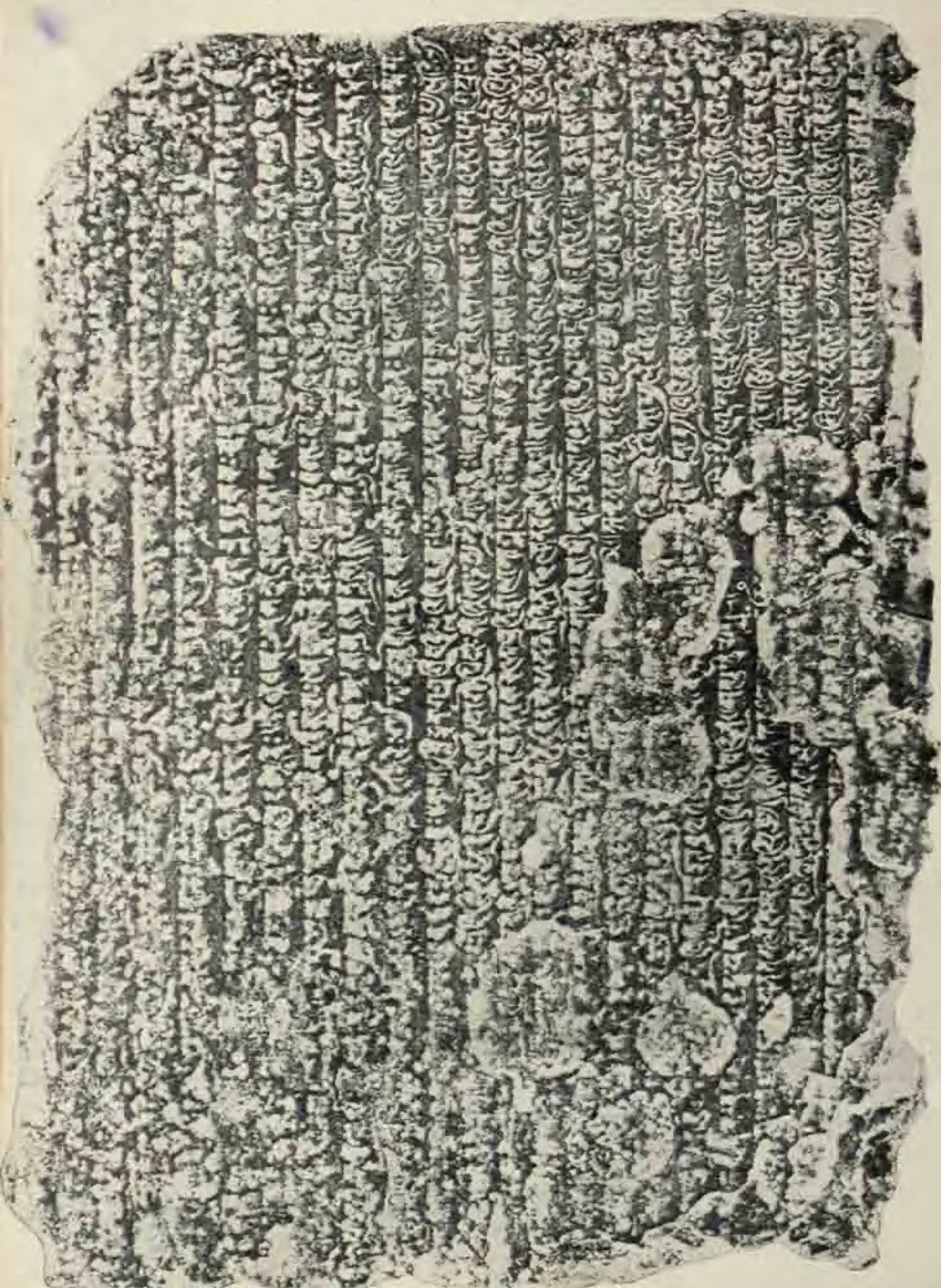
THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAJASTHAN—Plate II

2. Tasai Inscription of [Harsha] Year 182

B



Size : One-half



Size : One-third

- 13 ———— [||*] ———— | chitta-sthairyā ku-
rvantī tat-phal-ānavalōkinā ||* Vāt-āphālanā-chāhchāl-ānala-sikhā-lōlan jagach-chē-
shpitān vyā
- 14 ———— [||*] ———— |
——— [ggrā]makē vāpi svādū-jalā mathas-cha vipulā sad-gōshthikān kārītā
||* Bhōktu-sakṣād-iva—
- 15 ———— [||*] ———— |
——— [||*] Anūpitam=anūpitam=ātāt-satyam=aryām su-vāpyām sura-sadanam
=idan-[ta]=san-mathas-cha
- 16 ———— [||*] ———— |
——— [||*] chit-sa-lōkhitō-py-a-lōkhitā | a-lōkhitō-pi yō hitā sa ***
- 17 *** [||*] ———— |
——— sarv-ātmanā vyādhir-iva eva-kāyāt ||* Nāga-ādibhir-upārjitām
śa[bha]m
- 18 ———— [||*] ———— |
——— [vi]vridhaya nstair-Igukāya vidhivan=
nivēditam(tam) ||* Sat-putraia=[tair-gga] ———— |
pradattān bhaktiā Gāngaiḥ payōbhia=tila-kuan[ma] ————
- 19 ———— [||*] ———— |
——— [||*] satatam-alam=[mā]dū pālayishyanī kir-
tīm tōshān [pāda] ———— |
chāmara-chāru-chūna-ruchirē chaodra-śriyā
- 20 ———— [||*] ———— |
——— [||*] kashin-madhya-krit-ālaya
——— Harā¹ Harī=cha bhagatām(vān) sad-
gōshthikāi sthāpitā ||* Yāvad-ayār[udhī]
- 21 ———— [||*] ———— |
——— [||*] tāvat-klitā-kritām kavēś-cha viśadā
- 22 ———— [||*] ———— |
samva(samva)tsara-śata-dvayē trī(tri)-shaabhy-adhikō Jyōshtha-śukla]-
t[rayō]²

¹ Metre : Vasumatikā.

² Metre : Anushpāl.

³ Metre : Śardūlakṛitā.

⁴ Metre : Indranjī or Upajit.

⁵ Metre : Māhāt.

⁶ Metre : Anushpāl. This stanza seems to refer to certain conditions which were only partially incorporated in the document under study though even the unwritten conditions were also established (śila) by convention.

⁷ Metre : Upajit.

⁸ Metre : Rādhāśilā.

⁹ Metre : Śrāgdaṇḍ. This stanza refers to the gratitude of the persons responsible for the poems works to those who would maintain them.

¹⁰ The word means Harā and his consort. Otherwise the preceding word was possibly *Brāhmā*.

¹¹ Metre : Śardūlakṛitā. This verse contains a prayer for the long life of the pious works as well as of the poet's composition, i.e. the eulogy under study.

¹² The intended word was apparently *śrāgdaṇḍ*.

No. 8—RASHTRAKUTA INSCRIPTION FROM RAMESVARA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACANESI

(Received on 8.6.1961)

This inscription is engraved on the four faces of a pillar set up in the courtyard of the Rāmalingēśvara temple at Rāmēśvara near Proddatur in the Taluk of that name in the Cuddapah District of Andhra Pradesh. A rough transcript of the inscription, described as 'damaged and not dated', appeared in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 68 (pp. 39-42) with the following remarks in the introductory note: "It belongs to the reign of the Rashtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and records the gift of some land and taxes to the Rāmēśvara temple by Kannayya, the king's *sāmānta*, and some land to Tippayya-gorava. It consists of about 25 Sanskrit verses giving the genealogy of the Rashtrakūṭa kings and praising Kṛishṇa". This notice contains a few inaccuracies, the most important of them being that the record belongs to the time of Rashtrakūṭa Gōvinda III (794-814 A.D.) and is not of the reign of Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.). It seems to be assignable to a date about the close of the rule of Gōvinda III on palaeographical grounds.

The inscription is **fragmentary**, a few lines of writing being more or less completely rubbed off at the end of the first, second and third faces of the pillar. There were originally 34 stanzas in the introductory part running from the first side up to the middle of the third. A letter or a few of them at the beginning and end of many of the lines are damaged or lost while some of the stanzas are partly or wholly lost at the end of the first and second sides of the pillar. Since, however, the introductory verses are numbered in the original, it is not difficult to determine the loss on the first and second sides of the pillar. It appears that originally about 41 lines were engraved on the first side and about 40 lines on the second. The writing on the former seems to have originally covered an area about 4 feet 8 inches in height and 1 foot 3 inches in breadth while that on the latter probably occupied a space about 5 feet 3 inches high and 10½ inches broad. Of the lines originally incised on these two sides, 36 are readable on the first and 32 on the second side. Only 35 lines are readable on the third side (5 feet 3¼ inches by 1 foot 4½ inches) of the pillar. The fourth side containing 33 lines of writing has not suffered from any damage.

The characters belong to a cursive variety of the Telugu-Kannada alphabet of about the ninth or tenth century A. D. The inscription is **bilingual** being partly written in Sanskrit and partly in Kannada. The introductory section in Sanskrit verse records the construction of three temples by a Rashtrakūṭa chief named Kṛishṇa *alias* Dhuradadhakāra who was a subordinate and probably relative of the Rashtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III. The above introductory part is followed by a Kannada section in prose on the latter half of the third and the first half of the fourth side of the pillar. It records the grant of a village made in favour of the god Rāmēśvara apparently installed in one of the said temples by the same Rashtrakūṭa chief whose name is given here as Kannayya (a modification of the Sanskrit name Kṛishṇa) and who is stated to have secured the gift village from Gōvinda (a modification of *Gōvinda*), i.e. Gōvinda III. The same section also records the grant of a few plots of land in favour of two other deities who must have been installed in the remaining two of the three temples built by the chief. The second half of the fourth side contains the usual imprecatory and benedictory section mainly in Kannada, the well-known Sanskrit stanza *Sāmānyō-gam dharmā-cittā-nṛpāpāh*, etc., being quoted in it. This is

followed by a Kannada endorsement referring to the gift of some land in favour of a Śaiva priest who was probably in charge of the Rāmaśvara temple.

Verse 1 is a *mangala* stanza containing a prayer for the protection of the ruler named **Dhura-danīkakāra** by the god Rāmaśvara. This Dhuradanīkakāra, later also called Kṛishṇa, is the hero of the eulogy and the god Rāmaśvara seems to be the same as modern Rāmadāśvara in whose temple in the village of Rāmaśvara (named after the said deity) the inscription under study has been found. Dhuradanīkakāra was thus a secondary name of Kṛishṇa.

After the above *mangala* stanza, the inscription introduces the **Rāshtrakūṭa** family, to which the hero of the eulogy, viz. Dhuradanīkakāra, also Kṛishṇa, apparently belonged, in verses 2 ff. While introducing the said family as a branch of the Yadu clan, verse 2 mentions (1) the god Brahma; (2) from him—Atri; (3) from Atri's eye—the Moon-god; (4) from the Moon-god—Bodha; (5) from Bodha—Dirghāyus, the first king of the lunar race; and (6) from Dirghāyus—king Yada who seems to be also called Kukurā and Vṛishṇi not quite accurately. It will be seen that this genealogy is not in keeping with the epic and Purāṇic traditions.¹ The same stanza further mentions (1) in the family of the said Yada-Kukurā-Vṛishṇi—Vāsudāva (Kṛishṇa); (2) after him—Ratipati (Pradyumna); and (3) Ratipati's son Aniruddha. Verse 3 praises the kings born in the family of the **Yadus** with reference to the help they rendered to the lord of the gods in his struggle with the demons.

Verse 4 introduces the **Rāshtrakūṭa** dynasty which sprang from the said family of the **Yadus**. In regard to the mention of the Rāshtrakūṭas as representing a branch of the Yadu clan, we have elsewhere pointed out that this is not found in the records of Gōvinda III (794-814 A. D.) but appears for the first time in a record of his son Amoghavarsha I (814-78 A. D.).² The present record thus appears to be the earliest Rāshtrakūṭa inscription clearly attributing Yādava origin to the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas.

Verse 5 mentions the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor **Dantidurga** (742-36 A. D.) *alias* **Sāhasatūṅga** who is stated to have enjoyed royal fortune as a result of having churned the ocean that was the **Chālukyas**, while the next stanza (verse 6) states that Dantidurga died when young and the sovereignty passed on to king **Kṛishṇa**, i.e. Dantidurga's uncle Kṛishṇa I (c. 768-70 A. D.). Dantidurga's *vicēra* Sāhasatūṅga and the fact that he died in his youth are interesting informations. Verse 7 speaks of **Prabhūnavarsha** (i.e. Gōvinda II, c. 775-80 A. D.) as the son of Kṛishṇa I and vaguely refers to the exploits of his elephant force in the region watered by the **Ganges**. A Rāshtrakūṭa invasion of the Ganges valley during the reign of Gōvinda II, apparently when king Indrāyudha (783-84 A. D.) was ruling at Kannauj, is not mentioned in any other source. We know that Jinashila's *Haricandana Purāṇa*, composed in Śaka 705 (783-84 A. D.), mentions the Northern ruler Indrāyudha as a contemporary of the Southern king Śivallabha, the son of Kṛishṇa, while Pāla and Gurjara-Pratihāra inscriptions suggest that the Pāla emperor Dharmapala (c. 770-810 A. D.) ousted Indrāyudha and installed Chakrāyudha (apparently a member of Indrāyudha's family which may be called the Āyudha dynasty) on the throne of Kannauj.³

Of course it is difficult to determine whether Kṛishṇa's son Śivallabha ruling in 783-84 A. D. was Gōvinda II or his younger brother Dhruva Nirupama Dhāravarsha who, as we shall presently see, was the *de facto* ruler during his elder brother's reign and became the *de jure* king a few years

¹ For the representation of Purūravas as the son of Bodha and Ayas as the son of Purūravas in the genealogical series of Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions, see above, Vol. XXXII, p. 46. The Kukurās were a subclan of the Yādava people, while Vṛishṇi was a distinguished member of the Yada family. Yada was really the son of Yayāti.

² Loc. cit., note 1.

³ See above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 192 ff.

As will be seen below from our analysis of the writing on the second side of the pillar, verse 12 introduces the hero of the eulogy, whose description continues upto verse 24 with which the introductory section ends. It will also be seen that his name was *Dhuradāṅkakāra* alias *Kṛishṇa* who was the son of Indra and belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. The identification of this *Kṛishṇa* with the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor *Kṛishṇa* III is absolutely untenable. In the first place, none of the three Rāshtrakūṭa emperors bearing the name *Kṛishṇa* was the son of Indra. *Kṛishṇa* I was the son of *Kakka* I, *Kṛishṇa* II (878-915 A. D.) of *Amoghavarsha* I (814-78 A. D.), and *Kṛishṇa* III (939-67 A. D.) of *Amoghavarsha* III (934-39 A. D.). Secondly, it is difficult to believe that the six rulers, viz. (1) *Amoghavarsha* I (son of *Gōvinda* III), (2) *Kṛishṇa* II (son of *Amoghavarsha* I), (3) *Indra* III (grandson of *Kṛishṇa* II), (4) *Amoghavarsha* II (son of *Indra* III), (5) *Gōvinda* IV (younger brother of *Amoghavarsha* II) and (6) *Amoghavarsha* III (brother of *Indra* III), who ruled between *Gōvinda* III and *Kṛishṇa* III, could have all been described by the author of the eulogy in only two stanzas, viz. verses 10-11, engraved only in three or four short lines. This is certainly not suggested by his description of *Dantidurga* *Sāhasatunga*, *Kṛishṇa* I, *Prabhūta-varsha* *Gōvinda* II, *Dhruva* *Nirupama* and *Jagattuṅga* *Gōvinda* III in verses 5-9, five stanzas here being devoted to the five kings. It is unlikely that, while a stanza each is devoted to the description of the earlier kings, the immediate predecessors of the ruling monarch were described summarily in two stanzas since the description of the latter generally occupies more space in the *prastāva* than that of the former.

Verse 12, which is the first stanza on the second side of the pillar, mentions *Kṛishṇa* who is compared with *Indrānuja* (i.e. *Upendra* or *Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa*). The words *tatōbhū* in this stanza seems to suggest that the chief's father was mentioned in the previous verse. The next stanza (verse 13) refers to his success against his enemies in general and the *Pāṇḍya* king in particular and seems also to suggest that *Rājamārtanḍa* was one of his *vijayata*. Verse 14 and the first half of the following stanza (verse 15), some parts of which cannot be made out, narrate, in the words of his own mouth, how the said chief was born as the son of his father (cf. *yathā-ākāśa... tanuḡ-aya jātā* in verse 14) and considered the protection of the subjects his main duty as the true son of his father (cf. *tat-sūtaśa śi mayā kṛipya jagat-vaśikarṇam* in the first half of verse 15). The latter half of verse 15 mentions the ruler *Kṛishṇa* as the son of *Indra* and as the ruler of the earth. Verse 16 mentions the same ruler by the name *Dhuradāṅkakāra* while the next stanza (verse 17), the concluding part of which is illegible, mentions him as *Kṛishṇarāja*. Verse 18 is lost at the end of this side of the pillar.

Verse 19, which is the first stanza on the third side of the pillar, seems to mention a subordinate of *Kṛishṇa*, the son of *Mahendra* (i.e. *Indra*), by name *Sōmaha*, who was probably the governor of the area around the locality wherein the inscription has been found. The text of verse 20 is corrupt, though it seems to mention *Va labhadāva* (i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor) as the overlord of the hero of the eulogy. Verse 21 states that the chief *Rattakandarpa*, i.e. *Kṛishṇa* alias *Dhuradāṅkakāra*, sent a general (*Dandapati*, the same as *Dandadāyaka*) to occupy *Kāñchi* which was in the occupation of the *Dravida*s apparently meaning the *Pallavas*. Thus, from verses 14 to 21, we find that *Dhuradāṅkakāra*, *Kṛishṇa* was also called *Rājamārtanḍa* and *Rattakandarpa*.¹

Verse 22 states that the ruler *Kṛishṇa*, who was a *Bhāgarata*, built at the *Mahārama* (apparently meaning the site of the village of *Rāmdevara*, the findspot of our inscription) three cloud-touching [temples] which became the ornaments of the valley of the river *Vengā* (*Vengā-tala-bhūmi*), no doubt referring to the valley of the Pennar running through the *Anantapur*, *Cuddāpah* and

¹ *Rattakandarpa* is known to have been the *vijaya* of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperors *Gōvinda* IV and *Khotṭiga* (*Arch. Surv.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 387, 410, 422).

Nellore District. As a matter of fact, Proddatur and Rāmēvara in its vicinity both lie near the northern bank of the Pennar. The next stanza (verse 23) seems to mention the said temples as 'the rows of Mahēvara's shrines'. The chief's epithet *Bhāgavata* in the previous stanza normally means 'a devotee of the *Bhagavat* (i.e. the god Vishnu)'. But, considering the fact that the epithet has been used in connection with the construction of three Śaiva temples, it is possible to take it in the sense of *Śiva-bhāgavata* (i.e. a devotee of Śiva the *Bhagavat*). As will be seen below, the Kannada section in the latter half of the third and the first half of the fourth side of the pillar speaks of the grant of a village in favour of the god Rāmēvara and also of a few plots of land to Masiyāṅkadhavaḥ and Kāḷadēva (or *kāḷadēva*) who were apparently deities like Rāmēvara. This appears to suggest that the three temples built by Kṛishṇa Dhuradāṅkakāra at Rāmēvara were dedicated to the three gods Rāmēvara, Masiyāṅkadhavaḥ and Kāḷēvara (or *kāḷēvara*). The name Masiyāṅkadhavaḥ means 'the god of white complexion with a black mark', which is the same as Nilakanṭha. The last stanza of the section, viz. verse 24, prays for the long life of the three pious works (*dharma-dṛya*, i.e. the three temples) of the ruler Dhuradāṅkakāra.

The Kannada section in the latter part of the above side of the pillar (lines 28-33) begins with the word *smṛti* and states how *Samadhiḡatapaṅchamahāśabda Mahāśānta Kannayya* (i.e. Kṛishṇa alias Dhuradāṅkakāra-Rājamārtapaḍa-Rattakandarpa) obtained (*paḍadu*) the locality called Naṅgadūru from the illustrious Gōvinda (i.e. Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III Jagattuṅga) and granted it in favour of the god Rāmēvara for the maintenance of the Brāhmanas (i.e. the priests of the Rāmēvara temple). Next follows a damaged and incomplete passage in which the donor seems to be described as having also given a plot of land lying to the east of Naṅgadūru to another deity named Masiyāṅkadhavaḥ (lines 33 ff. on the third side). Another plot of land measuring fifty *mattas* was given to the deity Kāḷadēva (or *kāḷadēva*) probably along with a field measuring a *ḍamma* of land and called Navilu (lines 1-2 on the fourth side). In addition to the above, a piece of land to the west of the village (i.e. Naṅgadūru) was granted to the above-mentioned Masiyāṅkadhavaḥ to be enjoyed as *vīṭa-bhāga* (probably the same as *vīṭa-vṛitti*, *bijā-vṛitti*, *bijā-ūnavṛitti*, etc., known from many Kannada records), the revenue income (*siddhi-āya*) of this plot of land being five *paramāṅghī-gadyāgas* of gold (lines 3-9 on the fourth side).

The concluding part of the record (lines 18-23 on the fourth side) contains an endorsement referring to the gift of 30 *mattas* of land in favour of Tippayya-goṭava who was apparently a Śaiva priest probably attached to the temple of Rāmēvara. He may also have been the head of the group of priests in charge of all the three temples built by Dhuradāṅkakāra Kṛishṇa.

It appears that the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Kṛishṇa, also called Dhuradāṅkakāra, Rājamārtapaḍa and Rattakandarpa, was a general or viceroy of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III. His *varada* Rattakandarpa suggests that he was a scion of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. That he was introduced in verse 12 while the description of his overlord commences in verse 9, with only two stanzas intervening between them, seems to suggest that he was introduced by the author as a close relation of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor. But this relationship cannot be determined without further evidence. It is not altogether impossible that Iodra, the father of Kṛishṇa Dhuradāṅkakāra was no other than the homonymous Rāshtrakūṭa prince who was a younger brother of Gōvinda III and was made the viceroy of Lāṭa by the latter and that the hero of the eulogy contained in our inscription was the viceroy of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor in the area around the Cuddapah District.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the Ganges is indirectly referred to in connection with the exploits of the army of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda II and the valley of the Veṅṇā or Pennar is mentioned as the land where the three Śaiva temples were

built by the hero of our eulogy. Kāuchi is indirectly mentioned probably as the capital of the Draviḍas (Pallavas). The well known holy places Śrīparvata and Vārapāni (Vārāṅgaśī) are mentioned in the imprecatory section on the lower part of the fourth side of the pillar. We are not sure about the location of the gift village called Saṅgaḍūru.

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 Śrīmā(mā)n-mānasam-ānīdhāya vidhivad-dhrit-padma-sauma[dhya]-
- 2 mē chūtvā klāśaka-pāśa-rām-anītam [pā]-
- 3 rā-tamas-sadasthitam | rādhyā mārntam-āma[nam]-
- 4 ti munayas-saṁsāra-vicichchittayā² |³ yaś [sa]
- 5 śrī-Dhuradarīkakāra-nṛpati[m⁴] Rāmōva[rō]
- 6 rakabata | 1 |⁵ Asti Brahmā tatō-trā ~
- 7 ~⁶ nayanataś-cha-Endur=Indūr-Budhō-bhū-
- 8 j-jātaś-Sōm-ānvayānām prathama-narapa[ti]-
- 9 ~ataśya Dīrghāyur⁷-asmāt | jāto=an [bhū]-
- 10 mipeन्द्रō Yadur-iti Kukurō Viśvay⁸-asy-āpi [vād]-
- 11 [tā] jātaś-śrī-Vāṇadēvan-tad-anu Ratipol[ī]-tā-
- 12 t-antaś-cha-Āniruddhaś | 2 |⁹ Evaṁ varṁśō Yadūnām [pra]-
- 13 [sa]ceti viśarad-vikram-aiś-āśrayāpāni bhū-
- 14 pā bhōgindra-dīrgha-ethira-bhūja-parigha —
- 15 kaśit-ō[r]vīm-iv-āśān[kām] |) sa(śā)hāyayā yaś prayā —
- 16 sarasipu-samitan śrīpad-Ākhaṇḍa[asya] |¹⁰ [tā]-
- 17 mākṣaṇḍakavṛityā¹¹ kaśi-viśada-yaśō-rāśaya-
- 18 [s-sat]balbhūvaś | 3 |¹² Tasmān-kuśa-sakaśa-vācīdhi-chā[ru]-
- 19 vichī |¹³ kātichē-bhūtō mahita-bhūmi-ma-
- 20 hāmahiśhyāś [i¹⁴] bharti-ābhavan-saripu-saṁsāra-

¹ From impressions. The lost or damaged letters at the beginning and end of the lines, which can be restored with confidence, have been shown in squarish brackets. We are indebted for some suggestions to Dr. G. S. Gal and Mr. S. H. Rital.

² The *śaśa* is redundant.

³ Metre: Śāṅkharītridhā.

⁴ Traces of the three lost syllables suggest *epithan* which, however, does not offer any sense. Read "trīn-
tal-asa."

⁵ Cf. above, p. 43, note 1; also Vol. XXVIII, p. 249, text line 13.

⁶ Metre: Śāṅkharī.

⁷ The *śaśa* is unnecessary.

⁸ This is erroneous.

RASHTRAKUTA INSCRIPTION FROM RAMESVARA

Second Side

First Side

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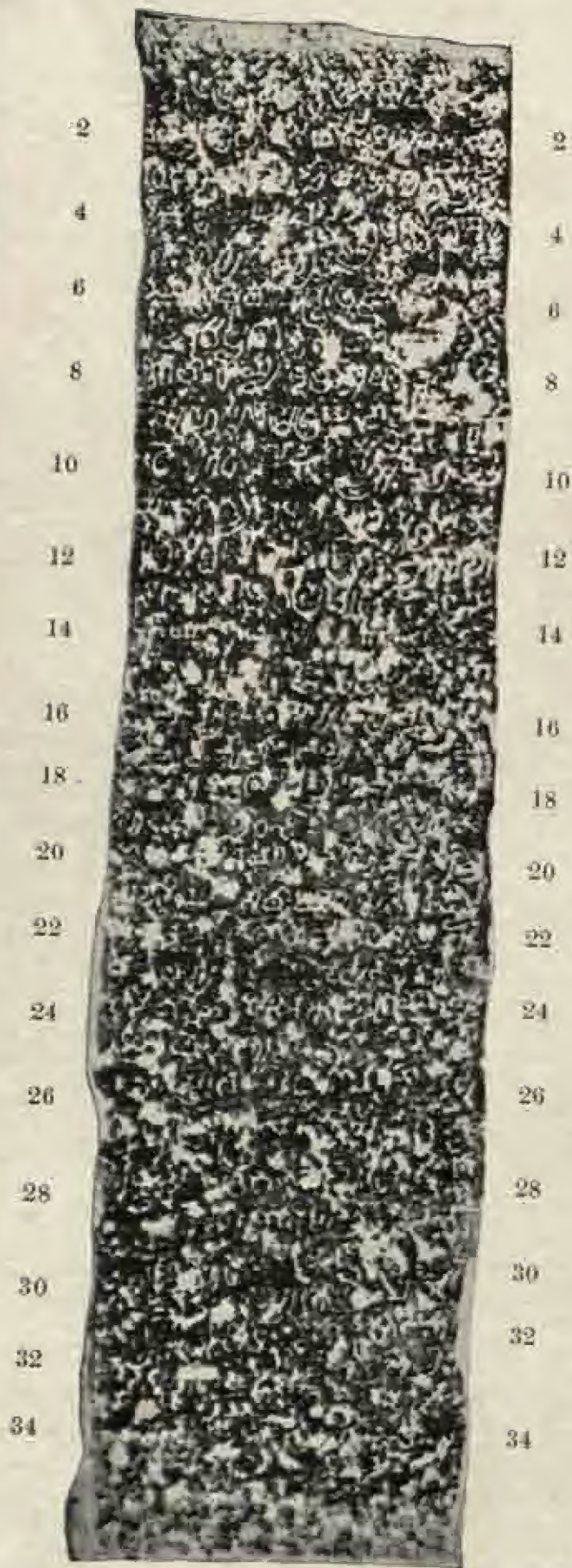
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Third Side



Fourth Side



- 21 ka-maṇi-mānyam-śrī-Rāśbtrakūṭa it nāma-nipam=cladhūnaḥ || 4 ||¹
22 Tat=ānvayō-py=abhavat=śrī-patib pa(pri)thivyāḥ(vyāḥ) śrī-Dantidurgga it
23 dueddhara-bāhu-vīryaḥ || Chālukya=śrī-mathau-śrībhava-clja-
24 lakṣmīm |² yas=sambabhāra chiram=ātma-ko-sika-kāntām(tām) || 5 ||¹
25 Tasmin-Sāhasatuṅga-nāma-nipatan eva-sundari-pāṭi[*]tthi-
26 tā yātā yāni divan=divākara-samādi vāṇy=eva lakṣmīs-ta-
27 taḥ | taḥ trā(tr=ā)vāpa(pya) bhūja-dvayāma nīlīlām sarśālīkya raṇyūṭe-gu-
28 paṭi prīyā prāṇa-samādi chiram ramayati śrī-Kṛṣṇa-sājādhi-
29 paṭi(pam) | 6 |² Tasmiṇ=abhūt=ānūr=ndāra-kīrtiḥ[*] |² Prabhūtavaraṣṭo blu-
30 vam=āma(ha)ṁsa | yat=auṇya[*]-nāgōndra-mad=āmbuvant[ā](ttvā)d-Gāṅgarā
31 payō Yāmunavad=viḥṭi | 7 |² Batipatir=uru-
32 bhāvō darśata(nā)t=audharīgāḥ |² aurata-raka²-aurati-
33 raktō(ktō) itra bhāp=nuj[ā](ō)=aya ||² Dhruva it nīpatitvā
34 maṇṭir(tr)bhā=ch=ābhishiktō(ktō) |² Nirupama it bhūmau māpa — —
35 budhā-pi | 8 |² Tuṅg-ānvay=ōttuṅga-jayadhva[ā]=mā-
36 [j]=jātō Jagattuṅga it kṣitīndraḥ ||² yasy=ā[ha]vā—
37 —————{ || 9 ||² *
38
39 { || 10 ||²
40
41 { || 11 ||²

Second Side

- 1 ———¹⁰ Yi(l)ndr-ānuja ya(ō)śha āśāśā[ṭ]
2 ———drab¹¹ hantun=śh-āvat[mpah] |J

¹ *Margay* = *Symphoricarpos* *luteus*.

* *Requiescat in pace.* The *sanctus* is redundant.

* Weitere Studien: Berlin/1994.

* The *Land* is expensive.

* Notice: Copyright.

- The trade is enormous.

* These two *gāthas* are redundant.

* Metric: MAFINL

* Metro: *Unpublished*

¹⁸ These damaged syllables may be *Turotjki* (83). For *yindra* and *yaska*, cf. *Pigini*, VIII, iii, 17-18.

¹¹ The intended word may be joyed-drunk.

- 3 [Kri]shṇas=śukṛishṇīkṛita-vairi-nārī[an-ā]-
 4 nan-ēndu(r)=nṛipatis=tatō-bhūt || 12 ||¹
 5 [Sa] Rājamāritapṇa-nṛipa[h*] pratīp[āt-sama]-
 6 etam-ādāya jagā=jigrahuh || pra]-
 7 [tā]pa-santāpita-Pāṇḍya-rā[jō dā]-
 8 vas-samast-ūri-tamaḥ-kaha-
 9 [yō]-bhūt | 13 |² Trivishṭapasthā ~
 10 ~ r-yyath āhuh |³ yathā praj-ārthi ~
 11 ~ bhūta]ō-pā | viśbhūtam-ā
 12 — tath-āti gatrā |⁴ ka — ~
 13 — tanayō-sya jātā | 14 |⁵
 14 — — — sya may-ātmajaṇa vihi(taḥ)
 15 pūrvam tath-ājñāpitā — — ~ ~
 16 tat-satāna hi mayā [kāryat]
 17 [a]gad-rakṣaṇam(pam) | ity-śvam khalu Kri(Kri)shṇa-
 18 nāma-nṛipatiś-ch-Ēndr-ātmaja[s-satūprati]
 19 kṛmānya(s-ē)ha kalesu kalāmka-rakṣat]
 20 prithvīn(m-i)mān rakṣati | 15 |⁶ Ta-
 21 smān īti-Dhuraḍarṇakākāra-nṛipateu [sam]-
 22 rakṣati kāmām-imān satya-tyāga-
 23 sampiditā-vriditā-mahimā sa-
 24 d-bondhu-baddhāsya dā⁷ [h*] jātō rakṣati
 25 — pradō vasmati[m*] aasyauka-
 26 aasy-ō[va(j)va]ā[m*] |⁸ parjanyō-pi [dharān]

¹ Metre : Uṇṣadī.² Metre : Uṇṣadī.³ The *śvam* is superfluous.⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikīrṇam.⁵ The intended reading may be *baddh-śrpaṇak*.⁶ The *dā* is redundant.

- 27 ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ — —
 28 padam(dani) | 16 |¹ Āyōdhan-ārthanu=adhiga-
 29 chehhati **Kṛishṇarājē** |² kṛishṇābhū[va]
 30 vadanaṁ ripu-kāminānām(nām) ||³ vai-
 31 dhavya-tāpa-paritōpita-mā-
 32 uasānōm matt-ōbha — ॐ ॐ ॐ —
 33 ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — || 17 |⁴
 34
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 40 || 18 |⁵

Third Side

- 1 — chath tatra niyachchhati dvijavarā dhany[ā]
 2 vadānya(nyā)s-tathā |¹ jātās-tō-pi nidhīvarā Ha-
 3 ॐ radā-grāmāvaras-**Sōmahab** | badolhuś-ch-ātma-
 4 samas-tath-śakṭa-samadrig-bhūtyā(tya)s-tathā — ॐ
 5 — |² sākshād-eva kṛt-ādhipatya(m-a)³
 6 tha yab **Kṛishṇō Mahēndr-ātma**jē || 19 ||⁴ Bhaktiḥ
 7 [śō]jini Vallabhair-vvasumati⁵ divas-cha⁶ vi-
 8 tē ratāḥ(tih) kāryyāś-ātra-[gaṇō⁷]shu [cha⁸] pratipo-
 9 dan |⁹ suśhas-matō¹⁰ prārayab ||¹¹ dānash ch-ārthishu du[h]-

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.² The *śa* is redundant.³ Metre: Paśarvotīḍita.⁴ The *śa* is superfluous. The previous word in three syllables may be jāṇayā though it seems to be syncopous.⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁶ The intended reading seems to be *Vaśatā* *manmath*.⁷ The intended reading may be *dāś* (or *daś*) *cha*.⁸ Read *śa* *man*.⁹ 10/11/61

- 10 khitōshu karuṇā durnashpēshu¹ darpam [chiram]
 11 saubhāgyam vanitāsu **Krishṇa-nīpatēs-sa-**
 12 [rvva]tra sarvvā(rve)=rttha-dam(dāḥ) | 20 |² **Śrī-Rattakandarppa-**
 13 [ari]pēṣa tēn=āchirō(ra)-prabhuktam(kitē) Dravidāḥ [ri-
 14 yāyāḥ-[*] kāmichy-āspadē dakṣiṇa-dig-ramaṇyāḥ
 15 [ka]rttum ratid dardḍapatih=prayuktah | 21 |³ — —
 16 jya-bhāvō nīpatih prayuktah **Krishṇas=cha Vēṇṇā-**
 17 taja-bhūmi-bhūṣhāḥ | mah-āśramō bhāgava(tē).
 18 [na] tēna kṛitās=trayō=bhraṇḍīha-mūrttayas=tō | 22 |⁴
 19 Hē[ā-vīdhitā⁵-rachitā na yatnais=tathā vatā-
 20 ntārham=imō⁶ na yāoti | Mahāśvarasy=āla-
 21 ya-panta(ūka)yas=tās=tath=āpi Kailāsa-girōr=yya
 22 — — | 23 | Yāvat=Padmabharō bhavam vitanutō
 23 yāvach=cha Lakṣmīpatih(tir)=lhatā vakṣham konatubham.
 24 sa Bhagavān Gaur[ā⁷] nati[n⁸] rāḍvaro⁹ [i¹⁰] yāvach=ch=ān-
 25 budhī-vīchi-[bā]hu-nivahair=āśvryatē bhū-
 26 vadhū- |¹¹ =tāvat¹² Śrī-Dhuradamakāra-nīpa-
 27 tōr=diḥarmma-trayam tiethatn | 24 |¹³
 28 svasti []¹⁴ samadhiḡataparichchamahāḡa-
 29 bda-mahāśāmantam saha[ābhūn]-
 30 āravam
 31 śrīmat-[Ka]ṇaṇṇam Śrī-Gōyindara¹⁵

¹ Read *duṣṭiṣṭhu*.² Metre: *Śāntilavitrīṭita*.³ Metre: *Uṇṇāḥ*.⁴ There is a mistake here.⁵ Read *rāḍvaro*.⁶ The *duṣṭa* is superfluous.⁷ *Śānti* has not been observed here.⁸ Metre: *Śāntilavitrīṭita*.⁹ The intended reading is probably *Gōyindarāma*.

32. [Brā]hma[ṇa] [de]śeyin paḍedu Rāmāivara
 33. ...¹ [ko]ṭṭudu [Na]ḷagadūru [[]] allidala
 34. [mū]ḷaṇa Maṣiyaṇikadhavalargge a
 35. mattarkkeyi kayyalu
 36.
 37.

*Fourth Side**

- 1 kālā²dōvargge ayvattu matta-
 2 maviḷu saṣṇamaṇḍha kaṣṇamaṇ [[]*]
 3 int-iniṭum=allade ūriṇ pa-
 4 ḍuvalaṇ
 5 ge Maṣiyaṇikadhavaḷara ma-
 6 ttakke vilā-bhāgam-āge na-
 7 ḍe[vudu] [[]*] antu siddh-ā-
 8 yamaṇ paṇḍiḥa paramāśhṭi(śhṭhi)-
 9 gadyāpa-ponna [[]*] int-āsthiṭ
 10 tappidōṣh Śrīparvatamummaṇ
 11 Vāraṇāsiyummaṇ kavileyu-
 12 maṇḍaḷaḷa pāpaṇ sārṅguṇ [[]*]
 13 Sāmānyō-yam dharmma-sētu[r]=aṣi-
 14 pāṇūṇ kālā kālā pā-
 15 laṇyō bhavadbhūḷ [[]*] tasmād-ā-
 16 tāṇ(tān)-bhāginaḷ pāṇthivēndrō(drān)-bhū-
 17 yō bhūyō yāchatē Rā-

¹ The letters *de* or *ge* would suit the context, though the traces do not clearly support this reading.

² The figure of a Śivaliṅga, a bull and a cow are engraved above the writing on this side.

³ The name of the deity may have been Kālā or something like Kaḷkālā, Maḷikālā, etc.

- 18 mabhadrala [[[*]]¹ Bidirara keyyo-
- 19 ttage Tippayya-goravargga
- 20 mūvattu mattar-kkeyyumana [makka]-
- 21 la-makka]ge sishyara-sishyari-
- 22 ge naḍeyisuvudu [[[*]] tappal-ā-
- 23 gadu [[[*]]

¹ Metre: *Bāṇat*.

No. 2—BICHAPALLI INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAİKAMALLA'S TIME, SAKA 996

(1 Plate)

G. E. GAL. OCTACAMUS

(Received on 2.3.1961)

The sub-joined inscription was copied by me when I visited **Bichapalli** in December, 1960.¹ The village, situated on the southern banks of the Kṛṣṇā river is in the Alampur Taluk of the Mahbubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. The inscription is engraved on three sides of a pillar set up in the compound of the Āṣṭanāra temple.

On the top of the first side of the pillar, where the record commences, are the figures of a *Siva-linga*, the sun and the crescent moon while, a little below on the right side, is a conch-shell facing left. This side of the pillar contains 24 lines of writing, while the second side has 31 lines and the third 14 lines only. Thus there are altogether 69 lines of writing which is fairly well preserved. The characters are Telugu-Kannada and are quite regular for the date, viz. 1074 A. D. The language is Kannada prose except the two imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit. In regard to orthography, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is usually doubled and that Sanskrit *s* is represented by *ś* in a number of cases.

The date of the inscription occurs in lines 25-33 as Śaka 996, Ananda, Pūṣya 4u. 8, Sunday. The date corresponds to the 28th December 1074 A.D.

The record belongs to the reign of the Western Chōlunkya king **Bhuvanailakamallaśvaya** who is also known as **Śaṇḍēvara II** and ruled from 1068 to 1076 A.D. The king is stated to have been ruling from his capital (*ndarūḍi*) at **Baṭṭakāpura** which, we know, was a secondary capital, the main capital being Kalyāṇapura, modern Kalyāṇa in the Bidar District of Mysore State. Baṭṭakāpura, which has retained its name to the present day, is a big village in the Shinggaon Taluk of the Dharmav District, Mysore State. The place was originally named after Baṭṭa of the Chellakūtana family, who was the minister of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha (814-38 A.D.) and was governing the Banavās province under that king.

The inscription introduces (lines 11-25) the king's feudatory *Mahimayajñadeva Chidda-chôjamahārāja* as governing the four divisions, of which only the *Karne-pāṇḍu* is mentioned, after obtaining them, evidently from the king, as a *śat* called *śat-syāta*, the exact significance of which is not known.² The chief is stated to have undertaken an expedition (*dig-vijaya*) against a certain *Sākuna* and to have defeated and captured him.

The object of the epigraph, given in lines 34-51, is to register a gift made, on the date discussed above, by Chidda-chōlumahārāja while he was returning from his expedition referred to above, apparently in commemoration of his victory. The gift, given as a *paramāṇava-datta*, consisted of the village **Pariyala-tirtha** on the southern bank of the **Perdora** or **Kyidmā** and belonged to the **Ayala-300** division. The donation was made to the temple of the god **Iakshmi-nāgarā**.

¹ The inscription is registered as No. D 51 in *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61.

* It is also called *hita* or *hit-dharmita* in some records. Śaṅkara II himself is stated to have been ruling Rajahm 300 and Purigara 300 as his *hit-dharmita* in a record (*SII*, Vol. II, Part I, No. 54) of the time of his father Śaṅkara I.

situated in the midst of **Elarāme-tirtha**. It is further stated that the gift was intended for the services of the god like *aṅga-bhṛṅga*, *viśvān* and *nandā-śiṅga*, for a *śāstra* or alma-house, for the twelve ascetics and for the food and clothing of the twelve students attending on the ascetics. The gift was entrusted to *Sūryarāśipañḍita* who was in charge of the place.

The feudatory chief Chidda-chōḷamahārāja is endowed with a number of epithets. They show that he belonged to the solar race and Kāśyapa-gotra and had the banner of peacock-feather and lion-crest, and that he was called *Kāśtri-vallabha* and *Oreṅṅurummar-śāvara*. We are also told that he was a bee on the lotus-feet of the god Mallikārjuna, evidently of Śrīśaila. From his name and the epithets associated with him, it is clear that he belonged to the family of **Telugu-Chōḷas** who were feudatory chiefs under the Western Chōḷukyas of Kalyāṇa and were governing some territory in the Alampur, Kurnool and Anantapur areas. He is also evidently the same chief as Chiddana-chōḷamahārāja known from a few records of Sōmāśvara I and Sōmāśvara II. The earliest mention of the chief which I have been able to trace occurs in a record¹ of Sōmāśvara I dated in 1059-60 A. D. when he was governing the Sindavāḍi-1000 division. Next he is referred to in a record² of the same king dated in 1067-68 A. D. as governing the division of Ayaḷe-300. After this, he appears as a feudatory of Sōmāśvara II in a record³ of 1073-74 A. D. representing him as governing the four divisions called Kanne-300, Peḍekal-800, Naguvāḍi-500 and Ayaḷe-300. It has been already observed that our inscription refers to him as governing the four divisions out of which only Kanne-nāḍu is mentioned. The remaining three divisions were, therefore, Peḍekal-800, Naguvāḍi-500 and Ayaḷe-300. It may be pointed out in this connection, that one Irugaṇa-chōḷa of the same family appears as a feudatory of Sōmāśvara I in the records of 1056-57 A. D.⁴ probably as governing the same four divisions while a certain Bijjana-chōḷamahārāja figures as governing the mid divisions as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI in 1078 A. D.⁵ Therefore, Chiddana-chōḷamahārāja may be assigned to the period 1058 to 1075 A. D., though his exact relationship to Irugaṇa and Bijjana, his predecessor and successor respectively, is not known at present.

As indicated above, the inscription under study informs us that Chidda-chōḷamahārāja was returning, at the time of the gift, from his northern expedition against a Śāṅga whom he had defeated and captured. This Śāṅga is no doubt a Yādava king and may be identified with Śāṅga or Śāṅgachandra II. In the Bassein⁶ and Waghil⁷ records of this Śāṅgachandra II dated in 1069 A. D., he assumes subordinate titles showing thereby that he was a feudatory of Sōmāśvara II.⁸ Hāmādrī's *Pratāparāṣa* states that Paramardidōva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI, was saved from the coalition of his enemies by Śāṅgachandra II and was established by him in the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa.⁹ This may suggest that, in the struggle for the Chōḷukya throne between Sōmāśvara II and his younger brother Vikramāditya VI, Śāṅgachandra II espoused the cause of the latter. Enraged by this act of the Yādava ruler Sōmāśvara II sent, as revealed by the epigraph under study, his chief Chidda or Chiddana-chōḷamahārāja to chastise the traitor. Our record claims that the Chōḷa chief defeated and captured the Yādava king while Hāmādrī's work, written about two centuries later,¹⁰ does not admit it. It is not impossible that Śāṅgachandra II might have

¹ *SI.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 123.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-60, No. B 115.

³ *Ibid.*, No. B 116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. B 113 and 114.

⁵ *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Ind. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 60.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 119.

⁷ *Alamy*, Vol. II, p. 222.

⁸ *Essex. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 443 and 313.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 271, verso 29.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

joined Vikramāditya VI to oust Sōmāśvara II in an earlier attempt which must have taken place before 1074 A. D., the date of the present record, and which might have proved unsuccessful. But we know that Vikramāditya VI finally ousted his elder brother and crowned himself sometime in 1076 A. D.¹ It is also stated in the Āvri plates of 1098 A. D. of Āirama² who was the son and successor of Sōmapachandra II and feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, that he conquered Sōmāśvara II and gave the kingdom to his master.³ It appears that both Sōmapachandra II and his son Āirama participated, sometime after 1074 A. D., in the successful attempt to gain the Kalyāṇa throne for Vikramāditya VI.

The following **geographical names** are found in the inscription: Kannu which is stated to be one of the four divisions obtained by the chief from the king. As shown above, Kannu-nāḍu was a three-hundred division, while the other three divisions were Peḍekal-800, Naruvāḍi-500 and Ayaje-300. Kannu-nāḍu appears to represent the area about the Nandikotkur Taluk of the Kurnool District.⁴ Naruvāḍi-500, which is evidently the same as the ancient Nalavāḍi-vishaya corresponded to portions of the Kurnool and Anantapur Districts.⁵ Another part of the Kurnool District was the Peḍekal-800 division which appears as Peḍekal-vishaya in earlier records.⁶ Ayaje-300 corresponded to the area round about modern Ayije in the Alampur Taluk of the Mahabubnagar District. Elarāme-tirtha wherein the temple for which the gift was made was situated may be the modern Bichapaḷli, the findspot of the record. I am not certain about the identification of the village of Pariyala.

TEXT*

First Side

- 1 Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśrayaṁ
- 2 Śrī-pri(pri)thvī-vallabham mahārājā-
- 3 dhīrāja-paramāśva(śva)rath-parama-
- 4 bhāttārakam Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tīja[karṁ]
- 5 Chāḷukyābharuṇam āśimad-Bhuva-
- 6 nāikamalladēvarā vije(ja)ya-rājyam-uttho-
- 7 r-ōttar-ābhivra(vrī)ddha-pravarādhha(rōdha)mānam-ā-
- 8 chaṁ(cha)ndr-āṅka-tārāṁ-baram saluttam-ire Ba-
- 9 mīkāpurada nelo-vijīno[sukha-samkhatā.⁸

* Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 193 ff.

¹ *Bhāṇḍa Jñāna Sāmantakaḥ Mandala Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 1. The editor reads the name as Iramma while Hünchler's *Urochāṇḍa* gives it as Pa(A)irama. The plates which I am re-editing in this journal really give the name as Āirama, spelt as *āira*—as for metrical requirement.

² A record of 1057 A. D. from the Nandikotkur Taluk refers to the gift of a village in the Kannu-300 division. Cf. *II*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 119.

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 363; above, Vol. XXII, p. 29.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 312.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ There is an ornamental design at the beginning of the line.

⁷ Read *satkhata*.

- 10 vinōdadāṁ rājyathigeṇṇutt-ire
 11 aṁṁādhigata-paṁcchu-mahā-sa(sa)ḍḍa-
 12 mahāmaṇḍa]ḍṣva(ṣva)raṁ-anēka-rīpu-
 13 durddharanī varu-bhuj-ḍḍi(ṣi)-bhāsura-pracha-
 14 ḍḍa[m*] prashtyḍḍinakara¹-kula-nandanath
 15 Kēṣya(ṣya)pa-gōṭraṁ mayūra-pāṁohha-(dhva).²
 16 Kāvāri-vallabhāṁ kambal-paṇḍa-ghōḍhaṇḍa[th]
 17 sinha-lāṁchhanan-Oreyār-pputara-
 18 ṛṣva(ṣva)raṁ parachakra-dhavalath maṇḍa[ika-(ṣi(ṣi))]-
 19 khāmapī su(ṣa)raṇḍagata-ruksbhāmapī Chō-
 20 ḷa-Lāḷa-sīmanṭa-ḍḍa[ath]⁴ pāḷiva Bhīmāna ga-
 21 nṭhavārāṇaḥ sīmanṭa-Mallikārjjunadēva-pā-
 22 ḍḍaḥja⁴-bhūṇḍaḥ sīmanṭa-mahāmaṇḍa]ḍṣva(ṣva)-
 23 raṁ Chidda-chōḷamahārājāḥ Kanne-nāḍ-ḍ-
 24 ḍy-ḍḍi nāḷkūḥ nōḷumāḥ vḷa-virṭṭi(ṭi)yaḥ.⁵

Second Side

- 25 ḍa paḍed-uttara-dīśavarakkam
 26 Sāgunana mālē dig-vijayam
 27 geṇḍa-avana[th] pīḍḍi[ai] jayath-
 28 geṇḍa baruttu Saka-ra-
 29 rāḥa 996 cey-Ananda-
 30 sarhatsarada Paṇḍya su-
 31 dhḍha(ddha) 8 mi Adityavā-
 32 rad-uttarāyana-sarh-

¹ The reading given in other records is *pradyōḍḍi(n)ḍḍa-dimbaru* (Cf. *SI*, Vol. IX, Part 1, Nos. 122 and 207).

² The letter *dh* is partly broken and the next letter which is completely lost may be restored as *ja*.

³ Read *paḍḍiṇa*, which is derived from Sanskrit *paḍḍi*, 'an elephant'.

⁴ Read *pāḍ-ambhāṭa* or *pāḍ-āḷa*.

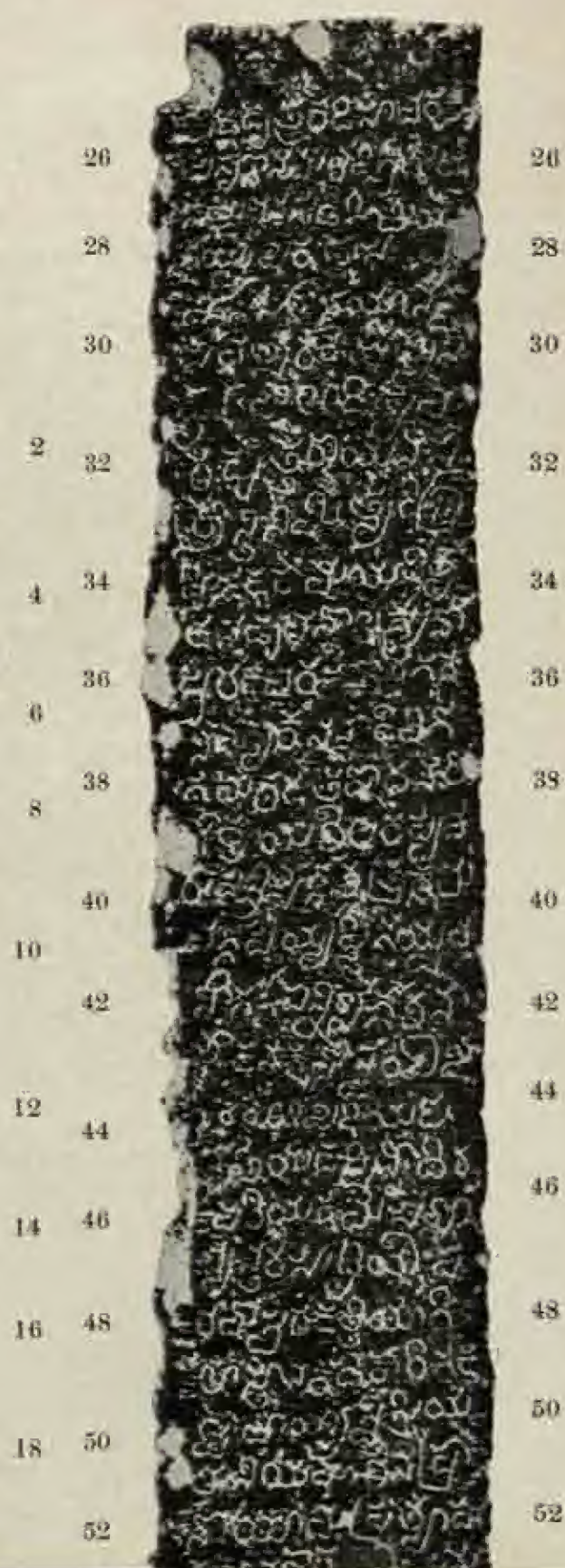
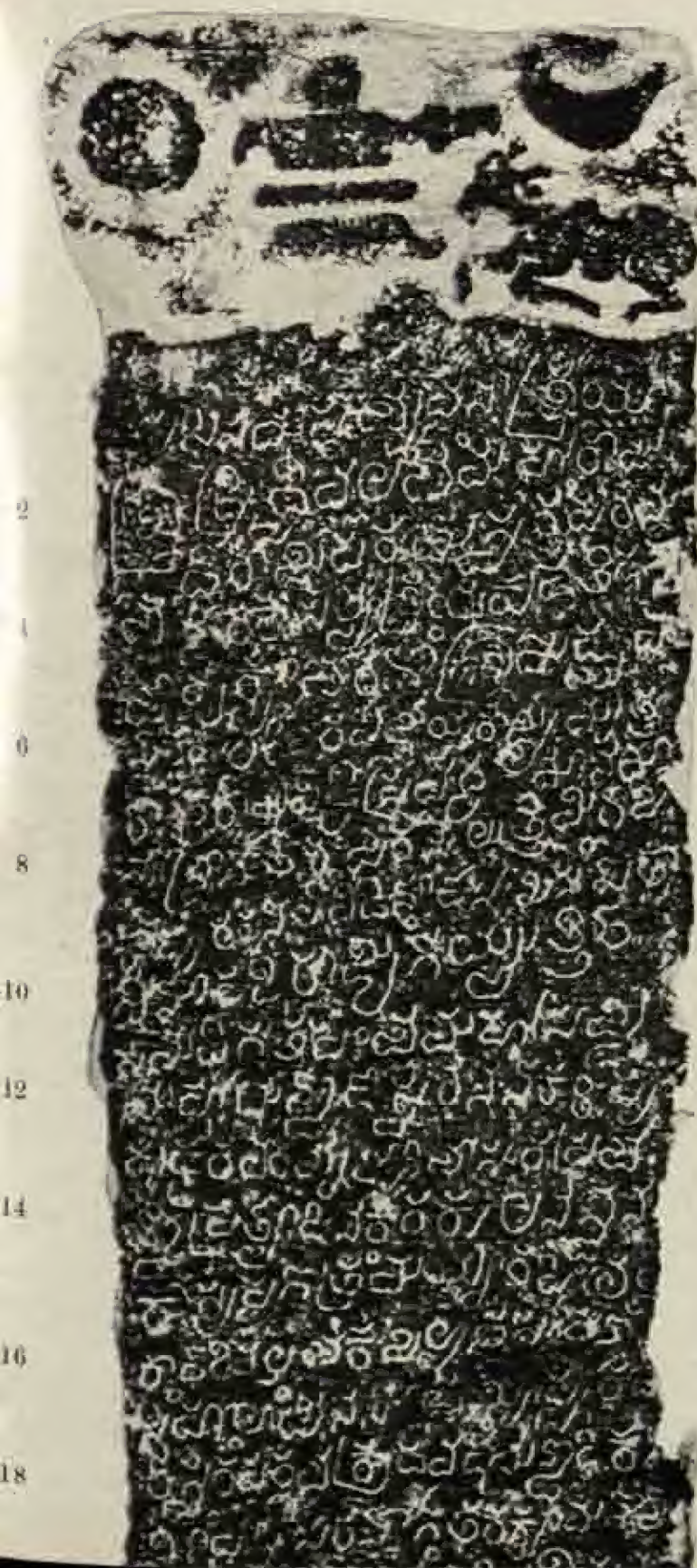
⁵ Read *ṛiḷ* or *vḷa-ṛiḷ* which is the same as *ḷi-ṛiḷ* found in other records.

⁶ The letter *pi* is engraved slightly above the line.

BICHAPALLI INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAİKAMALLA'S TIME, SAKA 996

First Side

Second Side



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- 33 krānti nimitya(tta)diñś śrī-
 34 mad-Elarāmeya tirttha-
 35 da naḍuvaṇa Lakṣmaṇē-
 36 sva(śva)radōvar=amga-bhōgakkam
 37 nivēdyakkam nandā-dīvige-
 38 gaṁ maḥhade tapōdhana(ruñ)
 39 [Svā]dhyāyāśīlar=appava-
 40 ruñ pannirvvargge āś(śa)trakkam=a-
 41 vargge paryyaśī-geyya m[ā]-
 42 ṇige[-pannirvvargge=āśan=ā-
 43 chchhādanakkam=end=Ayijē
 44 300 ru haliya Pe-
 45 r[ddo]reya dakṣiṇa-thi(t)ra-
 46 da Pariyaḷamañ śarv-ā-
 47 bhyantara-sudhāhiyīm¹ pa-
 48 ramēva(śva)ra-dattiy-āgi
 49 ā etā(sthā)nakic=adhiikāṇiga[-a-
 50 pp-āchāryyar=Svasti ya-
 51 ma-miyam-āśa(śa)ra-prē-
 52 pāyāma-pratyāhā-
 53 ra-dhyāna-ihāraṇa-japa-sa-
 54 mādhī-āl(ā)la-sarūpannar=jaga-
 55 ti(ti)-prāśa(śa)nnardhadha(e-ddha)ram-āchita-

Third Side

- 56 rakṣar akhīa-jana-kalpa(lpa)-vrikakar=vibudha-
 57 pāyāha-nadī-pravāhar=ppannag-ā-
 58 bharaṇa-charaṇ-āraṇḍar=appa krīma-

¹ Read *śiddhigītā*.

- 59 t-Sūryyārāśi-paṇḍitadēvara kālām
 60 karchchī dhārā-pūrvvakam mādī koṭṭa-
 61 r-I dharmamānau-sajidavargge Vāra-
 62 pāḍi(a)yal-sāstra kavile-
 63 yuṁ brāhmaṣaraṇ-sajida dōṣa[m]
 64 sūrggu[m*] || 0 0 Na viśa[m] viśam-ity-āhu-
 65 r-ddēvasvaṁ viśam-achyatō [I*] viśam-ē-
 66 kākinam hanti dēvasvaṁ putra-pantṭikam(trikam) [II*]
 67 Sva-dattam(tīām) para-dattam(tīām) vā yō harēti(ta) vasuṁ-
 68 dhārā[m*] sa(śa)stīravaraha-sahāśrō(śrō)pi mīśṭā(viśṭhā)yām
 69 jūyatō kṛimi[h*] || 0 0
-

No. 10—SRISAILAM INSCRIPTION OF KAPILESVARA, SAKA 1382

(I. Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 6.6.1961)

The stone slab bearing this inscription is set up in the eastern courtyard of the Mallikārjuna temple at **Srisaïlam** in the Nandikotkur Taluk of the Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. One half of the slab from top to bottom is occupied by **Oriya** writing and the other half by writing in **Telugu** characters. The inscription was noticed in the Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, 1914-15, as No. 30 of 1915 (p. 59; cf. p. 84 for the English equivalent of the date).

Although for reasons to be discussed below, it is difficult to be sure whether the stone slab bears only one inscription or two different epigraphs, it is not impossible that there is really only one record, the first half of which is written in Telugu characters and in an admixture of the Telugu and Sanskrit languages and the second half in the Oriya alphabet and language; that is to say that the Oriya part is probably a mere continuation of the section in Telugu. There are 37 lines of writing in the Telugu portion covering an area about 62 cms. in breadth and 1.32 metres in height, while the Oriya section consists of only 20 lines of writing which covers a space about 38 cms. broad and 1.15 metres high. Of the two parts, the Telugu portion is carefully engraved and its preservation is also fairly satisfactory. On the other hand, the Oriya part is deeply indented and the preservation of the writing in it is also not quite satisfactory. The letters in this part exhibit cursive forms as in the Oriya section of the Veligalangi grant of Kapileśvara, edited above.¹ They are not uniform in size and a few of them look unlike any letter of the contemporary Oriya alphabet. It is difficult to be sure about the reading of the upper part of the Oriya section of the inscription. The Oriya part appears to have been engraved by a person who was unfamiliar with the Oriya alphabet and drew up the letters as he felt he saw them in the draft before him, which may have been prepared by an Oriya officer of the king whose eulogy is contained in the epigraph.

A feature of the inscription to which attention may be drawn is that, although the Oriya section looks like the latter half of the document the first half of which is the portion in Telugu, a few epithets of the hero of the eulogy already employed in the first section are repeated in the second. Even in the Oriya part, the word *Gajapati* seems to occur twice, once in line 15 and again in lines 17-18. It has also to be noticed that, while the Telugu part looks like the composition of a man of some learning, the author of the Oriya section was a less accomplished person.

Lines 2-6 about the beginning of the Telugu section give the date of the record as Śālivāhana-Saka 1382, the cyclical year **Vikrama**, **Aśvādha-sudi 15, Thursday**, when there was a lunar eclipse. The date corresponds to the 3rd July 1465 A. D.

The Telugu part of the record is not complete in itself since it ends abruptly in the middle of the description of a royal personage whose epithets show that he was no other than **Gajapati**

¹ See Vol. XXXIII, Plate facing p. 287. Cf. also the Oriya part of the Chitravall grant (ibid., Vol. XXXIV, Plate facing p. 185).

Kapilēśvara of Orissa, though the king's name is not there. Lines 18-20 at the end of the Oriya section, however, refer to the reign of the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara, though there appears to be no mention of his regnal or Aṅka year corresponding to Śaka 1382. Since Kapilēśvara ascended the throne in Śaka 1356 (1434-35 A.D.), Śaka 1382 would correspond to his 27th regnal year or 33rd Aṅka year.

The Telugu part of the inscription begins with two *maṅgala* passages (lines 1-2) which are followed by the date (lines 2-6), discussed above. A passage beginning with the word *suasti* then mentions the god Mallikārjuna alias Mahādēva who is called the best Svayambhu-linga of Śaṭparvata (lines 6-9). The word *Mahāderuniḥi* (i.e. 'to Mahādēva') at the end of this section in Telugu would suggest that the object of the inscription was to record certain gifts made in favour of the god Mallikārjuna Mahādēva of Śrīśaila. It is interesting to note that the expressions *Śrīparvata*, *Svayambhu* and *Linga-chakravartin* have the honorific word *śrī* prefixed to them while the honorific *śrīmat* is prefixed to *Mallikārjuna* and *Mahādēva*. Thus none of them is without an honorific. The same tendency is also exhibited in lines 16-18 of the Oriya part in which the hero of the eulogy is mentioned as *śrīmat-Karṇāḍēśvara śrī-Kalaḥaragēśvara śrī-Vīra śrī-Gajapati śrī-Kapilēśvarādīva-mahārāja*.

The long passage in Sanskrit that follows in lines 9-22 of the Telugu part also begins with the word *suasti* and apparently refers to the heroic members of a royal family by way of introducing the hero of the eulogy as one of them. In this section, there are three lengthy and bombastic compound expressions ending in the sixth case-ending plural (cf. "*śampadām* in line 15, "*varanulha-rūpām* in line 17 and "*chakrasādhānam* in line 22). Since the next passage introduces a royal personage, the style of the above section seems to follow the pattern of such expressions as *Pallavaśālin Śivashandamraṇā, Vāṭipukūṭha Pravarāṇḍa*, etc. Unfortunately, the name of the dynasty is not mentioned. The person to be introduced is, however, called *Sūryavarṇa-śrīśaṅkha-stambha* in lines 23-29 of the following section, so that a word like *Sūryavarṇasīpinām* would have been suitable at the end of the previous section.

The rest of the writing in the Telugu section in lines 23-37 are epithets of a king whose name, viz. Kapilēśvara, comes at the end of the Oriya part as already indicated above. It is interesting to note that many of the king's epithets in this section are also applied to him in the Warangal inscription of his nephew and viceroy Raghudēva, edited above.¹ While editing the Warangal inscription, we have pointed out that most of these typical epithets are copied from certain Gāṇḍa inscriptions like the Draksharama, Rhuṇaneswar and Kanchipuram inscriptions² of Anaṅgabhinna III (1241-38 A.D.) and one of the Kapāla inscriptions³ of the latter's son Narasiṃha I (1238-65 A.D.).

The Warangal inscription applies to Kapilēśvara the epithets *Mahāśvara-putra*, *Purnahōtama-putra* and *Durgā-putra*, though the first of these three epithets is omitted in the inscription under study. But the king is called at the same time both *parama-vaiṣṇava* (a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu) and *parama-māhēśvara* (a devout worshipper of Mahādēva or Śiva) in our record. This fact coupled with the epithet *Durgā-putra*, i.e. 'son of the goddess Durgā (the consort of Śiva)', would suggest that the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara claimed to have been at the same time a Vaiṣṇava, a Śaiva and a Śākta. While Kapilēśvara's devotion to the god Purnahōtama (i.e. Viṣṇu in the shape of Purnahōtama-Jagannātha of Purī) is known from many records including the one under study, the Warangal inscription suggests that he also shared his ancestors' devotion

¹ See Vol. XXXIII, pp. 125 ff.

² *SIU*, Vol. IV, p. 467 (No. 1229); above, Vol. XXX, p. 234; Vol. XXXI, pp. 94 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 41 ff.

to the god Mallinātha and goddess Maṅgalachandī or Guṇamaṅgalachandī who were probably aspects of Śiva and Durgā. Kapilēsvara appears to have become a devotee of Viṣṇu only after his occupation of the Gaṅga kingdom which, as we know, had been dedicated to Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Purī by Gaṅga Ananābhīma III. that king and his successors ruling the kingdom as the god's deputies.¹

While editing the Warangal inscription, we also pointed out that, in spite of their staunch devotion to the god Viṣṇu in the form of Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Purī, the Gaṅga king Ananābhīma III and his successor, who ruled Orissa as deputies of the said god, could not dissociate themselves from the Śaiva leanings of their ancestors. It was further pointed out that the representation of Kapilēsvara and his nephew with both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva epithets, in spite of the fact that Kapilēsvara avowedly ruled his kingdom on behalf of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha like his Gaṅga predecessors, may be due to the fact that the Śūryavarmas were also Śaivas originally. But, in this connection, we remarked, 'It has, however, to be noticed that a similar description of Kapilēsvara is not noticed in any other inscription of the Śūryavarmas Gajapati family. Are we then to suppose that the reason underlying the above description of Kapilēsvara was the Śaiva leanings of Raghubal?'² Now that we have a similar representation of Kapilēsvara as both a Śaiva and a Vaiṣṇava at the same time in the record under review, this suspicion may be regarded as unjustifiable.

The last epithet of Kapilēsvara in the Telugu part in lines 36-37 represents him as the lord of the eastern world including countries like Karpātā, Lātā, Draviḷa, Gauḍa, Utkala and Śīmbhala. This hyperbolic epithet is not found in other inscriptions.

Very little is intelligible in lines 1-5 of the Oriya part though one may suspect that it continues the description of the king. He is apparently called *Puruṣhōttama-putra* in line 1. *Rāṇula* (*Rāja-kula*) in line 2 and *rājariśi* (*rājarsā*) in line 3. Of these, the epithet *Rāṇula* is a feudatory title indicating Kapilēsvara's subordinate position in relation to the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha who, as indicated above, was regarded as the master of his kingdom. It may be noted in this connection that lines 25-26 of the Telugu part describe Kapilēsvara as *Paranabhāṭṭāraka-jagan-mūlākāra-śrī-Puruṣhōttama-putra* which may be interpreted in two ways. We may take it to mean that Kapilēsvara himself is endowed with the imperial title *Paranabhāṭṭāraka* and alternatively also that it is the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha that enjoyed the said imperial title. The first meaning seems to be intended by the author, though the use of the feudatory title *Rāṇula* in the description of Kapilēsvara in line 2 of the Oriya part may tempt one to suggest that the second of the two alternative interpretations discussed above is the correct one. We have evidence to show that Kapilēsvara enjoyed imperial titles as well. The corrupt expressions in lines 12-19 of the Oriya section represent him as *Mahārājā Mahārājādhirāja Rājaseva Paramēśvara Gajapati Gauḍēśvara Śrīmat-Karpātāṭṭhara Śrī-Kalahrājaseva Śrī-Vira Śrī-Gajapati Śrī-Kapilēsvaradeva-mahārāja*.

From the parts of the inscription that can be made out, it appears to be merely a eulogy of the Gajapati king Kapilēsvara of Orissa. There is no mention of any pious or heroic act of the king in the Telugu portion and in the readable part of the Oriya section of the record. It is also difficult to determine whether the upper part of the Oriya section, the reading of which is dubious, contained any such reference. But, as already indicated above, there is the passage 'to Mahādēva' about the beginning of the Telugu section and this suggests that the object of the epigraph was to record certain gifts in favour of the god Mallikārjuna Mahādēva of Śrisailam. Moreover,

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 12.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, p. 127.

in ancient and medieval Indian records of the *prastāvi* type, the description of the achievements of the hero is offered as an introduction to the delineation of particular pious or heroic acts done by him. Thus the present inscription also does not appear to be a mere eulogy of Kapilēśvara without recording a pious act of the king. It may therefore be concluded that there is reference to the gifts made in favour of Mallikārjuna Mahādēva in the upper part of the Oriya section of the inscription. Of course, it may be suggested that the Oriya part of the record is complete in itself and that the end of the Telugu section containing a record of the donation was engraved on a separate stone slab which has not been available to us. But, even in such a case, i.e. if the Oriya part is regarded as a complete record by itself, its upper part should contain some reference to a pious activity as otherwise the passage 'during the victorious reign of Kapilēśvaradēva-mahārāja', with which it concludes, will be meaningless.

It is difficult to determine whether the present inscription proves Kapilēśvara's presence at Śrīraīlam on the date of the record. If he was present to offer his homage to the great Mallikārjuna of Śrīraīlam on the auspicious occasion of the lunar eclipse, he should have certainly made some donation in favour of the god and that is expected to have been recorded in the inscription. But the passage referring to [an act performed] during his reign in the Oriya part, referred to above, may also suggest that it was one of his subordinates who had occasion to visit the Mallikārjuna temple and was responsible for setting up the inscription recording the donation of gifts made by him in favour of the deity, though the record of donation cannot be traced in the readable part of the inscription and has also not been as yet traced on any other slab among the votive epigraphs of Śrīraīlam. In this connection, reference may be made to the Uyyulavada (Kollkuntla Taluk, Karimnagar District) inscription¹ recording the erection of a *jaya-stambha* by Kapilēśvara's officer Narasimha-pātra:

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are all well known.

TEXT*

Telugu Part

- 1 Kalyāṇam=astu | svasti-śrī-jay-ā-
- 2 līlādaya | Śaivādhana-Śaka-varuṣa-
- 3 mūlaka 1382 gunathī Vikrama-
- 4 saṁvatsara Āshāḍha-tu 15 Gu² nā-
- 5 rthī Sōma-grahana-puṇya-kāla-
- 6 māṁdu | svasti ||³ śrī-Śrīpārvata śrī-
- 7 Śrīyambhūta śrī-Liṅga-chakravartī śrī-
- 8 mīmā(ma)u-Mallikāḥṛjuna(kāḥṛj)uṁ śrīmān(ma)u-Mahādē-
- 9 vumkī ||⁴ svasti-śrī ||⁵ savy-āpamvy-ādi-vṛṣiṣṭa-
- 10 epābhja-mumākṛṣṭha- |⁶ jaraṭi-⁷ | kamati-⁸ | nishṭu(śhṭu)-

¹ J. E. Ep., 1935-36, No. B 277.

* From impressions.

² This is an abbreviation of *Guruvārī*.

³ The *devāḥ* here and below is used generally as a hyphen is used in English.

⁴ The *baḥṛjuna* *reṣṭha* *jaraṭi* or *jaraṭi* in the sense of a kind of grass and *jaraṭha* is explained as old, drooping, arid, yellowish, etc. The intended reading may be *jaraṭi*, 'an old or arid female', though the meaning of the section is not clear. Do the words refer to the womb of the cow?

⁵ It is uncertain whether the intended word is *kamati*, 'a small female tortoise'. As indicated above, the meaning of the section is not clear.

2	శ్రీకృష్ణమూర్తివేదాంతము	2
4	సంపూర్ణమహాదేవముగ	4
6	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	6
8	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	8
10	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	10
12	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	12
14	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	14
16	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	16
18	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	18
20	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	20
22	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	22
24	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	24
26	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	26
28	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	28
30	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	30
32	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	32
34	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	34
36	మొదలుబిన్నులైనవచ్చు	36

2

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20

- 11 r-ō(d*)lacidḍa(ḍa)- | kōdantḍa(ḍa)- | prachantḍa(ḍa)- | ray-ā-
 12 tripta- | kahiṭa- | dṛipta- | śara-viṣata- | vihi-
 13 ta- | ravi-kara-nihita- | tīmīra- | tamisrā-
 14 pradhvāṇa- | saṁppā(pā)ḍita- | mukha-hūma-
 15 śuchi- | saṁppa(pa)ḍām | satata- | sa-maṇḍa-
 16 kāri-ghaṭ[ā]-ghaṭ[ā]-rav-ōjjāgarita- | sā-
 17 garō(r-ā)vadhi | vaṁḍa(dha)ṇḍāṇ | mīśakṛipa-kṛi-
 18 pāṇa- | dhārā-dāriṣ-ārati- | rājanya-mi-
 19 raṁjana-bahaja-ni[h*]ivāsa- | gaṁdhavā-
 20 ha- | luheri-pariraṁbha- | paraṁparā-samu-
 21 ttaradgita-pratāpa- | pāvaka- | prasara-
 22 pradi(di)pta- | nikhila-dik-chakrevāḥḍāṇ | samara-
 23 mukh-āṇka-ripa-darppa-mardana | bhūja-bāla-pa-
 24 rākrama | paramavaishya- | paramamāhēśvara
 25 paratma-bhaṭā(tā)ṛaka | jagan-mūla-kāraṇa- | śrī-Puru-
 26 śhōttama-putra | śrī-Durgā-putra | trō(trā)yi-
 27 samudharapa-parāyaṇa | vaṁḍa(dha)ṇḍāḥḍā-
 28 ra-Mahāvarāha | **Sūryya-vaṁḍā-āvalaṇ-**
 29 **bana-stambha** | dharmma-śakha-dakṣha | nava-nav-ānu-
 30 ra(rā)pa-karmma-tulita- | pūrva-paṁṣati-charita |
 31 meryādā-mahōḍadhi trō(trā)yi-viḍy-ānava-
 32 dya-vidva[ī*]-jana- | viśāṇit-āṣṭvāda | vachana-pra[ti]-
 33 samaya- | samupadīryamāna- | sapt-āṁga-
 34 pira[ī]-jana- | saṁtitā(tā)pa-chaḍḍana | san-mitra-hṛidā-
 35 ya-nāḍana | **Vaivaṣvata-Mann-parāṁppa(pa)rā-prasūta-**
 36 **[Rāma]chandra-charit-āṇakṛita | Karmā(rpā)ṭa-Lāṭa-[Dra]vi-**
 37 **ḷa-[Gauḍ-Ō]ṭi[ka]ḷa-Siṁhala-prabhṛiti- | prāḡ-dha[r-ā]dhīśvara**

Oriya Part

- 1 śrī-Rā
 2 śrī || [śrī]ma
 3 āṁ ||

* This character is engraved below the line with a mark.

- 4 japa
 5
 6 [Pu*]rasōtama-putra
 7
 8
 9 rāvaṇa
 10 rāja-riśa
 11 .. kṛita prachī-
 12 ṇḍa-dōraṇḍa-[māhā]-
 13 rā[]ḥaṣa¹ māhārājā-
 14 dhīrājā rājōvata pra-
 15 meṣvara Gajapata(tī) Gauḍa-
 16 sra vra(śrī)ma .² naṣṣera vra(śrī)-Kala-
 17 [va]ragō[śa]ra sra(śrī)-Vira tra(śrī)-Ga-
 18 [japati-śrī]-Kapilēsara-
 19 [dēva]-[mā]hārājāṅkara
 20 [vijō]-rājō-ama[ī]³ [] *

¹ We have ṇḍaḥ in this context elsewhere.

² This sign does not look like any letter but may stand for *l*-Ka.

³ Sanskrit vijaya-vijaya-samaya.

No. 11—INSCRIPTIONS OF TWO BRAHMANA RULERS OF GAYĀ

(3 Plates)

D. C. SINGAR, OUTACAMUND

(Received on 5.4.1961)

Five stone inscriptions of a Brāhmana ruling family of Gayā are known to have been discovered at that famous holy place. Four of them belong to Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya, who was the son of Śādraka and grandson of Paritōṣha, and one to Yakṣhapāla, son of Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya.

The five inscriptions are the following :¹

1. Inscription found at the gate of the Kṛiṣṇa-Dvārīkā temple at Gayā, recording the erection of a temple for the god Janārdana at Gayā by Viśvāditya in the 15th year of the reign of the Pāla king Nayapāla (c. 1008-55 A.D.), i.e. about 1055 A.D. The *prastāvi* was composed by *Vijī-rādya* Sahasīdeva and engraved by the artisan Saṁthasoma, son of Adhipa-soma. This inscription was edited by M. M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, Vol. LXIX, Part I, 1900, pp. 180 ff., and illustrated by R.D. Banerji in his *Pālas of Bengal* (Mem. A. S. B., Vol. V, No. 3), Plate XXV. A transcript of the epigraph with translation also appeared in A. K. Maitreya's *Gaudakīrtanā*, pp. 110 ff.

2. Inscription inside the small shrine of Narasīṁha in the courtyard of the Viṣṇupāda temple at Gayā, recording the erection of the temple of the god Gaḍādhara and some other unnamed shrines by Viśvarūpa in the 16th year of Nayapāla's reign. The *prastāvi* was composed by *Vaidya* Vajrapāṇi and 'written' by Śarvānanda. A rough transcript of the epigraph appeared with illustration in R. D. Banerji's work referred to above, p. 78 and Plate XXVI.

3. Inscription on a slab under the image of the god Gaḍādhara. As the image could not be removed without wounding the religious feelings of the local population, only the first four lines of the epigraph with a part of the fifth could be copied. R. D. Banerji published his transcript of these lines in his *Pālas of Bengal*, pp. 82-83, Plate XXXI(c). The record begins with 8 *śloka* *Mūrtapādya* and a verse in praise of the Sun-god. But verses 2-3 and the beginning of verse 4 in line 3 show that this part of the epigraph is exactly the same as verses 2-4 of the Narasīṁha temple inscription of Viśvarūpa (No. 2 above), which, however, begins with a stanza in praise of the goddess Lakṣmī. It appears that this inscription also was a *prastāvi* composed by *Vaidya* Vajrapāṇi and that it recorded the erection of a temple by the same Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya. It is, however, difficult to say whether it was dated in the 15th year of Nayapāla like the Narasīṁha temple inscription.

4. Inscription affixed to the wall of a small shrine under the Akṣaya-vata at Gayā, recording the erection of the Prajātanahāvara and Vajra temples and other shrines by Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya in the 5th regnal year of the Pāla king Vīrghapāla (c. 1055-70 A.D.), i.e. about 1060 A.D. The *prastāvi* was composed by *Vaidya* Dharmapāṇi. A rough transcript of the inscription with an illustration was published by Banerji, op. cit., pp. 81-82 and Plate XXVII.

5. Inscription in the Śūālā temple recording the pious activities of Yakṣhapāla without any date either in Yakṣhapāla's reign or in that of the contemporary Pāla emperor. It is a *prastāvi* composed by the Brāhmana Markṣi belonging to the family hailing from Āṅg-grāma and was

¹ R. D. Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal* (Mem. A. S. B., Vol. V, No. 3), p. 95.

'written' by Padmapāṇi. The inscription was edited by Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 63 ff., and transcribed and illustrated by R. D. Banerji, op. cit., pp. 96-97 and Plate XXIX.

The text and translation of the Śitalā temple inscription of Yakṣhapāla published by Kielhorn contain some errors. The most important among the misreadings is that Kielhorn failed to read verses 2 and 12 correctly and recognise the name of the Akṣaya-vaśa in both the stanzas. A serious defect in Kielhorn's interpretation of the inscription concerns the passage describing Śūdraka in verse 3. This passage reads: *svayam=apriyayad=Indrakalpō Gaṇḍ-īdvārō nripati-lakṣaṇa-pūjyā gom*, and was translated as: "to him paid homage of his own accord the ruler of Gaṇḍa, almost equal to Indra, with homage fit for a lord of man." This creates an impression as if Śūdraka was a superior to the Gaṇḍa king. The appropriate translation of the section would be: "whom the lord of Gaṇḍa, almost equal to Indra, honoured of his own accord with the honour that was the mark of royalty." It is clear that Śūdraka was recognised as a ruling chief by the contemporary Pāla emperor of Gaṇḍa. The *nripati-lakṣaṇa* was no doubt something like a *paṭṭa* (fillet or turban) or *śilaka* (a mark of sandal paste or some such thing put on the forehead of the subordinate by his master) and reminds us of the passage *tiśṭhā-bhīpālā-pudatta-paṭṭa-baṇḍha-rībhūṣita* used in respect of the *Rājadhānīyas* (viceroys or feudatory rulers).¹

Although the recognition of Śūdraka as the subordinate ruler of Gayā meant very little to the Pāla emperor, Kielhorn's translation has influenced most writers on the history of the Pālas. Thus R. D. Banerji quotes Kielhorn's transcript of Yakṣhapāla's record and asserts, "Most probably Yakṣhapāla assumed independence during the troublesome (sic) times of the reign of Vīrahapāla III, Mahipāla II and Śārapāla."² H. C. Ray refers to the Gaṇḍa king's 'homage' to Śūdraka and to the epithets *nripa* and *varindra* applied respectively to Viśvarūpa (Viśvāditya) and Yakṣhapāla and concludes, "The assumption of royal titles by Viśvāditya and his son Yakṣhapāla of Gayā shows that the Pāla hold even over Magadha was growing loose. It is likely that this family became practically independent after the death of Rāmapāla (c. 1126 A.D. according to Ray)."³ This is all imaginary since the words *nripa* and *varindra* would suit even a small Zamindar during the period in question. Even H. C. Majumdar, who rightly thinks that 'the lord of Gaṇḍa formally honoured Śūdraka by investing him as king with proper ceremony', also refers to Viśvarūpa's epithet *nripa* and to the absence of the date in the regnal reckoning of the contemporary Pāla king in Yakṣhapāla's inscription and concludes, "A study of these four inscriptions (i.e. Nos. 1-3 and 4-5) shows the gradual decline of the Pāla power in the Gayā District during the reigns of Nayapāla and Vīrahapāla III. Thus towards the middle of the eleventh century A.D., the fabric of the Pāla sovereignty was crumbling to dust."⁴ Of course, the records of Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya are dated in the 15th regnal year of Nayapāla and the 5th year of the reign of Vīrahapāla III, while the inscription of Yakṣhapāla does not bear any date at all. It is, however, significant that Yakṣhapāla does not date his record in a year of his own reign as an independent ruler is expected to do. We therefore find it difficult to come to the conclusion that Yakṣhapāla threw off the yoke of the Pālas, even if it is conceded that reference to the date was purposely avoided in his epigraph and that its absence is not due to oversight on the part of the author of the *pradasti*.

Another fact that has to be considered in this connection is that, about the middle of the eleventh century A.D., Magadha appears to have been under the rule of a line of chiefs styled *Piṭṭipati* (lord of *Piṭṭi* or the *Vajrasana-piṭṭha* at Bodh Gaya) which is explained in the commentary on Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmācharita* as *Magadhādhipa* (i.e. the lord of Magadha or South Bihar)

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 7, note 1.

² Op. cit., p. 97.

³ *DESI*, Vol. I, p. 218.

⁴ *Ibid. Ben.*, Vol. I, p. 149.

and that they appear to have had their headquarters at Bodhgaya. Elsewhere,¹ we had occasion to discuss what we know of these rulers. The *Piṭhīpati*-*Maṅgaladhīpa* Bhīmavarṇa was a feudatory of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (c. 1080-1125 A.D.)² and helped the latter in ousting Kaivarta Bhīma's rule from North Bengal apparently during the earlier part of Rāmapāla's reign. Rāmapāla's maternal uncle and general Mahāpa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa governor of Aṅga (East Bihar) and the commander of the Pāla forces against Kaivarta Bhīma, is described in the *Rāmcharita* as the vanquisher of *Piṭhīpati* Dēvarakṣita, who appears to have been a predecessor of Bhīmavarṇa in the rule of Magadha.³ The Sarnath inscription⁴ of Kumārādēvi informs us that Mahāpa's daughter Śaṅkarādēvi was given in marriage to *Piṭhīpati* Dēvarakṣita, son of *Piṭhīkōpati* (*Piṭhīpati*) Vallabharāja, and that Śaṅkarādēvi's daughter Kumārādēvi was married to Gāhaḍavāla Gōvinda-chandra (1114-35 A.D.) of Kanauj. Thus Dēvarakṣita was a contemporary of Mahāpa who was an earlier contemporary of Rāmapāla and probably ruled about the eighth decade of the eleventh century. His father, Vallabharāja's rule therefore may be roughly assigned to about the seventh decade of that century when Rāmapāla's father Vīrghapāla III (c. 1048-75 A.D.)⁵ and Yakṣhapāla of Gayā were also ruling. If the *Piṭhīpati* Vallabharāja and his son Dēvarakṣita were the seniors of the Chhinda family, as has been supposed by some scholars,⁶ their ancestors were also probably ruling from their headquarters at Bodhgaya like themselves. It would further appear that these chiefs having their headquarters at Bodhgaya were far more powerful rulers than the minor chiefs of Gayā and, considering the fact that Gayā and Bodhgaya are only about seven miles apart, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Brāhmana rulers of Gayā were directly under the *Piṭhīpati* of Bodhgaya.

As regards the family to which the Gayā rulers belonged, M. Chakravarti regarded it as low class Brāhmana⁷ while A. K. Maitraya seems to suggest that its members were high class Brāhmana.⁸ This difference is based on the different interpretations of the expression *mahādēvārāja-vāṇīśa* used in the description of Paritōṣha in verse 4 of the Kṛishṇa-Dvārkhē temple inscription (No. 1). Although the expression may mean 'a family of great Brāhmanas' or 'a great family of Brāhmanas', if we rely on the tradition, *Saṅkṣitā taittī taittī mātā vāṇīśa jṇatishikṣā drījā | yātrīyām putrī nīdīyāśa vāṇīśa-śikṣāśa na dīpāt*, the expression *mahādēvārāja* would mean 'a degraded Brāhmana' such as the Agrahāni-Brāhmanas of Bengal, who accept offerings at *śrāddha* ceremonies.⁹ It is therefore not impossible that Paritōṣha was a Gayā Brāhmana, the Gayāas being regarded as of a lower status by high class Brāhmanas of Eastern India because they live on presents made in connection with *śrāddha* ceremonies performed at Gayā which is considered as the most suitable

¹ Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 86-87.

² Rāmapāla's son Madanapāla ruled c. 1144-61 A.D. (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 143) and was preceded on the throne by his brother Kumārapāla (none of whose records has as yet been discovered) and Kumārapāla's son Gōpala III to whom the Rajapur inscription of year 14 is ascribed (above, Vol. XXXV, p. 230). Since Rāmapāla's latest known date is his regnal year 43 (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1633), his rule may thus be roughly assigned to 1080-1125 A.D.

³ Cf. Ray, *DBNJ*, Vol. I, p. 330, note.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 321 ff.

⁵ Vīrghapāla III, father of Rāmapāla, was a later contemporary of Kalachuri Karna (1041-71 A.D.) who fought with Vīrghapāla's father Nayapāla and gave his daughter in marriage to Vīrghapāla. The latest known date of Vīrghapāla III is the year 76 of his reign. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 52. Since Rāmapāla was preceded on the throne by his two brothers Mahipāla II and Śīrapāla II, no records of whose rules have as far been discovered, we may tentatively assign the reign of Vīrghapāla III to 1048-75 A.D.

⁶ *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XXIX, p. 12.

⁷ *JASB*, Vol. LXIX, Part I, p. 101; cf. Banerji, op. cit., p. 77.

⁸ *Gandakīnandī*, pp. 116-17 (translation of verses 4-5).

⁹ Cf. *Saddakopadrasa*, s.v. *vāṇīśa*. This work does not enter the other expressions involved and wrongly ascribes the convention to the grammarians of Pīṇī's school. Pandit D. Bhattacharya of Calcutta draws my attention in this connection to Śrīpatidatta's *Kāśīnāṭhparīkṣā*. The *Agvāṇīśa* are similar to the *Achārya*-Brāhmanas of U. P. and the Punjab.

tirtha for the celebration of such rites. This is not impossible in view of the fact that nowhere in the inscriptions the proficiency in Vedic studies of any of the members of this family is mentioned nor even their *gāthā*. On the other hand, the Akshaya-vata inscription (No. 4) mentions Paritōsha as respected by the Brāhmanas and as devoted to the feet of the Brāhmanas without mentioning that he was a Brāhmanya himself. The poet of the Kṛishṇa-Dvārikā temple inscription therefore may have used expressions like *mahā-deījarāja-varāha* and *deīja-rāja-kṛhṇa* (verse 5) purposely. This latter expression may mean 'the best of the Brāhmanas' and also 'one who is highly respectful towards the Brāhmanas'.

1. Inscription of Viśvāditya, Year 15 of Nayapāla

The inscription is 71 cms. in length and 3 cms. in height and contains 14 lines of writing. It begins with the *siddham* symbol and the *mantrādhya*: *ō namō bhagavatē Vāśudēvāya*, which are followed by twentyone stanzas of the *prastāva*.

Verses 1-2 in adoration of the god Viṣṇu while verse 2 refers to *Gayā*, 'the open door to salvation,' as the residence of the god Prajāpati (Brahman). The next stanza (verse 3) describes Gayā as a great centre of Vedic studies and sacrifices.

Verses 4 introduces a Brāhmanya family of Gayā, which is described as *mahā-deīja-rāja-varāha*, probably meant to indicate 'the family of great Brāhmanas' or 'the great family of Brāhmanas' ostensibly, but 'the family of degraded Brāhmanas' really. The following stanza (verse 5) mentions a person named *Paritōsha* born in the said family. He is compared to Śiva and both are described as *deījarāja-kṛhṇa* meaning 'having the moon on the head' in the case of the god and 'the best of the Brāhmanya rulers' or 'one who is respectful towards great Brāhmanas' in that of the man. Verse 6 is in praise of Paritōsha while verse 7 mentions his son *Sūdraka* whose vague praise continues in verses 7-8. It seems that the expression *deījarāja* in verse 7 does not refer to Sūdraka as a Brāhmanya.

Verses 9 introduces the reigning chief *Viśvāditya* (i.e. Viśvarūpa as he is often called in the other records) as the son of Sūdraka. Verses 10-16 contain vague praises of Viśvāditya with references to his qualities such as munificence and heroism, while verse 17 states that he built the temple (*kṛtama*) of the god Janārdana (Kṛishṇa-Viṣṇu; cf. verse 17 of No. 4). The next stanza (verse 18) describes the said temple.

Verses 19 mentions *Vāji-saṁdya* Śahadēva as the author of the *poṣaṇi* and verse 20 the artisan *Sattha-sōma*, the son of *Aṣṭipa-sōma*, as its engraver. The last stanza (verse 21) gives the date of the completion of the temple (*kṛti*) as the *fifteenth year* of the reign of *Nayapālādēva*.

TEXT¹

[Metres: verses 1, 4, 17 *Varastakāḥ*; verses 2-3, 8-11, 13, 18 *Sādhakāḥ*; verses 5-6 *Vāḥ-luṭha*; verse 7 *Aryā*; verse 12 *Sādhakā*; verse 14 *Uṣṇīṣ* (*Rakṣāḥ*); verse 15 *Jaṇi*; verse 16 *Lālī*; verse 19 *Sādhakā*; verse 20 *Anuṣṭup*; verse 21 *Uṣṇīṣ*.]

1 Siddham* Ō namō bhagavatē Vāśudēvāya | Unmāra-ṇṇa-kamālākara-kāya-kāntiḥ svarag-
bhūṛama-ruchira-dyoti-pīṭavallī | ubhāyāmāna iva chāñchalayā ghaṇa-anghā Viṣṇoḥ
prīyā-dravya-varūpa yonakto yushmān || [1*]

¹ From inked impression. This is No. B 185 of A.R. Ep., 1957-58.

* Represented by symbol.

- 15 *ahām*(*ahām*) | *ākulāni kulāni durggamād=*durggatāni *gātāni* durggamam(mam) || [16*] *Sapt-*
amvū(*mū*)*śāl-visara*¹*śālatha*² *mākhalaṃ yāyā bhavaḥ kati na bhūmihhijō va*(*ba*)*bhūvuh*
 | *śikhilā na kasyachhi-agād=yad=*analpa-kalpale-tōn-ātra *kirttanam=* akā-
- 16 *ti* *Jamānidānasya* || [17*] *Kulāś-ākhala-āśioga-sambhramam=* adhaḥ-kurvātprarūdh-ōdaya-
prālōya-dyuti-kunda-sundara-yasah puñj-ōpamāy-ākṛiti | *yate=ōttuoga-śikh-āgra-saṅga-*
ta-sarac-chandranāṇu(*adr-āmda*)*-śubhra-śribhīr-munāścha-nūtana-maḥjarir-iva patā-*
- 17 *kābhīr=nnatdō* *rājatō* || [18*] *Vāji-vaidya-Sahadōva-niraktiḥ*³ *tat-prastātir-iyam=asta*
nīśetah(*atam*) | *prēma-sauhṛde-sukh-aika-dharitri sajjanasya hṛdayō ramaṇ-iva* ||
 [19*] *Sīmātō*⁴*dhīpa-sōmasya*⁵ *ātmañōn-ārjitam yasah* | *u-*
- 18 *kāṛṇya-karmmaṇi* *śīmat-Saṭtha*⁶*sōmānā* *kūpinā* || [20*] *Samasta-bhūmaṇḍala-rājya-bhā-*
ram-iv(*hā*)*bhṛati śri-Nayapālādēv* | *villkhyamānō* *dasa-paṅcha-sarṅkhyā-samva-*
(samva)tsarē *siddhim-agāch-cha kirttiḥ* || [21*]⁷ || * ||

2. Inscription of Viśvarūpa, Year 15 of Nayapāla

This inscription, which contains 15 lines of writing covering an area about 67 cms. in length and 25 cms. in height, begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by a *prastā* composed in thirteen verses. The first of the stanzas is in adoration of the goddess Lakṣmī, the consort of the god Purnachōttama (Viṣṇu). Verse 2 mentions *Gayā*, created by the god Vēdhīa (Brahman), as a *brahma-pari* probably in the sense of a settlement of Brāhmaṇas.

Verse 3 introduces an inhabitant of the place, by name *Paritōsha*. He is compared to *Viṣṇurūpa* (*Garuḍa*) both being described as *āchūta-pāda* *śrin* (warshipper of the feet of *Achūta* or *Viṣṇu*) and *dvija-rāja-varya* meaning 'the best among the birds' in the case of *Garuḍa* and 'the best among Brāhmaṇas' of the front rank 'in that of *Paritōsha*'. The person is thus mentioned as a Brāhmaṇa. Verse 4 speaks of *Paritōsha*'s son *Śūdraka* who is stated to have protected (i.e. ruled over) *Gayā* for a long time by virtue of the prowess of his arms.

Śūdraka's son *Viśvarūpa* is introduced in verse 5 which compares him with the moon and *Viśvarūpa* (*Viṣṇu*). Verses 6 and 8 contain vague praises of *Viśvarūpa*, while he is described in verse 7 as having raised up *Gayā* from the impurity of the *Kālī* age.

Verse 9 refers to the temple of *Gadādhara* (*Viṣṇu*) and other unspecified shrines which *Viśvarūpa* built at *Gayā*, while the next stanza (verse 10) prays for the long life of *Viśvarūpa*'s temples at *Gayā* and of *Viśvarūpa* himself.

Verse 11 states that the *prastā* was composed by *Vaidya Vajrapāni* who was captivated by the munificence of *Viśvarūpa* to do the work and was full of regards for the ruler. It is difficult to say whether *Vaidya Vajrapāni* was related to *Vāji-vaidya Sahadōva* who composed the *Krishna-Drāviḍa* temple inscription (No. 1). The record is stated in verse 12 to have been 'written' by *Sarvānanda* who was an expert artisan. It is not easy to say whether *Sarvānanda* engraved the epigraph or merely wrote the letters on the stone for the facility of engraving. The concluding stanza (verse 15) gives the date of the record. It says that the *kīrti* or temple of *Gadādhara* (*Gadādhara*) was completed in the *fifteenth year* of the reign of king *Nayapālādēva*.

¹ Chakravartī reads *visara*.

² Read *śālāśa-śa*.

³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ Chakravartī reads *śaṭṭha*.

⁵ There is an ornamental design here.

INSCRIPTIONS OF TWO BRAHMANA RULERS OF GAYA—PLATE I

1. Inscription of Viśvāditya, Year 15 of Nayaṇpāla

2. Inscription of Viśvarūpa, Year 15 of Navaṃpāla

[illegible]

Scale: One-third.

TEXT

[Metres: verses 1, 3-8 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 2, 9-10, 13 *Śāradāpikrīḍita*; verses 11-12 *Anuśṭubh*.]

- 1 Siddham* [1*] Lakṣmīś-chirañ=ja[ya]ti vācinidhār-anēka-manth-ākulād=adhigatā Paro-
shōttamasya | anihyat-tirova[1]ta-sammada-ghūrṇama(mā)na-nētr-āvalōkane-nira-
[sta-sa]masta-vi[ghnā] || [1*]
- 2 S-āyam Vra(Bra)hma-puri Gay-āti jagati khyātā svayam Vādhasā sthātā vra(bra)hma-
vidām pur=iva ghaṭitā mōkhasya saukhyasya cha | vrū(brī)ṇaḥ kiñ=cha bhavanti
ya[tra] pitarah prōt-ā-
- 3 lay-āvāśmaḥ pāda-apriṣṭa-jala-pradāna-vidhinā nāk-āṅganū-nāyakāḥ [1] [2*] Aśyam va-
(ba)bhāva puri vakrugati-dvijahva-sarppad-bhujāṅga-ripur-Achyaṇta-[pā]da-sēvi | yō
- 4 nāma Viṣṇupurathavā¹l-dvijarāja-varyah puṭyā satām cha Paritōṣha²l prasiddhah
|| [3*] Tasmād-Vidhāt=iva va(ba)bhāva Saṇātkumāraḥ kṛi-Sa(Śa)drakō vimala-vu(bu)-
ddhi[r=anēka]-vidyāḥ |
- 5 bhūyō=pi yēna Vidhin=aiṇa kṛitā Gay-āyam vā(bā)hvōra(r=ba)lāna mchirañ paripālītā
cha || [1*] Tasmād=ajā[yata] sutah autavad-dvijānām [yō=bhūti] su-vi[śamaya]-casāva-
kautu[ka]³
- 6 =cha | viśv-āpakāraḥ-nirākṛitayō=vatīrṇaḥ kṛi-Viśvarūpa itī kīrtita-Viśvarūpaḥ || [5*]
Yam prāpya ch=ārthi-jana-vṛindam-akalpa-dānam-ōpur⁴=bhavat-pulaka-jālam=ana-
- 7 nta-mōdam(dam) | sphūti-sphurad-dhana-kṛitārthatayō durīpa-chintāmaṇi-pro[bhī]ṭikam
na kad=āpi dadhyau || [6*] Yō-Āsurāni-charitēna mab-ōdayāna yānti rasātalam=([v])-
āvani-
- 8 r=uddhṛit⁵-āyam(yam || kṛimad-Gayā Kali-mala-dvijarāja-pakṣa-sukhahōḥha-kampita-
tanur-bhujā-vikramōga || [7*] Yasmai viśuddha-charitāya nisagra[ga]-śau[cha-yō]ga-
[kri]yāya vi-
- 9 nay-āmala-bhūṣaṇāya | ā vā(bā)iyatāḥ prabhṛiti dāva-manasāya-lōkō va(ba)dhā-ājalā-
chiratarām aprīhayānchakāra || [8*] Tēn-āmāś=[tu] Gadādhara-ādi-nāya-vyāṅga tāḥ
kī⁶
- 10 kīrttayah svātānā(tānā)l-r=iva rasna(sma)yaḥ sughaṭitā[1] [9*] santāpa-sāntyai endā | yā=cha
ānibhōnūti-vichī-rad-daka-dīdām prakṣālan-aika-chokhaṭāḥ pā[tāla]-prativīai-ghōra-
tīmī-
- 11 ra-pradhvansa(dhvansa)-dipā iva || [9*] Etāḥ santa Gayāpuri-sutarupī-bhūḥ-āval-kīrttayō
yāvach=chandra-divākaraḥ cha gaganam(nā) kṛi-Viśvarūp-āhvayaḥ | [ka]rtt=deśam
cha tatthā pu-
- 12 rāga-purushān rā[1]rō=pi dhūkritya tad(tān)=yēn-ākasmika-vismay-aika-rasikō lōkō muhur-
mūrchchitah || [10*] Dākahiyyād-uparuddhōna prīti-stimīta-chētāḥ | prāstir-ā-

* From impression. This is No. B 120 of A.S. Ep., 1937-58.

¹ Expressed by symbol.

² The akṣara va is written above the line.

³ The unnecessary dots put at the end of the line here and elsewhere is ignored in our transcript.

⁴ Read āpur⁵ for āpur⁶ since the subject is in the singular or better read āśubhānt in place of āśubhānt.

⁵ A redundant t=akṣara was inserted with the akṣara dāpī.

⁶ The akṣara is redundant.

- 13 *śā vihitā Vaidya-śri-Vajrapāṇinā* || [11*] *Vijñāna-kausal-ōllāsa-jāta-naipura-karmuṣā* |
prastāstir-śāhā likhitā Sarvavānandāna dhīmātā || [12*] *Kaṇḍi-āmbhōnidhī-mōkha-*
- 14 *lā-maṇi-guṇ-ālamkāritāyā bhuvō bhartuḥ śri-Nayapālādē[va]-nripatēr-ājñā-śri-*
yam vi(hu)bhataḥ | *śukvṛitā tarasāiva pañchadaśamē rājyaśya samva(samva)-*
tsarē kirtitḥ siddhim-upāgatā bhagavata[h]*
- 15 *Arīmad-Gadādhāriṇaḥ* || [13*]

3. Fragmentary Inscription

Only the first five lines of this inscription are available with some traces of the writing at the beginning of line 6. Some letters in the central part of the fifth line are lost. The available section of the inscription contains, besides the *namaskāra*, three complete stanzas and parts of verses 4. As already indicated above, verse 1 is in adoration of the Sun-god and verses 2-4 are the same as verses 2-4 of the *prastā* by *Vaidya Vajrapāṇi* commemorating the construction of the temple of *Gadādhara* or *Gadādhāra* by *Viśvarūpa* in the fifteenth regnal year of *Nayapāla* (No. 2). But, while there is no *namaskāra* passage in prose at the beginning of that inscription, the present epigraph begins with 'Ō. Obedience to Mārtanda (i.e. the Sun-god)'.

As suggested above, apparently the same *Vaidya Vajrapāṇi* composed this *prastā* to commemorate the building of a temple or the installation of a deity by *Viśvarūpa* or *Viśvāditya* who, as the two forms of his name suggest, was probably a devotee of both the gods, *Viṣṇu* and the Sun. It may be pointed out that the inscription of his son begins with adoration to the Sun-god and records, among other pious deeds, the construction of a temple for housing several deities including *Maṇvāditya* and *Vijayāditya*, probably two aspects of the said god. It is thus possible to infer from the present record beginning with an adoration to the Sun-god that its object was to record the construction of a temple by *Viśvarūpa* alias *Viśvāditya* for the said god. In this connection, reference may be made to the god *Śukla-bhānu* (literally, 'the white sun') in verse 19 of the *Akṣayaśaśa* inscription of *Viśvarūpa* (No. 1).

TEXT*

[Metres : verse 1 *Indramujā* ; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīṭa* ; verses 3-4 *Vamantilakā*.]

- 1 Ō namō Mārtandāya || Jāgati yamān-andhā prayūti ch-āstaṁ-to śālā janatā samastā |
traiḷōkyā-śipadī tam-ananta-mūrtim-avyāhat-ābham
- 2 ācāraṇaṁ prayātā || [1*] Ś-āyam vra(brahma)-pūrī Gay-āti jagati khyātā svayam Vādhāś
sthātūm vra(brahma)nuvidhāḥ pur-īva ghaṭitā mōkhaśya śukhyatya cha |
- 3 vra(brahma)h kīṁ-cha bhavanti yatra pitarāḥ prēṭ-śay-āśvānab pāda-aprīṭhā-jāla-pradāna
vidhinā nāḥ-āgama-nāyakāḥ || [2*] *Āyām va(ba)-*
- 4 bhūva pūrī vakra-gat-dvīpīva śarpad-bhūpaḍa-rīpur-Achynā pāda-sāvi | yō nāma
Viṣṇuratha-vad-dvāja-rāja-varyaḥ prītyā uttām cha Pa-

* The following passage is engraved below the concluding part of the previous line.

* There is a floral design after this.

* From the *Samudra* in *Buxarji's The Palae of Bengal*, Plate XXXI(c).

* Pa has got an unnecessary 4-sāva.

5 *ritōsha* (ti prasiddhah) || [3*] Tasmād-Vidhār-iva va(ba)bhūva — — — — —
vimala-vu(hu)ddhār-a-nēka-vidyā | bhūyō-pi yēna Vidhi

6 — — — — — [4*]

4. Fragmentary Inscription of Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya, Year 5 of Vīgrahapāla

The inscription contains 26 lines of writing; but a number of letters are lost from the concluding part of all of them excluding the last two lines. The extant part of the record covers an area about 68 cms. in length and 59 cms. in height. It begins with the passage *Ō namah Śivāya* which is followed by twentythree verses forming a *prastāvi*. Verse 1, which is damaged, seems to contain a prayer for the purification of the people from sin by the kind heart of Śiva.

Verse 2 speaks of the creation of the *Gayā tirtha* by the god Abhaya-man, i.e. Brahman, while the next stanza (verse 3) mentions a person named *Paritōsha* who lived there. He is stated to have been respected by the *devās* (Brāhmaṇas) and seems to have been devoted to the feet of the Brāhmaṇas. He is here not clearly stated to have been a Brāhmaṇa himself.

Verse 4 describes *Paritōsha*'s son *Sūdraka* and the following stanza (verse 5) introduces *Sūdraka*'s son *Viśvarūpa*. Verses 6-13 describe this *Viśvarūpa* who was the ruler of *Gayā*. His name occurs in verses 9 and 13 and verse 11 seems to refer to him as *Arabhbarāma*. (Verse 14 tells us how the said chief built and rebuilt the temple (śrīr) of the god *Prapitāmahēvara* and verses 15-16 continue the description of the glory of *Viśv-ādhipa* (i.e. *Viśvarūpa*). Verse 17 mentions a number of deities such as *Gāthāta*, *Kanakaēvara*, *Ambujabhava* (Brahman, probably the same as *Prapitāmahēvara*), *Viśvarūpēvara* (apparently named after the chief *Viśvarūpa*), *Gāṅgōta*, *Uadādhara*, *Sukha-bhānu*, *Gṛddhrōta*, *Sojanūrdana* (i.e. *Janārḍana*; cf. verse 17 of No. 1) and *Vajrāta* at *Akaha-yavaṭa* (i.e. near the *Akaha-yavaṭa*). Verse 18 seems to suggest that the temples of the said gods at *Gayā* were built or repaired by *Viśvarūpa*. Verse 19 again refers to the *Prapitāmahēvara* temple and verses 20 and 21 to the chief mentioned as *Viśv-ādhipa* (*Viśvarūpa*) and *Viśvarūpa* respectively.

Verse 22 refers to the fifth year of the reign of king *Vīgrahapāla* probably as the date of the record or of the completion of the *Prapitāmahēvara* temple while the concluding stanza (verse 23) states that the *prastāvi* was composed by *Vaidya Dharmapāṇi* who was a friend or subordinate of *Viśvāditya* (i.e. *Viśvarūpa*). *Vaidya Dharmapāṇi* was very probably related to *Vaidya Vajrapāṇi*, the author of the *Namamha* temple inscription (No. 2).

TEXT*

[Metres: verses 1, 3, 16, *Śikharaj*; verse 2 *Sragdhara*; verses 4, 7, 11 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 8-6, 8-10, 12-15, 17-23 *Sārdulavikrīḍita*; verse 23 *Anantakūḍa*.]

1 Ō namah Śivāya || Dayā-bhāgāgāram niravedhi-jagad-bāha-vijayi sphuraj-jūṣā-jyōtiḥ-
prasaara-nihata-dhvānta-nichayam |) kim-apy-antaḥ-kāntam sahaja-sukha-plyūṣa-
laka[ri] — — — — —

* The lost letters are found in No. 2 as *Saṁskṛtmantrāḥ* i.e. *Sādhakāḥ*.

* The lost letters are 'varies from *Gayā-śrīr* to *śrīr-śrīr* and *śrīr-śrīr* and *śrīr-śrīr* of which traces of the first few are seen in the facsimile.

* From impressions.

† DGA/61

- 2 ra¹-hridayam-anghō baratu vah || [1*] Āsandhāy-ākalañkāṇ= p[ri]ativapusa iva Vrā(Brā)-
lmanān-Ayja(bja)jannā svargga-dvār-ādhirōhama(n-a)m[ri]ta-pada-sukha-prā[pta]yō
prōiya-bhājāb(jah) | sākahāt-samsāra-bhūṣā-[ma] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 3 arāma²-bhūmim suvat-trailōkyu-lakṣmī-nīlayam-iva pu[n̄m] śrī-Gayām-śaha chakrō ||
[5*] Gayāyām-śtasyām puri sakala-saundarya-nīlayō(yō) [ō]vijātinām mānyō [dvija-
pada]-sarōj-āva ~ ~ ~ [1*] ~ ~ ~
- 4 ma-prāmāṇā parama-paritōṣasya janamā(nū)d=abhūd-dhanyaḥ śrīmān-sa khali Paritōṣa-
bhvaya iti || [3*] Taamāḍ=abhāj-jalanidhār-iva śtaraśmī śrī-Sa(Śa)[dra]ko vimala-
kūṭir-anantā-lakṣmī³ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 5 karuṇa-sodh-ābhīrāmam-ānanditāni yasaś bhuvan-āntarāpi || [4*] Āśady-[ā]mararōja-
rājya-padaśih dēvibhār-ākṛṣitām divy-ātmatvam-aunaga-darpo-dalan-ōḡār-sika-
mōlan vapu⁴ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 6 riti⁵-kautuka-rasān-marttyē⁶-vatiragas-tatō jātō dēva-kumāra-mūrttir-asamaḥ śrī-Viśvarāp-
ābhvayaḥ || [5*] [Yō] vidhvasata-samasta-vairi-nivahā sphūrya(rja)t-pratāp-śalāḥ saujanya-
ya nidhāna ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 7 ma-kālī-drumaḥ | sā[mīr-ā]nanda-mayō nisargga-madhura-tyāhāra-ra[tnō]karō dīn-ānūtha-
vipanna-chāraṇa-ga[na]-trā[nā]ya Chintāmaṇiḥ || [6*] Gaṇḍasthalē mṛigamad-āmala-
pattira-bhāḡān-svairā[th] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 8 Ikṣanābhīḥ | ady-āpi yasya sura-kinnara-giyamānāḥ dēvyāḥ śikṣa vijaya-stutim-ālikṣanti ||
[7*] Dha[ra]mā[ś]h-śtāva(chchhva)nitāni mudā vihasvanti(turā) sa[1*]-lōka-maryādayā
trasyā viaphuritat ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 9 [r]itibhū⁷-jjrīmbhitat[ān] | yamānā(amin) svāmīni [sar]vratāḥ samudayō tē-py-arthīnāḥ
n-ādbhitatā sādā-ā[na]ndamayāḥ sva-dānya-virahān-apityanti pūṣṇ-āśayāḥ || [8*]
N-ēchchab-chanda-karō na ch-āpi vigata ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 10 tē n-ūstam yāti jad-ātmaabhīḥ pratīhatō n-ānyar-apū[rev-ōdbha]vah || [1*] kiñ-ch-[ā]prēma-
vunā[na]śah pratimuhut-ne-āpy-asthirō na grahī n-aiv-āśaṅga-digamva(mba)r-āka-
niratō yō Viśvarūpaḥ ~ ~ ~ [1*] ~ ~ ~
- 11 marādhipō⁸-pi chakitō Vra(Bra)hm-āpi yad-vismitō dēvō Vāhgur-āpi sphuṭat vihasitō
Rudrō-jā tōmāśchitat | uddāma-[pra]śarat-prasanna-va(ba)halō yat-k[ri]t[ā]-kallōlini
gambhīr-āmbhasi ma[jjā] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 12 p[ri] sadvō(bō)dhitat || [10*] Yād d[ū]rggemaḥ carati dūratazām dūrāpam yach-chōtas-āpi
na dhritam padam-ēkam-ā[śit] | | nidilha[m] samastam-achir-āhata-vat-tad-āyām-
Arambhārāma iti yah sphuṭatām-upā[ra]h || [11*] Ayaṁ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 13 yān dharmōga maryādayā rājya-śrībhū-alamkṛitāḥ puna-amī bhōg-āikadhā-v[ri]tta[ya]h |
n-āpu[r-dhā]ma nisargga-[va]rṇa-va(ba)halā[tyāg]-ōdayān-ādbhitatā śrī-Viśvādhipa
śaha kīrtana-kathā ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

¹ The intended word here may be Śaśana or Gaṇḍakara.

² Possibly the word is rōdina.

³ The original had apparently lakṣmī | here.

⁴ Apparently vapuḥ | was engraved here.

⁵ Probably the intended word is śrīti.

⁶ The intended word may be sat-śikṣā.

⁷ Probably rūt, rūtī or āhagā was the intended word.

⁸ Apparently amar-ādhipō is the intended expression.

5. Inscription of Yakṣhapāla



Scale : One-third

25 'Viśvāditya-guṇ-śāka(r)śha-prīti-stimīta-chērasā - |

26 praśasti-vikīṭā chēvalāhā Vaidya-kē-Dharmam(pā)ṇ(nā) | [23*]

5. Inscription of Yakṣhapāla

The inscription, containing 22 lines of writing and covering an area about 44 cms. in length and 31 cms. in height, begins with the *mangala*: (*ś namaḥ Sūryāya*), which is followed by 14 verses constituting a *praśasti*. There is reference to the person who 'wrote' the inscription in a passage in prose occurring at the end of the document.

Verse 1 is in adoration of the Sun-god. It is interesting to note that, though the *mangala* at the beginning and verse 1 of the record refer to the Sun-god, the object of the inscription was to record the erection of a temple for several deities as well as some other pious activities of Yakṣhapāla (cf. verse 12). But Maunāditya, mentioned at the head of the list of the deities, was probably an image of the Sun-god. The said list of deities contains also a second name ending in the word *āditya*, viz. Vijayāditya.

Verse 2 refers to the flights of steps for reaching [the head of] the **Phalgu** and [the trunk of] the **Vaṭa** (i.e. the Akshaya-vaṭa) at **Gayā**. In this verse, Kielhorn wrongly read *Phalgu-vaṭa* (i.e. the bank of the Phalgu river) in place of *Phalgu-Vaṭa* (i.e. the Phalga and the Vaṭa). Verse 3 mentions a heroic resident of Gayā, named **Śādraka** who was honoured by the king of **Gauḍa** with the insignia of royalty (*śrīpati-lakṣhaṇa*), i.e. acknowledged him as the subordinate ruler of Gayā. Parīśaha, father of Śādraka, is not mentioned in this record. Śādraka's son, the *śrīpa* (ruler) **Viśvarūpa**, is introduced in verse 4 as a successful fighter against his enemies. Verses 5-7 continue the description of Viśvarūpa, the last stanza referring to the numerous temples built by him.

Verse 8 introduces the ruling chief **Yakṣhapāla** as the son of Viśvarūpa, while the next stanza (verse 9) refers to his physical charm and military prowess. His description is continued in verses 10-11, the first of these referring to Yakṣhapāla as a *narādhipa* or ruler. Verse 12 states that Yakṣhapāla built a temple for housing the gods Maunāditya (Sun-god), Sahasraliṅga (Śiva), Kamalā (Lakṣmī), Ardhāṅgīya (Ardhanārīya or Śiva), Nārāyaṇa, two *Sōmśivara*, Phalgunādika, Vijayāditya and Kālārīvara and that he excavated the *Uttaramānasa* (i.e. a lake of that name) and established a *sutṛa* or free feeding house at **Akshaya-vaṭa** (i.e. near the Akshaya-vaṭa). Kielhorn read the concluding passage wrongly and failed to recognise the reference to the Akshaya-vaṭa therein. What he read in this stanza as *Deivāntśvara*, regarded as the name of a deity, is really *dei-Sōmśivara*, referring to two deities called *Sōmśivara*. The passage *Kamal-Ardhāṅgīya Nārāyaṇa*, has been taken in Kielhorn's translation as two deities, viz. Kamalā and Ardhāṅgīya, Nārāyaṇa being omitted apparently through oversight. It is difficult to say whether the poet intended the expression *Kamal-ardhāṅgīya* to be an adjective of Nārāyaṇa in the sense of 'one half of whose body is Kamalā'. Although such a conception is possible on the analogy of the Ardhānārīya form of Śiva in which the right half represents Śiva and the left half Pārvatī, a similar combined form of Nārāyaṇa and Kamalā is not known from sculptures.

Verse 13 prays for the long life of the *śrīra* (i.e. the temple, the lake and the free-feeding house) of **Yakṣhapāla** while verse 14, with which the *praśasti* concludes, mentions the Brāhmaṇa **Muśāri**, who was a student of Nyāya philosophy and belonged to a family hailing from **Āgi-grāma** as the author of the *praśasti*. A passage in prose at the end refers to the inscription being written by Padmapāpi. By 'writing', probably the writing of the record on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving was intended.

* Lines 23-25 are engraved in the central section.

- 17 rihān || [10*] Yad-dhṛit-padma-kuṭiraka-praṇayitām=apādite Śrīpatan supṛitē-vyabhichāra-
(ri)ṇitva-ratayā bhaktyā parikṛṣṭa(na)(nā)(tām) | arthibhṛō vi-
- 18 niyuktay=āpy=anudinath pūtrō śuchau jātayā mat-mā(svā)mi-priya-vāsa āsha iti yah kṣ-
mam Śrīyā samāś(śrī)taḥ || [11*] Maunāditya-Sahasa(sra)lāga-
- 19 Kamal-Ā(r*)ddhāngīṇa-Nārāyaṇa-dvi-Somēśvara¹-Phaigunātha-Vijayāditya-bhayaṇām
kṛtā | sa pra(prā)śādamam(m=a)chikarad-divishadā(ā) Kādāradāva(sya)
- 20 cha khyātasya-Ottaramānasasya khaṇanām satraṇ(tāraṇ) Vats ch=ākshayē² || [12*] Sūrya-
chandramassa yāvad=yāvat-kshōḥl sa-sigurā | tāvat śrī-Yakshapālasya n-
- 21 jantām bhuvī kirttayah || [13*] Nyāya-vidyāvidām śrēyān-Āgi-grāma-kul-odbhavaḥ | śrī-
Marātir-dviḥ-śrēṣṭhaḥ prī(pra)śastim=akarōd=imāh(mām) || [14*] Rihit-ā(sau)
- 22 (śrī-Padmapāṇinā)* [15*]

¹ This is metrically defective. Possibly the author was thinking of *deva-Somānara* or *deva-Somānara*. Kiel-
horn reads *at sa m*.

² Kielhorn reads *tatit ch-ākshayē*.

³ Read *śrēṣṭhaḥ*.

⁴ This is inserted in small characters below the concluding part of line 21. Buxori read *Qasa* which
had been left out by Kielhorn.

No. 12—JODHPUR PLATES OF THE TIME OF DURLABHARAJA, VIKRAMA 1069

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHAKRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 14. 6. 1961)

The two copper plates that make up the land grant edited below are said to be in the possession of Mr. Sampat Singh Jain of Jodhpur, Rajasthan, and were examined by me along with the one odd plate of Śiṃharāja, dated Vikrama 1054, published above.¹ As stated there, the find-spot of all the three plates is probably Bhitmāl in the Jalore District of the Jodhpur Division.

The ring and the seal pertaining to these two plates are not forthcoming. Otherwise, the record on them is complete. The first of the two plates measures $21 \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ cm., and the second 21×13 cm. Together they weigh 720 grama. Each of them contains 10 lines of writing engraved thereon. The last line is comparatively very short. The alphabet is Devanāgarī of the period to which the record belongs. The language is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose except for the two customary verses towards the end.

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted: as a rule, *anuvāda* takes the place of *para-samvāda*, the exceptions being as in 'śāntaśruti' in line 3; *r* before *r* is in most cases reduplicated as in *Kaṣṭhatriyapadra* in lines 3 and 8, *urilōk* in line 5, etc.; a consonant after *r* is very often reduplicated; *ḥ* is invariably indicated by the sign for *r*; the sign of *anuvāda* is used in *vidit*=*āśmed* in line 15. In *anuvāda*=*cha* in line 4 and *yas* in line 15, *a* is wrongly used for *ā*. Similarly *yā* is used for *yau* in *yānam* in line 7.

The object of the inscription is to register the perpetual gift of a village, called *Kaṣṭhatriyapadra*, in the district (*maṇḍala*) of *Bhīlamāla*, by the illustrious *Kaṣṭhamarāja*, *charge d'affaires* or Chief of Administration (*Tantapāla*) under *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Durlabharāja*, to the Brāhṃya Nannaka, son of Gōvinda, belonging to the Lākṣyana-gotra, having three *pradēras*, a student of the Vājīmādhyaṇīna and an inhabitant of *Bhīlamāla*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (*śīma-grahana*), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of the donor's parents and of himself. The donor had had a holy bath and had worshipped *Mahādeva* before making the gift. The date of the record is mentioned at the end as the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1069, which corresponds to Thursday, the 29th January, 1013 A.D. when there was a lunar eclipse as stated in line 5 of the record to be the occasion of the gift. It is also stated in the record that *Kaṣṭhamarāja* gave away the said village out of his own estate (*sva-bhujyamāna*), comprising the district or sub-division (*maṇḍala*) of *Bhīlamāla*. This *maṇḍala* was obviously so named after the chief town of that name, which was also the home-town of the donor, and is identical with the modern Bhitmāl. Again, the gift had the approval of the ruling monarch (*Mahārājādhirāja*) *Durlabharāja*, as specially stated in the conclusion, where his sign-manual was also intended to be put but is absent.

The question arises as to who this *Mahārājādhirāja* *Durlabharāja* was. Considering that the donor in this record is obviously the same as figure in the Jodhpur plate of Śiṃharāja and that there is a marked similarity in the script and phraseology of both the records, it is but natural to conclude that Śiṃharāja and *Durlabharāja* belong to one and the same dynasty. Unfortunately the present record does not specifically mention the name of the royal family to which *Durlabharāja* belonged. As for the other record, it might have mentioned Śiṃharāja's dynasty in the preamble, but, that part of the record being missing, it was not possible to ascertain his dynasty either

¹ Above, pp. 45-46 and Plate.

² See Bhattacharya's *Lit.*, No. 1900.

I tentatively identified him with the Chāhamāna Śiṅharāja. *Prima facie* there is no difficulty in identifying our Durlabharāja also with the Chāhamāna Durlabharāja, who was in fact the second of Śiṅharāja's four sons, the eldest being Vigraharāja and the other two (younger than Durlabharāja) being Chandrarāja and Gōvindarāja. These identifications would, however, upset the hitherto accepted views, regarding the reign periods of some of the Chāhamāna rulers, and certain other historical details. While these we propose to discuss in a separate paper, it may be observed here that the possibility of our Durlabharāja being identical with the ruler of that name belonging to the Chālukyas of Aṅgikūlāpātaka, who was matrimonially connected with the Chāhamāna house, is not precluded.

Curiously enough, another copper charter from Bhīmāli itself, bearing the same date, is known, but that pertains to Dēvarāja who is supposed to be a Paramāra ruler of Mārwāt, better known as Mahipāla.¹ The so-called Paramāra sway around Bhīmāli at the same time adds to our confusion.

TEXT²

First Side

- 1 Om³ svasti || Rājashatva iva vimala-bhaya-pakṣaḥ mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Du-
- 2 rlabharāja-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi tathitrapāla-śrī-Kṣēmarājaḥ ava-bhujyamāna-
- 3 śrī-Bhīlamāla-mahādai-āntahpāti-Kṣattiriyapadra-grāmā samupagatān-sarvān-ēva
- 4 rājapuruṣān-brāhmaṇ-ōttarān-prativāṣiṇō janapādān-anyāṃścha(s-cha) bōdhaya-
- 5 ty-asu vō viditāḥ yath-āsmābhūḥ Sōma-grahapē anūtvā tūṣṭi-garūḥ Mahā-
- 6 dēva-mahyarchya matta-kari-karṇa-chaitchalām-abhivikṣhya lakṣmīḥ girinadi-vē-
- 7 g-ōpannāḥ yo(ya)vanāḥ ttri(tri)ṇa-dala-gata-jala-vimōv-ālōḥ-līlāḥ jīvitam-ava-
- 8 lōkya ch-āyāḥ Kṣattiriyapadra-grāmāḥ ava-simā-paryantāḥ sa-kāshṭha-ttri(tri)ṇa-yūti-
- 9 gōchare-paryantāḥ sa-bhāga-bhāgaḥ s-ōparikarāḥ sa-dattā-dai-ōparāḥ purva-
- 10 datta-dēvadāya-brāhma(hu)ḍāya-va(va)rjjaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇa-Nannakāya

Second Plate

- 11 Gōvinda-sānavē Vājinsādhyāḥ [*] diu-sa-vra(bra)hmachācīpē ttri-pravarā-
- 12 ya-lōbhāyana-s-gōtrāya śrī-Bhīlamāla-vāṣṭavāya mātā-pi(ttr)ṛ-ātma-
- 13 nāś-cha puṇya-yāś(śō)-bhivṛddhayaḥ pama-lōka-phalam-adigikṛty-ā-chait-ā[rik]-ārgya-
- 14 va-kāṣṭhi-sama-kāṣṭhatayā āśānān-ōḍaka-pūrvam parayā bhaktiyā
- 15 pratipādītō viditv-ā'emaḍ-vaṣṭajair-anyāś-cha bhūvi-bhōktṛbhūḥ-anu-
- 16 pāṇāyāḥ || ūktāḥ cha || Bahubhūḥ-vrasadhā bhuktā rājabhūḥ Sagar-ādibhūḥ[*]
- 17 yasya yasya yadā bhūmā-tasya tasya tadā phalam || Vindhya-ājavāḥ-atō-
- 18 yāu lūka-kōṭara-vāṣṭaḥ [*] kṛṣṇa-sarpāḥ prajāyutitē brahmadāy-ā-
- 19 pōhārakāḥ || sambvat 1069 Māgha-ēndi 15 śrī-Durlabharāj-āḥṣayām(yā)
- 20 dattam-ava-hastam cha [*]

Bhandarkar (List No. 103; see also p. 306) equates the Soma-grahapē (lunar eclipse) of Sambvat 1069 Māgha-ēndi 15 of this charter with Wednesday, the 14th January 1012 A.D. Swaminathan Pillai's *Indian Epigraphy* would, however, show that the correct equation would be Thursday, 29th January 1013 A.D. While this article was going through the press, Dr. B. K. Gai kindly drew my attention to the fact that the said copper charter had subsequently been published under the title *Topi Plates of Paramara Dēvarāja*, above, Vol. XXII, pp. 120-68. Its editor, Pandit R. N. Bha, reads the date as Sambvat 1059, and Jan. 1059.

¹ From the original plates.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ These two single dashes indicate the gap caused by the ring hole.

⁴ This is followed by a cross sign.

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १ ॥ अथ विष्णुसंज्ञा ॥ २ ॥ अथ विष्णुसंज्ञा ॥ ३ ॥ अथ विष्णुसंज्ञा ॥ ४ ॥ अथ विष्णुसंज्ञा ॥ ५ ॥ अथ विष्णुसंज्ञा ॥ ६ ॥ अथ विष्णुसंज्ञा ॥ ७ ॥ अथ विष्णुसंज्ञा ॥ ८ ॥ अथ विष्णुसंज्ञा ॥ ९ ॥ अथ विष्णुसंज्ञा ॥ १० ॥

वा विदुः कवशा न मा ग्रा । दिक् सद्रूप या नि लेखि चका
 मा द्रष्टुं कस्य ना श्रयसी किं लवा ल वा श्रुता इमा ना पि भूमा न
 कं य पुत्र ह्यो मिद्रु ह्य पम लो क प लमं नी रुं य वं दा गो ल
 न किं य म का ल किं न द्या मा म किं का द रु प्र धुं प य द्या रु रुं
 ध रि पा दि ना वि दि तो द्य दं स किं न कु श ना नि ना श्रु किं न क
 ॥ ल की व न्ना उ कुं व न व द्रु दि द्य सु वा द्रु क्ता ना किं न किं न दि कि
 द्य द्य द्या द्या द्या मि द्य द्य न द्य न द्यो पं न ॥ वि म द यी रु न
 द्या द्य नु द्य को ट नं ग द्य किं न द्य द्य द्यो पं न द्या द्य न द्य द्य
 म न नं काः ॥ म व द् १ ६ न ना य म् रु दि १ ध श्रु द्यु ले न मा द्य न द्य
 न द्य द्य द्य ॥ ५

(from Photographs)

No. 13—KADALUR GRANT OF MARASIMHA II, SAKA 884

(3 Plates)

G. S. GAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11. 11. 1959)

The set of copper plates containing the inscription edited below was received in 1934-35 in the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from the Secretary of the Historical Research Society, Dharwar.¹ The set consists of nine thick plates, each measuring about 11" by 5.5". They are held together by a ring (5.75" in diameter) passing through a ring-hole (about .3" in diameter) at the left margin of the plates. The circular seal (3" in diameter) bears in full relief and facing the proper right, the figure of an elephant (about .62" in thickness). The thickness of the copper-plates ranges from .12" to .18". The weight of the set, together with the ring and the seal, is 872 tolas while the ring and the seal weigh 120 tolas.

The first and last plates have been engraved on the inner side only while the remaining seven plates bear writing on both sides. The first plate has 11 lines of writing; but the remaining 15 sides of the eight plates have 12 lines each. Thus there are 191 lines of writing in all. The engraving is bold, beautiful and neat and there is a flourishing touch to the letters in the last line on each side of the plates. The last three lines (i.e. lines 189-91) which are in the nature of a supplement, have been written in a rather indifferent hand over an erasure. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation.

The characters are Telugu-Kannada of the 10th century A.D. and resemble in all respects those of the Kudalur plates² of Gaṅga Mārasimha II who issued the present plates. The initial vowels a, ā, i, ī, u and e as well as final l and final n occur each several times in the inscription. The *Upadhānīya* sign occurs in line 103. Regarding orthography, it is interesting to observe that l, when single in the intervocalic position, is written in almost all the cases as ḷ. Even initial l is likewise written in *ḷokadhūrttaḥ* (line 30). S for ś appears in *Sarat* (line 82). B for v in *garbha* (lines 71, 82) and *vi* for *vi* in *rishi* (line 157) may be as well regarded as a linguistic feature. Considering the length of the document, it is remarkably free from errors both in regard to orthography and language.

The language of the record is Sanskrit except in lines 167-77 and 189-91 dealing with the description of the boundaries and a sentence at the end giving the name of the headman, which are written in Kannada with an admixture of Sanskrit. The text is composed in verse and prose in the *chamṇu* style. There are fifty-two verses in various metres which show the poet's predilection for the *Śāṇḍilyakriṣṭa* metre. In verse 9, which is in *Uṭpalamālikā*, the poet has introduced the *Hayagrāsa* of the Kannada prosody by having a similar conjunct consonant in the second syllable of each quarter. The composition is of considerable literary merit and the author has freely indulged in the use of *alaṅkāras* in the verses and of long compounds in the prose-portion. Both the author and the engraver, who have preferred to remain anonymous, have earned the gratitude of scholars by accomplishing their job in a satisfactory manner.

The date of the record is given in lines 159-61 and 164, as Śaka 884, Danduhhi, Pausaḥa. 9, Tuesday, Svāti-nakṣatra, Kanyā-lagna and Uttarāyana Saṅkrānti. This would

¹ It is registered as No. 23 of Appendix A in the *A.R. Ep.*, 1934-35, and briefly noticed in the same report, Part II, pp. 57-58.

² *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1921, pp. 18 ff.

regularly correspond to the 23rd December, 962 A.D. The date is only a few months earlier than that of the Kudalur plates referred to above, which are dated Śaka 894, Rudhirōdgārī, Chaitra śu. 5, Wednesday. The cyclic year Rudhirōdgārī corresponded to Śaka 885 expired, the corresponding English date being the 3rd March 963 A.D., though the weekday was Tuesday instead of Wednesday.

The inscription belongs to the Gaṅga chief Mārasimha II and, like his Kudalur plates, is one of the longest and the latest of the Western Gaṅga records. The introductory portion, covering lines 1-122 and verses 1-32, giving the genealogy of the Gaṅga kings from Koṅguni-varma-Dharma-mahādhirāja up to Mārasimha II is similar in contents to the Kudalur plates edited by R. Narasimhaachar who has discussed them in details. Verses 33-36, devoted to the description of the donor Mārasimha II, are not found in the Kudalur plates while the six verses, and the lengthy prose portion describing him in the latter record are not given in our inscription. We learn from verse 33 that Mārasimha II was the son of Kallabhā who was the daughter of Sirhavarman of the Chālukya lineage. Verses 22, 27 and 28 inform us that Mārasimha's father Bātuga II also married Rāvakanimmaḍi, the daughter of Rāshtrakūṭa Baddaga (Amoghavarsha III), and had by her a son called Maruḍaśva who married the daughter of Kṛishṇa III. Bātuga had a third wife named Paddabbarasi according to an inscription from Nuregal in the Dharwar District.¹ Thus he had three wives named Rāvakanimmaḍi, Kallabhā and Paddabbarasi. The Kudalur plates inform us that Mārasimha II was crowned as the ruler of Gaṅgavāḍi personally by Kṛishṇa III on the eve of his northern expedition to conquer Aḍvapati or the Gūjara king. We know that Mārasimha was not only the feudatory of Kṛishṇa III but also of the latter's successors Khotṭiga² and Amoghavarsha IV Kakka.³

Verses 37-44 describe the spiritual ancestry of the Jaina teacher Ēlāchārya who was the donee of the gift. Prabhāchandra was the chief pontif of the Digambara sect of Sūrastā-gaṇa in the Mālasaṅgha. He was well versed in all the Śāstras. His disciple was Kaluśeḍḍeva who was the preceptor of Ravichandra. The latter's disciple was Ravinandidēva, the preceptor of Ēlāchārya.

Verses 45 and the following lengthy passage in prose in lines 151-66 refer to the gift of the village Kādālūr in Koṅgal-dēśa made to the said Ēlāchārya by Mārasimha II for providing for worship and offerings in the Jinalaya constructed by the chief's mother Kallabhā and also for worshipping of *sudhā-chitra* (stucco paintings) and *chitra* (paintings) as well as for the four kinds of *dānas* to the Jaina deities and ascetics.

The grant is stated to have been made when the military camp (*śibara*) of Mārasimha was at Mēlpāṭi which is probably the same as Mēlpāṭi in the Chittoor District in Andhra Pradesh. Three years before the date of this grant, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III also encamped at Mēlpāḍi as known from his Karad plates of May 959 A.D.⁴

Lines 167-77 describe the boundaries of the gift village as follows : in the east, the big stony hillock to the east of the Keṅgōlli lake ; further on to the south, the bank or mound (*dīpa*) called Sōḍiyāla ; further on, the path of black-stones ; further on, the heap of stones ; further on, [the locality called] Paṭṭare ; further on, the bank or mound at the back side of the stony hillock of Belgalla ; further on, the hillock called Eyyuṅṅal ; in the south-east, [the place of] round stones ; further on, in the western direction, the hill called Uḍyam ; in the south, the hillock of the chips of stones and black-stones ; further on, the bank or mound of Baḷavaga ; further on, the

¹ *A. S. Ep.*, 1926-27, App. No. A182; *SI.*, Vol. XI, Part. 1 (B. K. Inscriptions, Vol. 1, Part. 1), No. 38.

² Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 61E.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 270 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 231.

heap of stones on the road to Maysūr; further on, in the south-west corner, the bank or mound called Kēra; then moving to the north, in the west, the stony hillock called Kosagu; further on, the heap of stones of the bank or mound of Bhagavati on the road to Nokkiyūr; further on, moving straight along the black stones, the hillock of black-stones; further in the north-west, the bank or mound of Bhagavati; further on, in the north, [the place called] Tavalikal; further on, the bank or mound to the north of Paralikere; further on, the wall to the north of Gārhvadigere; in the north-east corner, the junction of the stream coming from the hillock of the black stones with the stream of Keṅgoli.

Verse 46 in lines 177-79 relates to the request of the Gaṅga chief, viz. Mārasimha, made to the future kings of the Gaṅga family to protect the gift. Line 180 states that the subjects of the 96,000-division (i.e. Gaṅgavāḍi) were the witnesses to the gift. Then follow five benedictory and imprecatory stanzas (verses 47-51) in lines 180-84. Verse 52 (lines 185-88) invokes the blessings of Lakṣmī on the Gaṅga chief. Lines 189-91 which are engraved on an erasure mention the boundaries of the Kōḡil-nāḍu and the name of the headman of that nāḍu or division. Kōḡil-nāḍu is apparently a mistake for Kōṅgal-nāḍu or Kōṅgal-dēsa in which the gift-village Kādalūr was located. The boundaries of this nāḍu are given as follows: in the east, the rivulet or stream of Māṇikavoḷai; in the south, the Kāvēri river; in the west, the place called Bāḷayapaḷḷa; and in the north, the Perṇṇa (i.e. Pennar) river. The name of the nāḍi-gāruḇḍa is given as Perṇāḍi-gāruḇḍa.

Kādalūr, the village granted, may be identified with the place of the same name in the Mandya Taluk of the Mysore District. The area round about this place apparently corresponded to Kōṅgal-dēsa which extended upto the Kāvēri in the south and Pennar in the north. The place Maysūra mentioned in connection with the boundaries is apparently the modern Mysore and the present record supplies the earliest epigraphical reference to this place. I am unable to identify the other places mentioned in connection with the description of the boundaries.

TEXT¹

[Metres: verses 1, 4, 7, 13-16, 18-19, 23-24, 35, 52 *Śrughāṛā*; verses 2, 5, 12, 22 *Vasanta-talakā*; verses 3, 8, 10, 13-14, 17, 21, 25, 32-34, 36-37, 41-42, 44-46 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 6, 30 *Mālinī*; verse 9 *Uṭṭalamālikā* or *Kāmalatā*; verse 11 *Śikharaṇī*; verses 20, 39 *Indravajrā*; Verses 26-27 *Āryyā*; verses 28-29 *Praharṣiṇī*; verses 31, 33, 40, 43, 47-50 *Avaṣṭubh*; verse 51 *Śālinī*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² [!]³ Svasti jītaṁ bhagavatā gata-ghana-gaganābhena Padmanābhena [!]³ Śrīma]-
Jāhnavēya kuḷ-āmaḷa-vyōm-āva-
- 2 bhāsana-bhāṣkarah eva-khaḍg-nika-prahāra-khaḍḍita-⁴ḥiḷ³-ataṁbha-labdhva-baḷa-parākrāmō
dāruṇ-āri-gaṇa-vidāraṇ-ō-
- 3 palabdhva-vraṇa-vibhūṣaṇa-vibhūṣitaḥ Ka(KA)uvāyana-sagōtraḥ śrīmān Kōṅguṇi-
varmma-dharmma-mahādhitā-
- 4 jṣṭh | tat-putraḥ pitur-anvāgata-guṇa-yuktō vidyā-vinaya-vihita-vṛttah samyak-prajā-
pālana-mātr-ā-

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Some records have mahā-⁴ḥiḷ here.

- 5 dhigata-rājya-prayōjanō vidvat-kavi-kāmchana-nikash-ōpaśa-bhūto nīti-śāstrasya vaktri-
prayōkti-kusāḷō Datta-
- 6 kasūtra-vṛittēḥ prapētā śrīmān-Mādhava-mahādhirājah | tat-putrah pitri-paitāmaha-
guna-yu-
- 7 kṛō-nēka-chāturdanta-yuddh-āvāpta-chatur-udadhi-sajjī-śsvādita-yasāḥ śrīmad-Dhāri-
varmma-mahādhi-
- 8 rājah tat-putrō dvija-guru-dēvatā-pūjana-parō Nārāyaṇa-charaṇ-ānuddhyātah śrīmān-
Viṣṇugōpa-mahādhirā-
- 9 jah tat-putras-Tryambaka-charaṇ-āmbhōruha-rājah pavitrikṛit-ōttamāṅgah āva-bhūja-bala-
parākrama-kṛaya-kṛiyat¹-rājyah
- 10 Kāliyuga-bala-parāk-āyaasana-dharmma-vṛish-ōddharana-nitya-sannaddhah śrīmān-Mādha-
va-mahādhirājah | tat-putrah śrīmat-Kadam-
- 11 ba-kuja-gagana-gabhasimālinah Kṛishṇavarma-mahādhirājasya priya-bhāginēyō vidyā-
vinay-ātīśaya-paripū-

Second Plate, First Side

- 12 rit-āntarātmā nīravagraha-pradhāna-śauryyō vidvatsu prathamā-gaṇyah śrīmā[n] Korṅgapi-
mahādhirājah
- 13 Avinīta-nāmā tat-putrō vijñābhamaṇa-śakti-trayaḥ Andariy-Ālatūr-Ppurujare-Peina-
gar-ādy-anēka-sa-
- 14 mara-mukha-makha-huta-prahata-śūra-purusha-paś-ōpahāra-vighasa-vihaṣṭikṛita-kṛitānt-Āgni-
mukhaḥ Kīrā-
- 15 tārjunīya-pośchadaśa-sargga-tikākārō Durvvinīta-nāmadhēyah tat-putrah durddanta-vimar-
dda-vimpidita-
- 16 viśvaṁbhar-ādhipa-manji-māḷā-makaranda-rajah-puṇja-piṇjarkṛi(kri)yamāṇa-charaṇa-yugala-
nāḷō Muṣhaka-nā-
- 17 madhēyah tasya putrah chaturdaśa-vidyāsthān-ādhipata-vimāmatir-vviśēshatō-navaśēsha-
- 18 eya nīti-śāstrasya vaktri-prayōkti-kusāḷō ripu-timīra-nikara-nirākarāṇ-ōdaya-bhākarah
- 19 Śrīvīkrama-prathita-nāmadhēyah tasya putrah anēka-samara-saṁpādita-vijñābhita-dvi-
- 20 rāda-nakha-kulīś-ābhigāta-vraṇa-saṁrūḍha-bhāsvad-vijaya-lakṣaṇa-lakṣikṛita-viśāḷa-
vakṣa-śthalah samadhiga-
- 21 ta-sakaḷa-śāstr-ārtha [h*]² samārōdhita-irivarggō nīravadya-charitaḥ prati-dinam-
abhinarddha-māna-prabhāvō Bhūvikra-
- 22 ma-nāmadhēyah apī cha ||³ Nānā-hēti-prahāra-pravighaṭita-bhaṭ-śraḥ-kavāt-ōttit-āsrig-dhār-
śvāda-pramatta-
- 23 dvipa-śata-charaṇa-kṣhōda-sammardda-bhīmō | saṁgrāmō Pallavēndran nara-patim-ajayad-
yō Vilīnd⁴-ābhidhānō rājā

¹ Read kṛita.

² The word *toṭṭa* is found after this word in other records (cf. above, Vol. XXVII, p. 149, text line 22).

³ The double *śvāda* marks here indicate the end of the section in prose.

⁴ In some records, this name is spelled as *Vijānda*; cf. above, Vol. XXVII, p. 150, text line 24, and the Kadalur plates, text line 29.

2	2
4	4
6	6
8	8
10	10

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

ii, a

12	12
14	14
16	16
18	18
20	20
22	22

12
 14
 16
 18
 20
 22

12
 14
 16
 18
 20
 22

ii, b

24	24
26	26
28	28
30	30
32	32
34	34

24
 26
 28
 30
 32
 34

24
 26
 28
 30
 32
 34

Second Plate, Second Side

- 24 **Śrivaṇṇabh-ākhyas**-samara-śata-jay-āvāpta-lakṣmī-vijāsaḥ || [1*] Tasy-ānujō nata-narē-ndra-ti(ki)riṣa-kōṭi-ratn-ārka-dīdū-
- 25 ti-virājita-pāda-padmaḥ || [*] lakṣmīyā svayamvīta-patir-**Nnavakāma**-nāmā śiṣṭa-priyō=ri-gaṇa-dāruṇa-gīta-kī-
- 26 rtiḥ || [2*] tasya **Koṅḡuṇi**-mahādhirājasya **Śivamār**-āpara-nāmadhēyasya putraḥ samava-nata-samasta-sā-
- 27 manta-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-bahaja-ratna-vijasaḥ amara-dhanuḥ-khaṇḍa-maṇḍita-charaṇa-na-kha-maṇḍa|ō Nā-
- 28 rāyaṇa-nihita¹-bhaktiḥ sūrapuruṣa-turega-varavāraṇa-ghaṭa-saṅghaṭṭa-dāruṇa-samara-śirasi nihit-ātma-
- 29 kōpō Bhimakōpaḥ prakāṣa-rati-samaya-samanuvarttana-chatura-yuvati-jaṇ-ā|ōka-
- 30 dhūrttō Lōkadhūrttaḥ sudurdhar-ānēka-yuddha-mūrdhna(rddhni) labdha-vijaya-saṃpad=ahita-gaja-ghaṭa-kēsa-
- 31 ri Rājākēsaḥ |² api cha ||³ Yō Gaṅg-ānvaya-nirmma|āmbara-ta|a-vyābhāsa-prōllasan-mārttaṇḍō=
- 32 ri-bhayaṃkaraḥ subhakarā=saṇ-mārgga-rakṣākaraḥ | saurājyaṃ samopētya rāja-samītau rājan-gu-
- 33 gair-uttamāi rājā **Śrīpuruṣaś**=chiraṇ vijayatō rājanya-chūdāmaṇiḥ || [3*] api cha || Kāmō rāmāsu chāpē Da-
- 34 śaratha-tanayō vikramē Jāmadagnyaḥ prājy-aśvareyyē Ba|ārir-bahu-mahasi Ravi[h*] sva-prabhutvē Dhanūṣaḥ || [*] bhūyō
- 35 vikhyāta-śakti sphuṭataram-akhīla-prāya-bhājām vidhātā Dhātṛā śiṣṭa[h*] prajānām-patir=iti kāvayō yaṃ

Third Plate, First Side

- 36 prasānsanti nityam(tyam) || [4*] sa tu pratidina-pravṛtta-mahādāna-jaṇita-puṇyāka-ghōṣa-mukharita-mandir-ōdaraḥ
- 37 **Śrīpuruṣa**-prathama-nāmadhēyaḥ **Prithivī-Koṅḡuṇi**-mahādhirājaḥ tat-putraḥ pratāpa-vinamita-sa-
- 38 ka|a-mahāpā|a-man|ī-mā|ā-lā|ita-charaṇ-āravinda-yuga|ō nija-bhuja-virājita-niṣṭa-khaḍga-paṭṭa-sa-
- 39 m-ākṛiṣṭ-āniṣṭa-dharāpā|a-vallabha-jāya-śrī-samā|icgitāḥ | api cha || Yaśmin prayātavati kōpa-va-
- 40 śaṃ mahāśē yānti kṣaṇād=ahita-bhūmibhujō raṇ-āgrē | antrāva|ī-va|aya-bhāhaṇa-
- 41 m-Āntakasya vaktr-āntaraṃ kṣataja-katddama-darndīr(kahad)(kalyaṇ) || [5*] sa tu vikhyāta-vima|a-Gaṅg-ānvaya-
- 42 nabhasta|a-gebhastimā|ī **Koṅḡuṇi**-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī **Śivamārādēvaḥ**

¹ Better read Nāripaṇa-charaṇa-niṣṭa.² This indicates the end of the prose portion.³ The mark indicates that the following portion is in verse.

- 43 Saygoṭṭ-āpara-nāmā || kaniyān=Vijayāditya¹ s=tasy-āsti=sa jayāṅgaṇā-² |³ saṁhāli-
 44 aṣṭa-vakṣāḥ saṁkṣhīpta-⁴ |⁵ kāṣya-charitō-bhavat || api cha || Bharata iva kaṣātrah mēdini-
 45 m=agrajasya prayata-matir=agamyām=manyatē sm=āvagarhyāṁ(rhyām) | sa tu sakala-
 dharūyām dhārīgī-nātha-samsat-
 46 prathita-nija⁶-guṇō=pi prēmavān sad-guṇ-augṣaḥ || 6* || tat-putraḥ kaśadhara-kara-
 nikara-viśada-vijaya-ya-
 47 śō-rāsi-viśadkṛita-viśva-viśvabhārā-chakravāḥ || samadhigata-sakala-rājya-lakṣmi-samā-
 jhgit-ōttuṅga-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 48 vakṣāḥ | api cha || Dānō Kāninam=urvi-bhara-bharapa-vidhau Śēṣam=ājau cha Pārthasā-
 gābhāryyē Vāhinīsam Kaliya-
 49 ga-charit-ōdanvataś=śōṣhaṇō cha ||⁷ || dakṣaṁ sad-Bāḍabāgnīm śaraṇam-upagataś=
 āvanē vajra-bandha-prākāram prāṇa-
 50 bhājām sthiti-karapa-vidhau yaś vadanti Prajēśam(śam) || 7* || sa tu Satyavākya-Koṅgu-
 nivarṇma-dharmma-mahārājādhi-
 51 rājō Rājamalla⁸-prathama-nāmadhōyaḥ | tat-putraḥ nija bhuj-ōddaoḍa-mandar-ōcha-
 pramathuta-viśva-vidvi-
 52 ḍ-ba[-ārṇṇay-ōddhṛita-rōja-lakṣmi-samāśliṣṭa-samabhirōḍa(ḍha)-vakṣāḥ | api cha |
 Chāp-ōnmu-
 53 kta-śar-ōtkar-āgra-prishitē chaṇḍ-śai-vidyut-tatau |⁹ || kōp-ōddāma-gajēndra-nīja-jaladē-
 54 rakta-pravāhē=samē | bhīmē yuddha-ghan-āgamē haya-mahē-vātē ripūn-ūrjijitān rā-
 55 jā Rāmaḍi¹⁰-nāmai yas=samajayad-rāj-āgrāṇir-illayā || 8* || Pallava-Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Ku-
 56 ru-Māgadha-Mālava-Chōja-Lāṭa-Samvalla-Chaḷukya-vamśaja-mahānripati-pramu-
 khair=adhi-
 57 aṣṭhitam(tam) ||¹¹ || Vallabha-sainyam=unnata-mataṅga-javāji-bhay-ākulaṁ jayāt-
 tal-lalan-ākṣhi-vāri-nivahāna samam sama-
 58 rō nyapātayat || 9* || sa tu Nītimārgga-Koṅgunivarṇma-dharmma-mahārājādhirājō
 bhagavad-Arhad-bhāṭāraka-charaṇ-ā-
 59 ravinda-madhupāyamāna-mānasāḥ Eregaṅgadōvaḥ tat-putraḥ samasta-sāmanta-mauji-
 mālā-makaranda-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 60 sajaḥ-sabalita-charaṇ-āravinda-yugaḥ || samadhigata-samasta-vidyā-vidyōtī-āntarātmā |
 api cha | yaḥ prō-
 61 dyat-kaji-kāja-vijitti-vimukhaḥ kāmam guṇānām gaṇair=Mmānūḍātri-pramukh-ādi-rāja-
 smitau saṁbhūṣhitas-sarvathā |

¹ The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

² The Kujalur plates have *prāṇa* instead of *nija*.

³ The Kujalur plates read *Rājamalla*.

⁴ This *doḍa* is unnecessary.

⁵ The Kujalur plates read *Bāḍabā*.

62. kōp-ōtkhāta-kṛipāṇa-khaṇḍita-nipu-kahmāpāḥ kuḥ-ōdyōtakṛitmā(n=Mā)r-ākāratayā manasa-
auvicharan-kāntā-janānām bhu-
63. vi || [10*] Imā Varigāḥ Paupdrā Magadha-narapāḥ Kōśaḥ-nripāḥ |¹ amī
Kālī[m*]g-Āndhra-Dramiḥa-naranāthās-sa-am-
64. hṛidaḥ ||* viśṛṇvāḥ śāstr-anghāḥ-unarapati-vimuktāḥ=itī janāḥ prasatthān² yasy=ā|am
vidadhur-anisāth Sāmiya-raṇē || [11*]
65. sa tu Satyavākya-Koṅguṇivarmma-dharmma-mahārījādhirājō Rājamalla-prathā-
ma-nā-
66. mā || Tasy-ānujō vijīta-durjjaya-Rājarājō Lakshmīpatir-Mamuram-iva prathitam Hari-
vvā ||*
67. dvishṭam Mahēndram-ajayad-Biriyūri Sūrāry-anyaṭra Sāmiya-raṇē-pr-atha Būtu-
68. gēndrah || [12*] Kōpō yaḥ ptaḥ-ānajaḥ sora-kujas-tyāgō satishv-Amgaḥ vidy-ānigō
Nāloṣṭmajō gajanaḥ sā-
69. kshāt-Karṇv-ātmajaḥ ||* Koṅgān-vāraṇa-bandha-vāraṇa-karān jivā raṇē Parichavāryy-
ukta-prāktana-yōgatāḥ
70. kari-śatāny-ēkō-grahā-dur-ggrahāḥ || [13*] tasya sudūr-ōtsārīta-sakala-kāḥya-kalamb-
kasya nātma-śravaṇa-mā-
71. trōḥ-aiv-ōpaśamita-garbbha(rvva)-gaḥ-graha-grihīta-bhūbhṛin-maḥḍaḥsya samaata-
śāstr-ārth-ānuśāsi-satya-pa-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

72. ra-vaachana-vijittasya parama-jaimasya Guṇaduttaraṇḍ-āpara-nāmadhāyasya svastya
Amōghavarahadēva-śrī-pṛi-
73. zhivallabha-sutāyām śubha-lakṣhaṇa-nikhil-āyayava-sēbhītāyām(yām) | apī cha |
Āśīrvāda-paramparā-pariga-
74. tau kalyāṇa-kuly-ōditau śrī-hrī-ki[r*]tti-viśēṣa-śīḥa-samitau nṛty-ādi-vidyā-tatau ||*
śikṣā-bddhy-Udayōcha-ōjva(jjva)-
75. ja-tatau Chandrobhalabbā-pṛithu-śrīmatyām-Eregamga-bhūtaḥ-patir-jjātāḥ autō vaṭ-
nidhīḥ || [14*] sa tu pratipat-ka-
76. śādhara iva pratidinam-askhaḥad-aḥaya³-pravardhamāna-kalābhīr-abbivarddhamānāḥ sva-
pūrvyōḥa Rājamalla-
77. dēvēna śrīmad-Ereyappa-paṭṭa-baddhaḥ | apī cha | Yuddhē nṛtyat-kabandha-tri(tri)-
tāyam-anugat-ā-
78. śēsha-rakṣaḥ-piśāchō yasy-āśōś⁴-māhprahārāt-patīta-gaja-tatōt-ddhūta-rakta-prasiktē | jyā-
bhū-
79. māu rakta-vṛiṣṭōś-chiram-iva bhavataḥ pāpa-nāśō sma sadyō-dy-āgarjjad-bhūta-vargō
Hari-kulīśa-hatā-

¹ This does is unnecessary.

² There is an unnecessary *epith* like mark above si.

³ The Kudalur plates read askhaḥad-aḥaya.

⁴ The Kudalur plates read yasy-āśōś.

- 80 d-bhūbbhūtō-nēkatō vā || [15*] Tasmin-yuddhē Mahēndram Ba|am-iva Ba|abhid-yō jaghān-
ārya-vīryō Sūrūrā-Nāḍugānīn
- 81 prithutara-Miḍigēsy-ādi-śai|ēndra-¹durgāna(n | a)nyā[m*]=Tippērum-abhrahmlibam=
atiśayavān Perijar-ōdyān-adhriṣhyān vi-
- 82 grāhyān-agrahid-yō jhaṭiti-pariga|ad-durggavad-garbha(rvva)-jā|am(|am) || [16*] tēna
sa(śa)rat-samaya-samudita-viśadatara-śiśirakara-
- 83 kirāṇa-nikarāyamāns-paṭutara-yaśah-payō-nidhi-majjan-ōmajjan-ōmū|kṛita-Ka||-ma|ina-
gōya-vādyā-nṛi-

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 84 tya-vidy-ōpavidyā-Bharatēna mahā-vaiyyākaraṇa-prāmāṇikēna svasti samast-ābhiraṁbika-
vija(ji)gishu-
- 85 guṇa-maṇi-bhūṣaṇa-bhrājamāna-nītimārggēna samasta-sāmantā-lalāṭa-ghaṭṭita-pādāra-
vinda-dvayēna
- 86 dhātṛi niravagrahēna paripālītā || Tasya brahma-mahindra-brinda-makuṭa-vyāsakta-rakt-
ātula-chehhāyā-kumku-
- 87 ma-pitūjati|kṛita²-padā-dvāmdivasya dēvyām prabhuh [| *] Chāḷuky-āma|a-varhāa-bhā-
Nijagali-kshmāpā|a-putryām=a-
- 88 bhūj=Jākāmbhā³-vyapadēśa-bhāji tanaya[h*] āri-Satyavākya⁴ nṛipah || [17] Rājantīm
rāja-vidyām dviradana-turag-ārōha-
- 89 padī kandukasya kṛdām nistṛiṇhā-dhēnuḥ dhaur-asi-latikān-nā|akam śabda-vidyām
(dyām) [|*] vaidyām kāvyām pra-
- 90 māgam sa-gaṇita-Bharataṁ s-ētiḥsām purāṇaṁ |⁵ nṛityam gitaṁ cha vādyam prathama-
vayasi yō=
- 91 bhystavān=iddha-buddhiḥ || [18*] Anādhṛō rādhṛam⁶ girīṇām prithu cha⁷ jajanidhē-
mmaddhyam-śāḥ Khasānām |⁸ Pāṇḍyāḥ
- 92 śpiṅgaṇ-tarūṇām-asura-vivarakaṁ samhatas-Sirōha|lānām(nām) | pātā|am Kēra|ēndrō
Yama-mukha-kuharati Pallavā-
- 93 =sathārayantē yasmin samrahbha⁹-bhāji kabiti-bhuji bhuja-nirbhāśi-nistṛiṇhā-yaśṭau ||
[19*] sa tu Satyavākya-Koṅguṇi-
- 94 varmma-dharmma-mahārājādhirāja-paramōvara-śṛiman-Narasimhadēva-prathama-
nāmadhēyah || Tasy-ānujō
- 95 yō=|ani Rājamallō |¹⁰ nāmu-ādina darddhara¹¹-Rājamallah | pūrvv-āvanī-pā|aka-nītimārggō
nāmu-āparūp-ā-

¹ The reading given in the Kuḍalur plates is *Miḍigē Sāḷiśai|ēndra*.

² The Kuḍalur plates read *maṇjari|kṛita*.

³ This name has been wrongly read as *Iḍikāmbā* in the Kuḍalur plates.

⁴ This *śaśa* is unnecessary.

⁵ The Kuḍalur plates read *Anādhṛā rādhṛam*.

⁶ The reading in the Kuḍalur plates is *prithula*.

⁷ The Kuḍalur plates have *śamābha* instead of *samrahābha*.

⁸ The Kuḍalur plates have *durbhida*.

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vii, a

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- 111 nāmnyāḥ=Chāgavodeṣya-iti sa[ḥ*]||ñāyāḥ || (27*) Tat-putrō Magadha-Kāṣirga-Pāṇḍya-
Chōḷa-kāṣmāpāḷaite=abhinuta-pā-
- 112 da-padikojasya ||* Kṛiṣṇasasya prahata-ripu-vrajasya putrīḥ ||ātō vyavahad=
achintya-nītimārggaḥ || (28*) Sa-saṅhā-
- 113 t-sakaḷa-nāḥṣa-Kṛiṣṇa-bhūpātbbhū(d-bhū)māhaḥ khaḷa Madanāvātāra-saṁjñāḥ(jñam)
||* chhatran-tan-na-
- 114 rapetiḥhir=ana kaśchad-āptam¹ |* samprāptō Mārula-iti prasiddha-nāmā || (29*) sa cha
Jina-vata-
- 115 chataḥ-āpbbhūṇa-madhupāyamaṇa-mānaḥ² | Māna-satōvara-ira samāśri-
- 116 ta-sakala-śāḷa-hāmaḥ | hāma-dhavaḥ|āyamāna-diganta-viāranta-kīrttiḥ | Kīrttimand-
bhavaḥ || apī
- 117 cha || Budha³-kamaḥ-ḥiṣṭvād-Gaṁgumārttēṇḍa-bhūpaḥ kavimūta-charitaśvātā(e-Mā)
navō Nītimārggaḥ |
- 118 Ball-ripu-daḥanavād-Gaṁgachakrāyudhāḥ⁴ |* Kṛiṣṇa-jana-pū(pī)ṭṭivāt⁵ kāmadaḥ
kāma-dāmat || (30*) Yasya
- 119 ch=||śānath⁶ | pūptō manyatō kāmī-janaḥ ||* mama rām-ēti⁷ samjñā=āyam samprāp-
ādyā kṛitārthatām|| (31*) Sau-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

- 120 chaḥ āncha-mahāvratāḥ kavivaraḥ kāvyam kṛitārth-ārtthibhāḥ(bhā=) tyāgaḥ
Kēraḷa-Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa-nivahāḥ tan-
- 121 ryya=sayō nīḷgaḥ⁸ | dharm-ādharmma-parat=||janā=sambhagatām yary-ādarā-
gīyatō ||* a=yath satya-guṇ-āḥ-
- 122 budhiv-vijayātām śrī-Gaṁgachakrāyudhāḥ || (32*) sa tu Nītimārgga-Koṁgupaivar-
mma-dharmma-mahārājādhirāja-
- 123 paramādevata⁹ |* śrīmān Kalyugabhīm-āpatm-eāmā Maruḷadēvaḥ || Chāḷuky-
ānava-Siddhavarṇma-nṛpa-
- 124 tēḥ putrī matē śrīmatī |* Kallabbā Jayaduttaramga-nṛpatē=ddōvī mah-ātyuttamā |
tat-putrē=
- 125 janī Mārasintha-nṛpatīḥ śrī-Satyavākya-ādhipaḥ khyātāḥ śrī-Maruḷa-sthira-kabūtībhū-
- 126 ja-tary-ānūjāḥ nāḥjūam(sam) || (33*) Vidvā-khaśniya-kumbhā-kumbha-daḥana-prō-
dhūta-muktā-pha-
- 127 |a-śrī-bāra-praviddhāt-āmaḥ-jayant-lakṣya-vakha-sthaḥ ||* kama-ānamra-surēśvara-
- 128 stuti-vachā-śrīmaḥ-Jinēndra-kṛma-śrī-padma-dvaya-mānaḥ vijayatō śrī-Gaṁgachōḷa-
magāḥ || (34*)

¹ The Kujalur plates read *śamāśrīśāpāṇḍya*.

² This *śaṅḍa* is unnecessary.

³ The Kujalur plates read *Pera*.

⁴ The Kujalur plates read *āṭṭatā*.

⁵ The Kujalur plates read *paragēśādharmma*.

⁶ The reading is *śānath* in the Kujalur plates.

⁷ The Kujalur plates read *nīṭipāḥ*.

- 129 Durvṛtta-kṣhatra-putra-dvirada-mada-bhara-bhramā-bāja-dvipārīḥ kṣmā-chakr-ākṛāṭi-
mādyat-kaḷi-kaḷiḥ-
- 130 tamō-bhāda-bā-āmśumāḷi | kair-ana stuty-ōdaya-ēriḥ pratidina-bhuvau-ānanda-samb-
vṛddhi-bāja |¹ svētāmāur-bhā-
- 131 |a ēva kṣhiti-toḷa-jayinām-agraṇir=āmārasimhaḥ || [35*] Pād-āmbhōruha-bhṛṅga-bhṛitya-
bharṇa-vyāpāra-chintāmaṇiḥ

Seventh Plate, First Side

- 132 samtrāsa-graha-yihvaḥkṛita-ripu-kahmāpā-akahāmanīḥ ||[*] vidvat-kaṇṭha-vibhū-
shaṇkṛita-guṇa-prōdhhāsi-mu-
- 133 kṛāmanir-ddēvaḥ kasya na varṇanīya-charitāḥ śrī-Gaṅga-chūḍāmanīḥ || [36*] sa tu
Batyavākya-Komguṇiva-
- 134 rmma-dharmma-mahārājōdhirāja-paramōśvara-ārimān=Marasimhadēvaḥ || Śailēndrōd-iva
Jāhnavi |a-
- 135 dharāt-saudāmaniv=āśvabudhār-muktā-paṇktir-iva prakāśita-guṇa-śrī-Mūlasamgh-
ānvayāt | divyā
- 136 bhāsura-vṛttir=apratihatā prādurbabbhūv=āvanau |² Sūrasatā-guṇa-vṛttir=ujva(jjva)-
|a-āhīyān Digvāsesān |a-
- 137 nma-bhūḥ || [37*] Śrī-Prabhāchandra-yōglāsa-tad-guṇ-ōdhīvarah kṛti | sarvva-śāstra-
mahārabbhōdhir-vvīru-
- 138 tas=saka-āvanau || [38*] Tasya Prabhāchandra-manīśvarasya śiṣyas=tapō-mūrttir-
udātta-kirttirbha(ritiḥ | ba)-
- 139 bhūva bhavy-āhja-vikṣa-bhānu=satām varah Kalneledōva-nāmā || [39*] Tasya śiṣyō-
jani śrīmō-
- 140 a Ravichandra-munīśvarah ||[*] ahaṭ-trim(triṇ)śad-guṇa-sadyuktah śāstra-vārāśi-
pāraguḥ || [40*] apī cha || Śrī-Sūrasatā-guṇah
- 141 su-dusaha-tapah-sūras=tapō-rāśibhiḥ śiṣyair=labdha-sudhāmāu-nirmmaḥa-yaśō-rāśiḥ
samudbhāsatō | mi-
- 142 thyā-jñāna-tamō-vibhēdana-ravir=vividvat-sabhā-kaumodī-chandra-śrī-Ravichandra-paṇḍita
iti khyātō yati-grāmanī[ḥ*] || [41*] Tasya śrī-
- 143 Ravichandra-paṇḍita-gurōḥ śiṣyah satām=agraṇir-ddin-ānātha-vanīpaka-vraja-manah-
santōsha-sākshān-ni-

Seventh Plate, Second Side

- 144 dhiḥ | bhavy-āmbhōruha-ahaṇḍa-maṇḍana-ravir=Jain-āgamāmbhōndhir-jjātah śrī-
Ravinandīdōva-munipah saujanya-ja-
- 145 am-āḷayah || [42*] Tasy=ābhavan-munēḥ śiṣyas=tap-ōnushṭhāna-tat-parah ||[*] Eḷa-
chāryyō yati[ḥ*] śrīmān=āryyavaryyag(ryyah)

¹ This danda is unnecessary.

- 146 *śrut-śrūbudhiḥ* || [43*] *api cha* || *Dāridr-ātapa-tapta-dīna-janatā-saṁka* | *pa-ka* | *padrumaḥ* |¹
pād-śmabhōruha-bhavya-bhṛīmga-
- 147 *janatā-santōsha-ohintāmaṇiḥ* | *Elāchāryya-muniadra śsha* *viṣaśch-chāritra-ratnākaraḥ*
śrīma-j-Jaina-ma-
- 148 *t-ōdayācha* | *ra-vir-vvibhrājatē bhūta* |² || [44*] *Koṁgal-dēśa-nivāsinam nirupamaḥ śrī-*
Kādalōr-saamjākarah |³
- 149 *Kallabbā-rachitesya Jaina-niṣayasy-ābhyaśchchan-ārttham kṛti* | *Elāchāryya-munisvarāya*
- 150 *viduśē grāman-namasyaṁ svayam ddhā(dhā)rā-pu(pū)rvvam-adāj-jit-āri-narapaḥ śrī-*
Mārasi-māhō nripaḥ || [45*]
- 151 *svakty-ānibikā Kallabba-rājōi-kāritasya Jināṣayasya sudhā-chitra-chitr-ādi-pūj-ārttham*
- 152 *muni-janēbhyaś-chaturvīdha-dān-ārttham cha* | *tēn-ābhivandya mānair-bbāḷa-kāḷa-*
charitair-spy-akharvva-pratipa-
- 153 *ksha-parvata-paksha-khaṇḍan-aik-Ākhaṇḍaḷam-ahita-mahīpati-vāhinī-nivaha-gahana-*
dhana-hutavaham-ātya-
- 154 *nta-vikrānta-pratyanta-nripa-samīpavartti-samavarittinam-āji-vijay-ōddhura-virōdhi-vasudh-*
ādhirāja-rājya-śhga-grā-
- 155 *sa-lāḷa-aika-rūkhaśa-rājam-avāryya-gāmbhīryya-sāgara-sāmājya-pāḷan-aika-pāḷa-pāḍim-*
ai-dhārā-ja-

Eight Plate, First Side

- 156 *ja-praviddha-baddha-mūḷa-stabdha-vidvishṭa-nripa-viśha-viṭapa-nirmūḷan-āṇiḷam-anava-*
rata-pradhāna-vijaya-dhana-sam-
- 157 *graha-dhaśvaram-akhīḷa-jagadvartti-kṛti-Gaṇḍōdvahana-Mahāśvaram-anukṛishṭat-*
śhṭa⁴-dik-pāḷam-śōśha-rājarishi(rahi)-mū-
- 158 *rdh-ābhishikṭam pīṭam Satyavākya-bhūpatim-annkurvatā Mārasiṁhadōvōna Mēlpāṭi-*
śhīram-adhivastī vi-
- 159 *jaya-ekandhāvarō Śaka-nripa-kā-ātita-samvatsar-āśṭa-śatēshu chaturā(ra)śīty-*
abhyadhikēshu Dundubhi-samvatsar-āntargga-
- 160 *ta-Pausha-māsa-bahuja-paksha-navamyām Māṁgala-vāra-Svāti-nakshatra-*
garajā-karapa⁵-dhṛiti-yōga-samhyōginyām Kanyā-
- 161 *lagnē* | *tat-samaya-samāvīrbhūta-Jina-savana-janit-ānanda-manuja-munija* | *na⁶* | *samāja-*
kōḷa-
- 162 *hoḷa-kaḷakaḷā-pūrita-diśāyām tat-kāḷa-nūḷkuja-saṁchaḷat-kaḷi-chaṇḍāḷa-saṁparkka-pāṭak-*
ātām-
- 163 *ka-pamka-kaḷāṇ-ōdyata-jagajjana-majjana-kshōbhita-bhūta-ja-pratīta-gandhōdaka-pravāha-*
- 164 *sahitāyām-īṭtirāyana-samkrāntiyām tesmāi Elāchāryya-munisvarāya sakaḷa-bhūpāḷa-maṇi-*
māḷa-makara-

¹ This dagger is unnecessary.

² Read *anukṛishṭa-śhṭa*.

³ Read *para-karapa*.

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Scale : One-half

- 165 nda-rajaḥ-puṁja-pimjarita-charaṇ-āravinda-yugaḷāya | āśira-kara-nikara-viśada-yaśo-rāśi-
viśadikṛita-sakaḷa-ma-
166 hitaḷāya | Jin-ābhishēka-gaṇḍha-jaḷa-dhārā-purassaraṇ Korbgaḷ-dā-āntarvartti-Kādalūr-
nnānā grāmō dattaḷ [] *] Asya atmā |
167 Pūrvvasyān=diāi Ketugolliya paḷḷada mūḍaṇa piriya karggalla morāḍe | allindan=dakṣiṇ-
ābhimukhaḍe sandu Sōdiyā-

Eighth Plate, Second Side

- 168 la-diṇeyē | ante sandu karggalla sarāḍe | ante sandu kal-tippeye | ante sandu Paṭṭareyē |
ante sandu Belgalla-mo-
169 raḍiya ben-diṇeyē | ante sandu Eygoyyal-morāḍiyē | Āgnēyada kōṇa| uruṇe-gallē | alli-
170 ndaḷ Paśchim-ābhimukhaḍe-sandu Uḷiyam=beṭṭē | ante sandu Dakṣiṇasyān=diāi ¹ kaḍi-
tale-galla-karggalla mo-
171 raḍe | ante sandu Baḷavageya diṇeyē | ante sandu Maysūra-baṭṭeya kal-tippeyē | ante
sandu nairṇitiya
172 kōṇa ¹ Kēra diṇeyē | allindam=uttar-ābhimukhaḍe sandu | paśchimsyān=diāi | Kosaga-
morāḍe | ante sandu
173 Nokkiyūra baṭṭeya Bhagavatiya diṇeya kal-tippeyē | ante karggalla-saradu-vididu ba-
174 nda karggalla morāḍe | ante sandu vāyavyada kōṇa-Bhagavatiya diṇeyē | allindam pū-
175 rva-ābhimukhaḍe sandu Nāṇḍāpiya diṇeyē | mukkuḷal-ślāmē | ante sandu | uttarasyān=
di-
176 a) | ¹ Tavaḷikallē | ante sandu Paralikereya-baḍagaṇa-diṇeyē | ante sandu Gāṇvadigereya
baḍaga-
177 ṇa-kaḍe-gōḍe | Mānada kōṇa-karggalla-morāḍiyiṇ banda paḷḷaḷ Ketugolliya paḷḷadoḷ=
lēḍittu² [] *] Yē kēchi-
178 t-tuhinācha-ḍiṇa(ḷiṇa)ḷa-yaśas-tuṇḍē-tra Gaṇḍa-ānvayē ¹ nāḷānā āśi-kānta-kānta-
charitāḷ ślāghyā bhavāhyanti taiḷ [] *] grā-
179 mē-yam pratipālyatām=iti jagad-grāmārtti-kaḷpa-drumaḷ tām=sbhyartthayātē kṛit-āṇḍaḷi-
putā(taḷ) ēri- Gaṇḍa-chōḍāmaḷi² [] 46*

Ninth Plate

- 180 asya dānasya śākṣiṇaḷ ehaṇ-ṇavati-sahasra-vishaya-prakṛitayaḷ ¹ Bahubhīr-vvasandhā
dattā ² rāḷebbi-
181 a=Sagar-ādibhiḷ [] *] yasya yasya yadā bhūmā=tasya tasya tadā phaḷam(lam) [] 47*] Svam
dātum samahach=chahayam duḷkha-
182 m=anyasya pāḷanam(nam) | dānam vā pāḷanam v=ōti dānāch=chūrōyē-mupāḷanam-
(nam) [] 48*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā ¹ yē harē-
183 ta vasundharām(rām) | ahaḷṭim varaha-sahasraṇi ¹ viśṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimih [] 49*]
Adbhīr-dattam tṛi(tri)bhīr=bhuktaḷm aha-

¹ This *ḍaḍe* is unnecessary.

² There is an ornamental design here.

- 184 dbhiś-cha paṭipāṭitaṁ(taṁ) | śtāni na nivarttaṁtē pūrva-rāja-kṛtāni cha || [50*] Sāmānyō-
yathā dharmma-sētur=anṛpā-
- 185 nām |¹ kālē kālē pāṇiṇyō bhavadbhiḥ [|*] sarvvān-śtān-bhāvinaḥ pārtthivēndrān bhūyē
bhū-
- 186 yō yāchatō Rāmabhadraḥ || [51*] Adhyātma-dhyāna-dāna-pramukha-śubha-samārambha-
sambbhūta-vṛiddhiḥ(dāhir)=
- 187 dharmma(rmmam) śarmma-pravṛiddhiṁ janāyatu jagataḥ śānta-sarvv-āntarāyāḥ | kīrtti-
krīḍ-ādri-bhūp-āśhī-
- 188 |a-kuḷa-śikhari śekhara[ḥ*] kalmāpatinām |¹ Lakshmi-||ā-kuḷāśkshā(kshā) nana bhavatu
chhātō Gūṅgakandarppa-bhūpaḥ |² [52*]
- 189 Kōḷi-nāḍa-śūṭ(ś)ime pūrvaśyān(śyān) diśib(śi) Māṇikavojala-toṛeyē | dakṣiṇasyām
diśi Kāvēriyē |
- 190 pśchimasyām diśi Bāḷeyapaḷḷamā | uttarasyām diśi Perṇṇa-nadiyē | ś nāḍa-nāḷ-gāvunḍa
- 191 Perṇṇādi-gāvunḍa³ [|*]

¹ This design is unnecessary.

² There is an ornamental design here.

No. 14—BANGKOK MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF MAHENDRAVARMAN

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHHABBA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 17-7-1961)

On my way back from Indonesia to India in December 1960, I happened to stop for a couple of days at Bangkok. While there, I paid a visit to the National Museum of Thailand in company with Mr. Nirmal J. Singh, Press Attaché, Embassy of India in Thailand. We were cordially received and shown round by Prof. Luang Boribai Buribhand, Director of that museum. I was sad to learn that there had recently been a conflagration in one wing of the great museum, causing considerable damage to valuable records and monuments. The gallery of stone inscriptions had also suffered much from that fire. As we were inspecting the exhibits in that gallery, my attention was suddenly attracted by a stone slab with a short early Sanskrit inscription, beautifully engraved in four lines. The same inscription forms the subject matter of the present paper.

The inscribed slab, I was told, had been newly acquired by the National Museum of Bangkok. I learnt further that it had not yet been published anywhere.

I am editing it at the instance of Mr. Nirmal J. Singh who was to supply me with a facsimile of the inscription as well as with the details as to the find-place and the circumstances of the discovery of the inscribed slab. I received from him an inked estampage of the inscription in February 1961, through the courtesy of Prof. Luang Boribai Buribhand. The accompanying photograph is a reproduction of the same estampage. In July 1961, I received the information that the inscribed slab had been found by Mr. Serie Naeulna, Assistant Curator of the Provincial Museum during his expedition in 1960, in the vicinity of Prasat Khao Chongua Chaeng, in the Aranyaprathet District, about 350 kilometres east of Bangkok.

The inscribed space measures 28 × 30 cm. The four lines of the inscription constitute but one stanza, each line containing one quarter of the verse, the metre being *Anushtubh*. Though the inscription has suffered a slight damage here and there, especially in the first line, there is no doubt about the reading. The upper half of the letter *ma* in the name Mahendra has been effaced, but the preserved part of the letter and its comparison in the second line confirm it to be Mahendravarmaṇ. The alphabet is a highly ornamental type of what is commonly known as Pallava-Grantha of South India of about the seventh century A.C. Although the palaeography does not call for any special remarks, attention may be drawn to the final *m* indicated by the usual *ma* with the *ardha-chandra* mark above it. The language is Sanskrit, as already indicated. As to the contents, the inscription records the excavation of a tank, called *Saṅkara-taṭāka*, by Mahendravarmaṇ.

Even though there is no indication in the inscription as to the identity of this Mahendravarmaṇ, it is possible to identify him with the king Mahendravarmaṇ of Kambuja or Kambujadésa, i.e. Cambodia, son of Viravarmaṇ and the younger or youngest brother of Bhavavarmaṇ. This last mentioned ruler is reputed to have founded the dynasty of Kambuja kings, having defeated his rivals of the earlier Kingdom of Fu-nan.¹ It goes without saying that the present Thailand at

¹ Cf. R. C. Majumdar's *Kambuja-désa (or An Ancient Hindu Colony in Cambodia)*, Madras, 1944, pp. 172.

that time formed part of Kambuja or Cambodia. Bhavavarman was succeeded by his brother whose name was Chitrasēna and who assumed the second name Mahēndravarmān at the time of his coronation.¹ The practice of assuming coronation names was in vogue in ancient India² and was followed also in lands and islands that came under the Indo-Aryan influence. The reign period of this Chitrasēna-Mahēndravarmān falls between the closing years of the sixth century and the early years of the seventh century A.C.

It is further of interest to note here that the same Chitrasēna-Mahēndravarmān is known to us from two more stone inscriptions that have already been published. The earlier of these two is known so far in three versions and the later in as many as six.³ Again, the earlier one mentions him only as Chitrasēna, indicating thereby that by that time he had not yet come to the throne. The later one expressly states 'that he was formerly known as Chitrasēna and assumed the name Mahēndravarmān at the time of coronation.'⁴ Since our inscription makes him already well-known (*visruta*) as Mahēndravarmān, it may be taken to be the latest of the three inscriptions so far known of him. It is quite possible that the present inscription was also made available in more than one version like the other two and that some other version or versions of it may come to light in future.

The two inscriptions already known record each the establishment of a *Śivaliṅga* by the king, which shows that he was a devout worshipper of the god Śiva. His naming the tank, the excavation of which is the object of the present inscription, as *Śaṅkara-taṭāka*, accords well with that.

In order to show the family resemblance between the earlier inscriptions and the present one, I reproduce here the Cruoy Ampil inscription,⁵ in which the last line is missing.

It reads as follows :

- 1 Bhaktyā bhagavatsā-Sambhō-
- 2 r-matya(tā)-pitṛ-²anuṣṭayā [| *]
- 3 *{th}āpitañ=Chitrasēna
- 4 [līṅga-jayati Śāmbhavam ||*]

It may be observed that the wording in line 1, viz., *bhaktiā bhagavatsā-Sambhō-* is exactly identical with what occurs in the third quarter of the last verse in the Udayagiri cave inscription of Viṣṇuśa, a minister of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta II.⁶ Is this a mere coincidence or are we to infer that the composer of Chitrasēna's inscription had known Viṣṇuśa's inscription? This last belongs to the beginning of the fifth century A.C. and to North India.

¹ R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Calcutta, 1953, p. 21.

1st. Chitrasēna-namaṃ gaṇa-
pūreṇa bhātī Lalāṅkaḥ |
2d. Mahēndravarmān-
nāma bhāṭe bhikṣuṅgaṃ ||

² For example, Pallavamalla assumed the name of Nandivarmān at the time of his coronation. See the Valluṣṭhapuramā inscription, *RII*, Vol. IV, p. 16.

³ R. C. Majumdar, *Kambuja-dhā*, p. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ G. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Volume II, Hanoi, 1942, p. 124, Plate LXII.

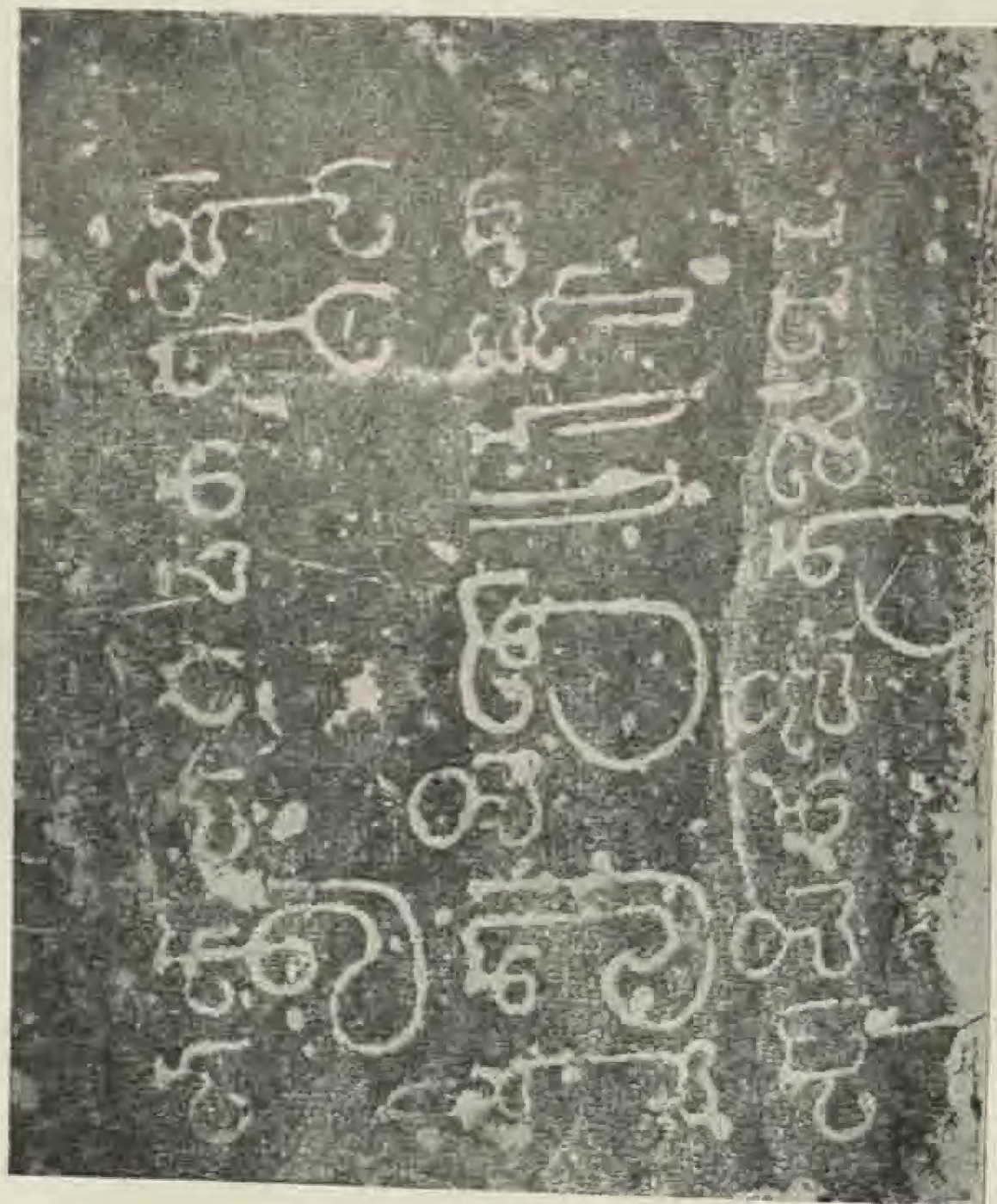
⁶ [The reading appears to be 'r-matya(tā) pitṛ-²anuṣṭayā'—Ed.]

⁷ Restored from the Thua Khe inscription, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Tome III (1902), p. 212.

⁸ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 35, Pl. IV.A. The first quarter of the verse occurs also in an inscription of Bhavavarman, the elder brother of Chitrasēna : *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 27, p. 25.



(from Photographs)



Below I give the text and translation of the present inscription :

TEXT

1 Yaś=ari-Mahēndravarmm=ōti

2 Mahēndra-iva vidrutah¹

3 sa Śaṅkaratāṭak-ākhyā-

4 ā=chākhān=ōmañ=jalāśayam²

TRANSLATION

"He, who is known as the illustrious Mahēndravarmān, famous like Mahēndra (i.e. Indra, the chief among the gods), excavated this reservoir of water, named Śaṅkara-tāṭaka".

¹ This punctuation is represented by a horizontal stroke in between the two dots of the vowels.

² This punctuation is indicated by a small cross.

No. 15—TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM TIRUPPARANGUNRAM

(1 Plate)

K. G. Krishnan, Ootacamund

(Received on 21-7-1961)

Tirupparangunram, a suburb about four miles south-west of Madurai is a well-known centre of pilgrimage for the devotees of Lord Murugan. The hill enshrining this deity abounds in antiquarian relics of considerable historical interest. The Brühmi inscriptions¹ on the beds in the cavern on this hill are the earliest records available here for study. There are also Jaina sculptures worked on an inaccessible part of the hill.² These inscriptions do not throw much light on the history of the place beyond indicating that the caverns were resorted to by the Buddhist or Jaina mendicants who always preferred such lonely places for their meditation in the early centuries of the Christian era. A later monument on the top of the hill is a building which is believed to be the tomb of a fakir popularly called Sikander.³ During the recent past the hill had been the centre of military activities of the European powers in their struggle for domination.⁴ In Tamil literature the place has been described as a great centre of pilgrimage, as it is today, for the devotees of Lord Murugan or Subrahmanya. The *Paripāḍal*, an anthology of verses grouped with the Saṅgam classics contains graphic descriptions of the place, the deity and also of the people who were attracted to this sacred place from various parts of the country.⁵ The inscriptions published here pertain to the foundation of the rock-cut cave temple on the hill. This rectangular cave-temple facing north contains three cell-shrines respectively for Śiva at the western end facing east, Durgā in the centre of the south wall facing north and Viṣṇu at the eastern end facing west. On the wall behind the *linga* in the Śiva shrine is a representation of Somāśakaṇḍa in bas-relief.⁶ The shrine at the east contains a seated image of Viṣṇu. The scooped spaces on the wall on either side of the shrine of Durgā contain sculptures of Subrahmanya to the east and Vināyaka to the west. There are two pillars at the entrance into the cave temple. Lower down there is an excavated shrine for Jyēṣṭhā reaching to the back wall of the monolithic cave.⁷ The worship of Jyēṣṭhā was evidently very popular in the Tamil country during the period of the inscriptions edited here as images of this goddess are also known to exist at Tiruvejjaivāyil,⁸ Mysapore⁹ and Kumbhakūṭam.¹⁰

The subjoined inscriptions named A and B are engraved respectively on the lintel of the entrance into the Durgā shrine and on the eastern pillar, both in the rock-cut cave temple of Subrahmanya on the hill. Inscription A is in Sanskrit verse engraved in Grantha characters.

¹ A. Z. Ep., 1903, App. C, No. 33; *ibid.*, 1909, App. B, No. 33; 1951-52, Nos. 140-142.

² *ibid.*, 1909, part II, para. 4.

³ *ibid.*, 1939-49 to 1942-43, Part II, para. 156.

⁴ *Puttappāṭṭu, Tirumuraṅgappāḍal*, lines 1-77; *Paripāḍal*, verses 8, 17, 18, 19 and 21.

⁵ Some cave temples of the Pallavas have similar panels containing sculptures in bas-reliefs. See *Ancient India*, No. 14, pp. 122, 130 and 132.

⁶ *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, pp. 216-18 and n. 1 on p. 218. For further information see *Journal, Madras University*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 166-69.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 217.

⁸ *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, plate CXXI.

⁹ *ibid.*, plate CXXIII.

It is dated in the month of **Taisha** of the **Kali year 3874**, equated with the **sixth year**, evidently of the reign of a king whose name is not clear. It records the excavation of a glorious abode for god Śambhu and the consecration of the deity on the said date by **Gaṇapati alias** Śāmanṭa Bhīma described as a *raṭṭya-mukhya*. Inscription B² which is in **Tamil** engraved in **Vatteḷuttu** characters of about the 8th century A.D. records the excavation of the sacred temple and a tank by **Śāttan Gaṇapati alias** Pāṇḍi-Amiṣṭa-māḡalaṭ-araiyan, who is described as a *vaijya*, a resident of Karavantapura and the *mahāsāmanta* of the king **Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan** in whose **sixth regnal year** the record is dated. It further records that the shrines for Durgādevī and Jyēshthai were caused to be excavated by Nakkai Korri, the *dharmapatei* of Śāttan Gaṇapati.¹

The **palaeography** of the two inscriptions may be considered here. A comparison of their alphabet with that of the Āṇaimalai inscriptions, both in Grantha and Vatteḷuttu—a feature which compares very well with the present records—reveals that the Tirupparangunram Grantha inscription exhibits a more ornamental variety of the alphabet while its Vatteḷuttu counterpart displays an upright or vertical tendency in the form, whereas in the Āṇaimalai records we find the cursive forms so characteristic of the alphabet. This upright form of the letters with pointed bottoms may be favourably compared with the same feature, despite a few minor differences, in the forms of *ta* and *ya*, in the Trivandrum Museum stone inscription² and the Kaḷugumalai record of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan.³ A feature of **orthographical** importance is the spelling of the word *āṇa* (lines 6-7) and *kōḷum* (lines 8-9 and 13-14) in which the vowel *i* is used in place of the full consonant *yi*, even though the words *ā* (for *āṇa*) and *kō* warrant the use of a hiatus in respect of the syllable *in* and the word *il* respectively.⁴

These two records studied together reveal the fact that they deal with the same subject-matter, one in Sanskrit and the other in Tamil with some additional details. The shrines for Śambhu, Durgā and Jyēshthai having been excavated, the inscriptions point out, the deity Śambhu was consecrated in the month of Taisha (December 22nd-January 19th) in the 6th year of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan which fell in Kali 3874 (773-74 A.D.). Here is yet another important landmark in the chronology of the early Pāṇḍya kings, the one already known being that of the Āṇaimalai inscription⁵ of this king (Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan) dated Kali 3871, Kārtika Pausṭha (i.e. Rēvati), Sunday, regularly⁶ corresponding to 770 A.D., November 4. These two dates enable us to indicate the period when Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan should have ascended the throne. That the later date must have fallen in the 3rd year of reign of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan is obvious when it is construed with the former.⁷ This is indirectly confirmed by the identity of the *ājñāyaka* Māraṇ-Kāri of the Vēḷvikuḍi plates of

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 142. The interpretation of the text in the remarks column is defective. See text below.

² *Ibid.*, 1908, No. 37. The text has been published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, p. 67. Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan of this record was identified with Jaiśvarman of the Madras Museum plates. See *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 3.

³ *T. A. S.*, Vol. I, p. 158, n. 28. The argument given there in favour of making Nakkai Korri, the queen of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan is untenable. The expletive particle *uayra* indicates only the beginning of another sentence whose subject-matter is different. The absence of regal title for the lady also indicates that she was the wife of Śāttan Gaṇapati. *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 and n. Also compare line 3 of Inscription B.

⁴ *T. A. S.*, Vol. I, plate facing p. 158.

⁵ *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 31.

⁶ *Id.*, above, Vol. VIII, p. 320, line 11 and plate.

⁷ It may be noted that the date is expressed partly in words and partly in *chronograms* (*paṇa*, i.e., 8 and *śda*, i.e., 4).

⁸ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 317 ff. Here the date is expressed in words.

⁹ *QJMS*, Vol. X, p. 183.

¹⁰ *The Pāṇḍya Kingdom*, p. 59, n. 2. The statement made there requires to be revised in the light of the present record.

the king's 3rd regnal year and his namesake who figures as the *uttarāmantriya* of the king in this (Āṇaimalai) record which states in the Tamil part of its text, that this dignitary having passed away after the completion of the rock-cut temple, his brother completed the consecration of the deity (Narasimha) therein. Now, taking the month *Taisha* (December 22-January 19) as the last in the 6th year of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan's reign, the exact *tithi* or day being unspecified, and November 4, as the last in the 3rd, it can be shown that this king identified with Varaguṇa I must have commenced to rule sometime between December 22, 767 A.D. and November 4, 768 A.D.

It will not be out of place here to discuss the light that the inscriptions and the scriptures throw on the date of the *Paripāḍal*, an anthology of 22 poems, which is grouped with the Sangam classics and which contains eight verses on Śervēḷ or Murugavēḷ or Subrahmaṇya and Tirupparaṇkuṇṇam. The original anthology of this work with 70 poems is said to have contained thirty-one poems on Murugavēḷ and Paraṇkuṇṇam of which only eight are now extant.²

The poems speak of Tirupparaṇkuṇṇu in high praise as the abode of Lord Subrahmaṇya where all gods, not to speak of the people, throng to have his favour. One of the poems (No. 19, line 28) refers to *ēḷuḍiḷ-ambalam* which was perhaps a hall, the walls of which had paintings drawn on them. This hall is again referred to in another poem (No. 19, lines 48-54) as *ēḷuttu-vilai-maṇḍapam*. This *maṇḍapa* is stated to have been embellished with several paintings (*chitṛam*) depicting stories such as that of Rati and Kāma, Ahalyā who was transformed into stone by Gaṇtama on account of her defilement by Indra, etc. It therefore appears that at the time when these poems were composed the worship of Murugavēḷ at Tirupparaṇkuṇṇam was immensely popular. The inscriptions published here, as already pointed out, do not mention Subrahmaṇya at all,³ and the sculpture of Subrahmaṇya occupies a less prominent place, i.e. on the wall to the east of the shrine of Durgā, as a subsidiary deity. If the Śervēḷ or Murugavēḷ described in the *Paripāḍal* pertains to this sculpture,⁴ it may be reasonably surmised that the poems of the *Paripāḍal* which describe this god may be assigned to a date much later than the date (773-774 A.D.) of the foundation inscriptions edited here.⁵

Śāttan-Ṭaṇapati, the founder of the cave-temple is also described as Pāṇḍi-Amṛita (Amṛita)-maṇḍala-araiyan and as a *mahāsāmantā* of the king. He is said to be a resident of Karavaṇṭapuram which is the well-known Kalakkudi in Tirunelveli Taluk, Tirunelveli District. He is also described as a Vaidya-mukhya, the chief among the Vaidyas. Māraṇ-Kāri, the *ājāpati* of the Vōlvikuḍi plates also belonged to the Vaidya family of Karavaṇṭapuram and bore the title Mūvāṇḍa-maṇḍala-ppēraraiyan⁶. His brother Māraṇ-Eyinaṇ who succeeded him to the position of *uttarāmantriya* bears the title Pāṇḍi-maṇḍala-vilai-araiyan. Another chief of this family, Dhīrataruṇ Mūrtti-Eyinaṇ was the *ājāpati* of the Madras Museum plates dated in the 17th regnal year (784-85 A.D.) of this king⁷. Mūrtti Eyinaṇ is described also as the *mahāsāmantā* of the king. He bears the title Vīramaṇḍala-ppēraraiyan. Śāttan-Ṭaṇapati who was the *mahāsāmantā* according to the present record in the 6th year (773-74 A.D.) of this king, bears the title Pāṇḍi-Amṛita-maṇḍala-araiyan which has a close affinity with another title Pāṇḍi-Iṇḍumāṇḍala-ppēraraiyan of Saṅgaṇ

¹ Regarding the identity of Varaguṇa I with Jaṭila-Parāntaka Neḷuḷjaḍaiyan, see above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 269 ff.

² *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, by Professor S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, p. 26.

³ The only reference to this deity occurs in a late inscription (I. A. R. Ep., 1941-42, No. 231) dated 1792 A.D.

⁴ For a detailed examination of the cult of Murugaṇ, see *Journal, Madras University*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 156-77.

⁵ One of the poems (No. 11) in this anthology on Vāigai furnishes astronomical details which have been equated after an elaborate explanation to the 17th June, A.D. 634. See *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, pp. 100-09.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 318 ff.

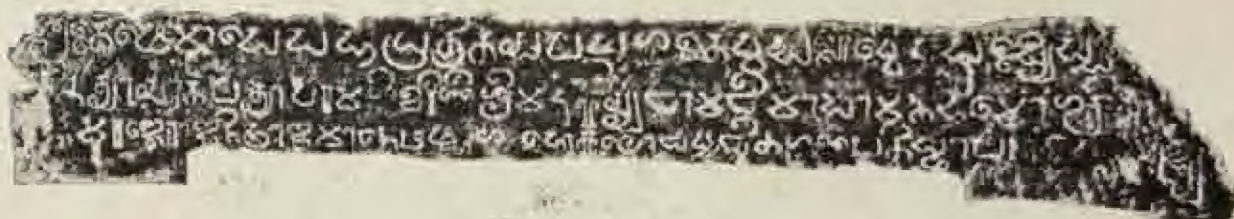
⁷ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 ff.



TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM TIRUPPARANGUNRAM

A

2



2

Scale : One-seventh

B

2

4

6

8

10

12

14



2

4

6

8

10

12

14

Scale : One-fifth

Śrīdharan of the Madras Museum plates who held the office of the *matigajādhyakṣaṇ* (superintendent of proud elephants). The word *maṅgala* occurs also as part of another title Maṅgala-Baṇḍi of Eṭṭi-Maṅgan of Perumchechayan mentioned in an inscription¹ from Kaṭugumalai dated in the 23rd year of reign of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan of the present record. Thus it may be seen that most of these chiefs hailed from the Vaidya family of Karavantapuram and that the words *maṅgala* and *araiyan* forming part of their titles and occurring as a distinguishing feature with their names are confined to the reign of this Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan identical with Parāntaka Neḍuṇjaḍaiyan.

The only place name Karavantapuram occurring in the records has been already discussed.²

TEXT³

A

- 1 Śrī [*] Talihē māṇē sahasra-tritaya vāsu-āntair-vatsarair-vēda-samkhyais-sa-
 2 [pta]t-yāyātavatyām=Parumakṣharici śrīmāḥ[au]ṭṭirya dhāma [*] Dhīmāu-Sāmanta-
 Bhūmā ga[rū] [*]
 3 [*]māraṇē rājān bhūjamānē abashtyām(thyām) Śāmbhūḥ kalau cha vyadhita Gaṇapātī⁴-
 śhāpānān Vaidyanuḥkhyah [*]⁵

B

- 1 Śrī [*] Kō-Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyarku
 2 rājya-varham āṇvadu-ebollā-
 3 nirpa mar-avaraku mahā-
 4 sāmanta[=]ṭṭiya Karavantaṭṭur-āḍhi-
 5 vāsi Vaijyan Cāṇḍi Am-
 6 dhamaṅgalas-araiyan-āḍ-
 7 ṇa Śūttan-Gaṇapātī ti-
 8 ruttuvittadu tiru-kkōḷ-
 9 lum Śrī-taḷḷaṅgamum ilam[*] a-
 10 ram=ṭṭilalum [*] mar-ava-
 11 ṭṭu dharmma-paṇai āṇiya Na-
 12 kkaṇ-Korriyūr-cheya-
 13 ppaṭṭadu Durgādēvi-kō-
 14 ḷlūṇ-Jēsh[ai]-kōḷlum [*]

¹ *SIU*, Vol. XIV, No. 31.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 283 ff.

³ From impressions.

⁴ There is a sign of medial *i* above the letter *va* which may be ignored. The two short syllables needed after *gwa*, one in line 2 and another in the beginning of line 3 are damaged. Shri K. K. Srinivasan informs me that the inscription was formerly fully covered by a brass plate. Hence the damage caused to the letters.

⁵ This is evidently governed by Vārtika 4900 *Khorpurē mēi pā visargatīṭhā rāṭhōmā* as pointed out by Shri V. S. Subrahmanya Sastry.

⁶ Metre: *Śrīgāhā*.

No. 16—BANNIGOL INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 947

(1 Plate)

SHRINIVAS RITTI AND B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND.

(Received on 30-4-1958)

This inscription, edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a slab of stone set up in front of the house of Mukkappa Togalgal at Bannigol, a village in the Lingasur Taluk, Raichur District, Mysore State. It was copied by Shri Shrinivas Ritti in the course of his epigraphical survey of that Taluk during the winter of 1957.¹ The stone on which it is engraved is broken on the top and at the proper left corner of the bottom. Fortunately, however, the record is well preserved though a few letters in the last but one line are faint and the last letter in the same line is chipped off. A horizontal line across the stone divides the inscription into two portions but the matter runs on from one half to the other.

The language and alphabet of the record are Kannada. No special remarks are needed so far as the palaeography and orthography are concerned as they conform to the period of the record, i.e., early part of the 11th century A.D.

The details of the date given in the inscription are Saka 947, Krōdhanā, Āsvijā Śu. Saptamī, Friday. These regularly correspond to 1025 A.D., October 1, Friday. On that day the *tithi* commenced at '01 and ended on the following Saturday at '03.

The record is a royal decree (*sansthā-patra*) enjoining the *środegas* Māramayya, Nāmayya, Sōvayya, Kallimayya and Chāvayya of Bannigola to collect revenue at specified rates on different types of lands such as *kaṭṭya-kēṇi*, *yathagandige*, *kisakōdu* etc., by Trailōkyamalla Vijayāditya who is stated to have been ruling from his capital Moraganūr, to the south of Kattige situated in Kandurage-Seventy division. The record enjoins that the decree should come into force from the Saka year 948, Kahayā i.e., 1026 A.D., the year next to that in which the record is dated.

The chief interest of the record lies in the mention of Vijayāditya with his title Trailōkyamalla and his association with the administration of that part of the country which was, during that period, under the sway of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The fact that there is no mention of the name of his family, gives rise to the question of identification of this Vijayāditya who was ruling from Moraganūr. Moraganūr is the same as Modeganūr which appears in epigraphs in other forms also like Modeyanūr, Mōdanūr and Mōditagrāma. It has been identified with the modern Mālinur in the Koppal Taluk of the Raichur District.²

During the period in question, there was one Vijayāditya who was a contemporary of the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II. He was a step-brother of Rājārāja I of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty who ruled from Vāṅgi. Vijayāditya of our record is evidently identical with this Vijayāditya as will be shown below. Vimalāditya was succeeded on the Eastern Chālukya throne in 1099 A.D.³ by his son Rājārāja I born of the Chōla princess. Vijayāditya was also a son of

¹ It is registered as No. 343 of App. B in A. R. Ep. for 1957-58.

² P. B. Desai—*Studies in Epigraphy*, 2. See also his article "Mālinur Mālinur" in *Prākṛita Kāvya*, Jaku, Vol. I Part II (1932); *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 97-98.

³ A. R. Ep., 1957-58, p. 5.

Vijayāditya by his other wife Mēlama or Mēdama of the Telugu-Chōḷa family.¹ Though several of the inscriptions of Rājārāja I speak of his rule from 1019 A.D.,² his coronation took place only three years later (i.e., in 1022 A.D.). This was because of the opposition of Vijayāditya, his step-brother, from allowing him to succeed to the throne. Rājārāja I ultimately succeeded in celebrating his coronation with the help of his contemporary Rājendra Chōḷa of the Chōḷa dynasty. Several inscriptions from Madakasira³ and Kottaiyaram⁴ in the Madakasira Taluk, Anantapur District, refer to the battles fought by the Chōḷa general Araiyan Rājārājan with the Kalingas, Oḍḍas and Teluṅgas. Two of these⁵ are dated in the tenth year of Rājendra-Chōḷa corresponding to 1021-22 A.D. One of these inscriptions⁶ refers to a Veṅgi king who fled away when he heard of the advance of the Chōḷa general mentioned above. It has been rightly surmised that the Veṅgi king who thus ran away was Vijayāditya VII.⁷

It is also well known that Veṅgi was the object of the protracted battles between the Chōḷas and the Western Chāḷukyas. It is stated in an inscription from Tanjore⁸ that Rājendra-Chōḷa conquered Irattjapāḍi from Jayasinha, the Western Chāḷukya king, who turned his back and fled from Mūyāṅgi or Mūsaṅgi.⁹ The date of this inscription is also 1021-22 A.D., as that of the inscriptions from Anantapur District referred to above. This clearly indicates that Rājārāja I succeeded in setting aside the claims of Vijayāditya for the throne with the help of Rājendra-Chōḷa and later in 1022 A.D., had his coronation ceremony celebrated.

But Rājārāja I could not count for all vanquish his rival who was still waiting for an opportunity to hit him. He had quite possibly sought the help of Jayasinha II who had good reason to proceed against the Chōḷa who obviously was supporting Rājārāja. The Miraj grant of Jayasinha II dated 1024 A.D.,¹⁰ mentions him as being in the possession of Eḷadōre-2000 country and affirms that he regained it after driving out the Chōḷas. From this it is clear that the battle of Mūsaṅgi was not a decisive one and the two powerful parties were still at war and did not hesitate to proceed each against the other when an opportunity occurred itself.

The Pāmūlavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII¹¹ assert that after Rājārāja I had ruled for twelve years, Vijayāditya defeated him and got the throne and that his coronation took place in Śaka 932 corresponding to 1031 A.D. Though the Ryāli plates¹² of the same Vijayāditya do not refer to any such event, the undated Kālidiṇḍi plates of Rājārāja I¹³ seem to throw some light on this point. Dr. N. Venkatarāmanayya, while editing this record, states that the battle between the Chōḷas under the leadership of the three Chōḷa generals, and the commanders of the king of Karpūta was fought in 1031 A.D. when Vijayāditya got himself crowned.¹⁴

Now, Vijayāditya of the record under review is, in our view, none else than this Vijayāditya VII of the Eastern Chāḷukya family. We have suggested above how this Vijayāditya was seeking

¹ *The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi* by Dr. N. Venkatarāmanayya, p. 218.

² *Ibid.*, p. 216.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1918, App. B, Nos. 751 and 752. See K. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, second edition, pp. 204-06 where the activities of the Chōḷas in the Vengi country are discussed.

⁴ *A. R. Ep.*, 1918, App. B 1917, App. C, Nos. 22, 24, 30 and 31.

⁵ Nos. 23 and 752 of 1917.

⁶ *Ibid.*, B, No. 751.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 62; K. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, p. 205 (second edition).

⁸ *IL*, Vol. II, No. 10 pp. 93-95 ff. Also *Ibid.*, No. 17.

⁹ This place had originally been identified with Uchchangidurg in the Bellary District, but has later been identified rightly with Maski. See S.I.I., Vol. II; pp. 95, s. 4; *Assam Inscriptions*, Edited by Hultsch, pp. xxvii Above Vol. IX, p. 230.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 303 ff.

¹¹ *J. A. B. R.*, Vol. II, pp. 277 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 168.

¹³ Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 57 ff.

¹⁴ [For a different view on this point, see above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 261 ff.—Ed.]

the assistance of Jayasimha II, the Western Chālukya, for overthrowing Bājarāja I. It is not therefore impossible that between 1022 A.D., when the battle of Muzāṅgi was fought and 1031 A.D., when Vijayāditya got himself crowned, he took refuge under Jayasimha who made the Eastern Chālukya prince the governor of a province befitting his status. After regaining the Eḍedore province in 1024 A.D., from the Chōlas, Jayasimha must have made Vijayāditya the governor of the area round about Moraganūr which was a part of the Eḍedore country.¹

The occurrence of the title *Trailōkyamalla* is very intriguing. An inscription from Tanmādhagūḍi² attributes the title *Trailōkyamalla* to Jayasimha II. Even though this record is engraved in characters of the 12th century A.D., the title *Trailōkyamalla* mentioned in it might have been borne by Jayasimha himself from whom Vijayāditya of the present record must have taken it.

Of the geographical places that occur in the inscription, Moraganūr has already been identified. The other names are Kundurage Seventy, Kattege and Bannigōla. Kundurage, which was then a district of 70 villages, may be identified with the present Kumlaragi in the Bijapur District.³ Kattege is perhaps identical with Kattagēri near Kundaragi in the same district. Bannigōla is obviously the same as Bannigōl, the final spot of the record, situated in the Raichur District and on the boundary of the Bijapur District.

TEXT⁴

- 1 Śrīmat-Trailōkyamalladēva-nāmaḍi-sama-
- 2 śa-prasa(śa)-ū-sahita(ni) śrīmat-Vijayāditya-dēva-
- 3 rassa(śa)ka-varsha 947 neya Krōdhana-samvatsaram-dēva[yi]ṇa-
- 4 su(śu)ddha saptami Su(śa)kravārad-andu Kundurag-ṣṣattara baḷi-
- 5 ya Kattegeya te(n)ka-dadiya Moraganūra neleviḷimoḷ su-
- 6 kha-samkha(ka)thā-vinōdadin rājyaṭṭi geyuttire Bannigōlad-ūroḍeyam Mā-
- 7 camayya(n)ḷgam Nāmayya(n)ḷgam Sōvayya(n)ḷgam Kallimayya(n)ḷgam Chāra-
- 8 yya(n)ḷgam Śa(śa)ka-varsha 948-neya Kalaya-samvatsaram-dēvy-āgi-
- 9 yāra kālakkadi kōtta sadustā(śhā)-pattam-ent-rendale (c*) kariya keyge mattara-
- 10 t-ayda paṇadi paṭha-gaodige mattaraḷ-uraṇa paṇa-va(nidham) kisukōḍu mattaridige
- 11 paṇa(n) takka-pattā-varsha⁵ mattarige pattu viṣevadi varsham-pratiya-ōḷuḷu paṇam [vrittiya-
3].
- 12 gi yārene-śrāṅge kari-keyyōl-ōḷavuḷdu) . . . keyi koḷṭta)
- 13 iḷda) | Idada tappade pratipāḷiḷavar ||

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 295-6.

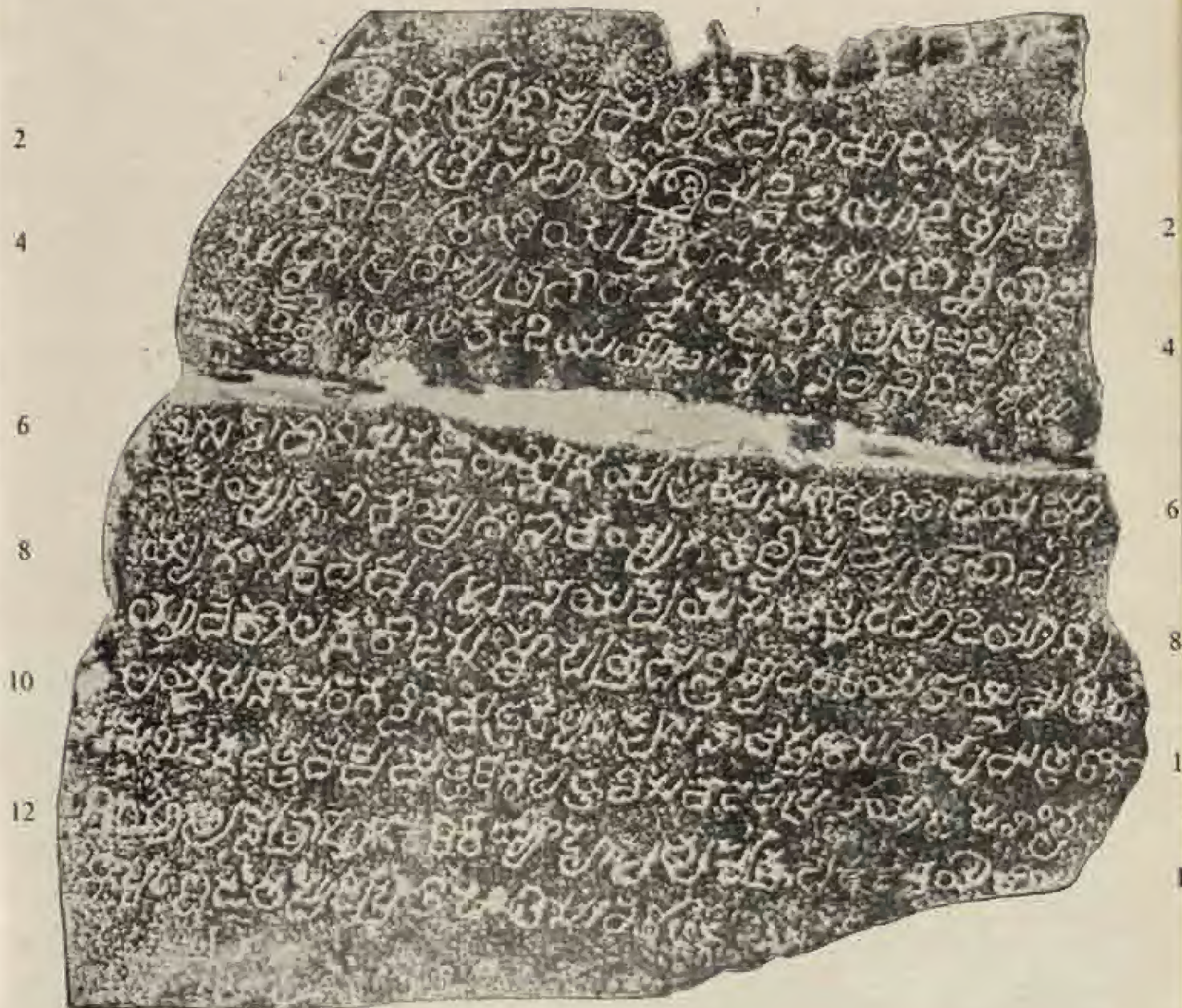
² *ILL*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 68.

³ We are thankful to Prof. C. M. Kallurū, M.A., of Bombay, who kindly suggested this identification.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ The exact import of this expression is not clear.

BANNIGOL INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA VIJAYADITYA



Scale : One-fourth

No. 17—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAMPURA, SAMVAT 1664

SADHU RAM, NEW DELHI.

(Received on 22nd May 1959)

The two inscriptions edited hereunder are found in the village **Rāmpurā**, Mandasor District, Madhya Pradesh, situated at about 23 miles north-west of Garoth Railway Station. The first inscription (A) is engraved on a **pillar** set up on the north-east corner of a **step-well** in the village,¹ while the second (B) is engraved on a large **stone-alab** built into the wall of the same well.²

A. The Pillar Inscription.

The inscription occupies an area of about 18" by 9" and consists of thirteen lines, engraved in **Nāgarī** characters. The language of the record is **Sanskrit**, but it is influenced by the local dialect.

After the invocation of the *Siddhas* and recording the details of date this inscription gives the genealogy of the house of a certain **Pāthū** or **Padārtha**, and records the construction of the well which is described as *avyāḍī* or a **step-well** on the southern side (of the pillar). It gives the details of date of the consecration (*pratishṭhā*) of the well as Thursday, the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month **Vaiśākha** of the **Vikrama** year 1664, corresponding to the **23rd April 1607 A.D.**

The genealogy of the house of **Padārtha** (**Pāthū**) as given in the pillar inscription is as follows :

Nāthū
|
Jōgā
|
Jivā
|
Padārtha

The *gotra* of the family is given as **Baghūravāla** and the name of the architect is **Rāmā**, the same as **Rāmadāsa** of the well inscription edited below.

B. The Step-well Inscription.

The step-well inscription covers an area of about 37" by 21" and contains 31 lines, and is written in **Nāgarī** characters. The first part of the record, viz., lines 1-11 has suffered some damage

¹ A. R. Ep., No. B 193 of 1954-55. An estampage of it was very kindly lent to me by Dr. H. V. Trivedi, Deputy Director, Archaeology and Museum, Bhopal.

² Ibid., No. B 196 of 1954-55. The estampage of this inscription was sent to me very kindly by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

and consequently the number of letters lost in each line ranges from twentythree (in line 1) to five (in line 11). The part succeeding the line 37 is also much damaged, and hence it is difficult to be certain as to the number of lines that were originally there and the number of letters that are lost in line 30.

The language employed in this inscription is **Sanskrit** and the extant portion of the text consists of at least 47 verses besides a small prose passage in the beginning and a few letters in line 30 possibly forming part of a verse.

The **object** of the inscription, as in the case of the pillar inscription, is to record the excavation and the consecration of the well by Padārtha.

The date portion (verse 43) of the record is damaged, and the available details are, the month Rādhya (=Vaiśākha), the *tithi* Bhāsvat, and again, the weekday, Thursday. If *Bhāsvat tithi* is taken to refer to *Pūrpimā*, a *sense*, which, though unusual, is not impossible, then the nearest possible date would be Vaiśākha *su. di.* 15, V.S. 1664 corresponding to the 30th April 1607 A.D. And if the statement *pāraṅkrīṭya endirghikām* in the same verse is taken to mean 'after the construction or filling of the *vāpi*' and compared with *vāpi-pratishṭhā kṛtā* in the pillar inscription, we may possibly expect the date of the inscription being later than that of the pillar inscription, say by seven days.¹

The record begins with a small prose passage invoking Gaṇeśa and Bhārati, which is followed by the verses of eulogy. The first verse which is damaged also invokes the same deities again and mentions the son of Jivā, evidently Padārtha, the hero of the *prastāvi*. The extant portion of the second verse appears to invoke the great sages to protect the hero. It may be compared with the invocation of the *Siddhas* in the pillar inscription A, discussed above.

Then commences the description of the genealogy of the house of the hero from its originator who is also named Padārthaka, and who is said to have been born in the *Śrībhīṣi-gotra*, the best among the 32 *gotras* belonging to the twelve and a half castes of the Vaiśyas (verses 3, 4). After him is mentioned Nāthū, a rich and munificent person who stands in some relationship either of a son or of a younger brother as is indicated by the letter 'to' (for *tasya-ātmanah* or *tasya-ānujaḥ*) in verse 5. This clearly shows that these Padārthaka and Nāthū are different persons from their namesakes, the sons of Jivā.² The occurrence of the same names in later generations is a common practice among all families even to this day. The name of Nāthū's son is illegible in line 4, verse 6. In verse 7, he is said to have enjoyed the patronage and favours of an intelligent master, the lord of the fortress of Āmaśūda, who followed a wise course of policy and saw that his subjects were free from distress. In the following verse he (Nāthū's son) is referred to as Yōga. The same verse also says that he was appointed to a responsible post by Achala³ who had satisfied himself of Yōga's capacity and skill in doing his duties. Yōga, evidently, is the same person as Jōgā of the pillar inscription. In verse 9, the ruler of Gujaraṭ (Śakapa) is said to have encountered Yōga on the

¹[The expression *vāpi-pratishṭhā* includes the filling up of the *vāpi* with water and its consecration. See Hünandī's *Chaturvargyakhāṇḍī*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 223 ff. (Banaras Edition, 1903). Therefore it appears that the dates of both the inscriptions are one and the same, namely the 23rd April 1607 A.D. It follows, therefore, that the expression *Bhāsvat-tithi* stands for *anyant*. Cf. *Saptant-saptasaptas*, etc. Ibid., Vol. III, Part II, p. 65. See also, above, Vol. V, p. 168, note 4.—Ed.]

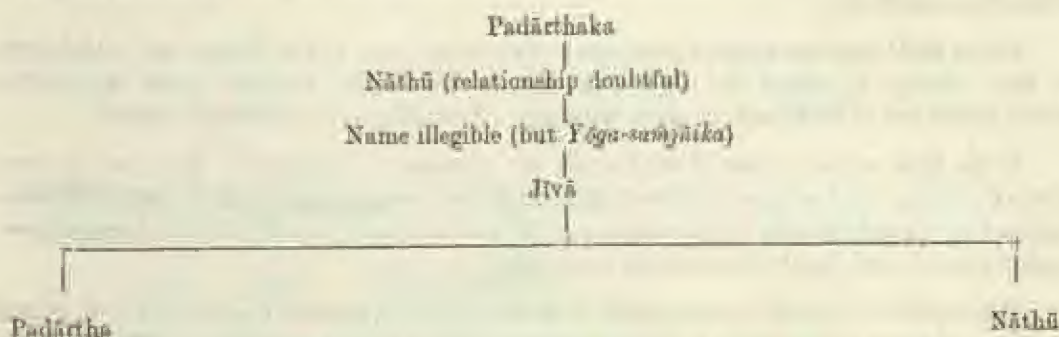
²[The expression *śrībhīṣi-gotras* in the context actually means 'eighteen'. See M. Williams *Sans. Key. Dic.*, s.v. *śrībhīṣi*.—Ed.]

³[It is difficult to be sure on this point. It is equally possible that the original read *achaladāsa* by *āchala* *pāraṅkrīṭya-āchala-pradīp-dīpātā*.—Ed.]

⁴[Achala may be identified with Achalaḍāsa, grandfather of Durga.—Ed.]

border of Mēdapāṭa (Māwār,) but fled and sought refuge with Pratāpa¹. Verse 10 appears to describe his (Yōga's) faith in Jainism which he appears to have professed as we shall see below. Verse 11 appears to attribute the building of a Chaitya to Yōga while verse 12 introduces his son Jivā who seems to have effected some improvements, or created an endowment (verse 13), for the same Chaitya mentioned above and who seems to have been held in high esteem (verse 14).

Verse 15 introduces Jivā's two sons, named Padārtha, the elder, and Nāthū, the younger. Thus the genealogy of the house may be indicated thus :



A comparison of the two tables of genealogies described in the two inscriptions, makes it clear that Padārtha, the son of Jivā and the elder brother of Nāthū, who had the well excavated, cannot be identical with Padārthaka, the founder of the House.²

The above section is followed by an account of king Durgabhāṇa, evidently of the Chaudrāwat family.³ Verse 16 compares his kingdom with that of Rāma of the epic fame. The next verse describes Durgabhāṇa as the son of Pratāpa, while verses 18-19 vaguely praise the former's rule. The next verse (verse 20) speaks of a beautiful *śarāvata* in Rāmapurā dug by Durgabhāṇa which may be identical with Durgasarns⁴ mentioned in verse 39. Verse 21 praises him as a subjugator of several kings and territories.

¹ This *Śakya* may be Muzaffar Shah III of Gujerāt; but who this Pratāpa was, is not clear. He cannot be Rāpa Pratāpa. Because Muzaffar never sought refuge under him. Nor can he be Durga's father, because he was dead and Durga succeeded his grandfather. He must be only some chieftain in Gujerāt or Kāthiāwār. [This incident appears to have taken place during the time of Achaladās. (See Note 3 on p. 172.) It is therefore doubtful whether Muzaffar Shah of Gujerāt whose accession took place in 1562 A.D. (*CHJ*, Vol. III, pp. 344-45) was a contemporary of Achala. Hence the identification of *Śakya* requires further evidence. Verse 9 appears to mean that *Śakya* while on this flight took refuge in the valour of Yōga who was camping on the border of Mēdapāṭa.—Ed.]

² [See note 3 on p. 172.—Ed.]

³ The history of Chaudrāwat family of Durga is given by Shri Gaurindanagar Hirachand Ojha in his *Udayapur Bijayā ki Hīkāt* (pp. 1372-73).—Sivā, the great-great-grand father of Durga, having saved the Begum of Sultan Hoshang from drowning in a boat-wreck received the title of *Rao* from Hoshang and a *ḍāgir* of the Parganā of Amad together with 1400 villages. Sivā's son was Rai Mal and grandson, Achaladās. Achaladās's son, Pratāpasūzha was the father of Durgabhāṇa. He died (perhaps in a battle-field) and Durga succeeded his grandfather and founded the city of Rāmpurā. It was destroyed by Asaf Khān, a general of Akbar during the latter's siege of Chittor and Durga was compelled to owe allegiance to Akbar. He served Akbar for more than 40 years and was raised to the rank of Commander of Four Thousand (*Ātis-i-Akbar*, Eng. trans., Blochman, pp. 459-60). He lived to the age of 82 and died on December 20, 1607 A.D. (See also *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Eng. Tr., p. 134). In the list of possessions of Durga, as given in *Rāmpurā ki Khyāt*, there is the mention of Amadgarh Harāll, i.e., the lands under the Amad fort. According to the *Indore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1931 edition, pp. 559-60, "Eleven miles to the west of Rāmpurā lies the ruined fort of Amad (Amadagarh), a former stronghold of the Chaudrāwats, its main gate still standing in a state of fair preservation." That is why Durga is called "Amadgarh-durgādhipati", in verse 7.

⁴ [The reference here is to a well dug at *sijsambel-gard*, meaning Delhi. The *Durgasarns* referred to in verse 39 may not be this well.—Ed.]

Verses 22 and 23 respectively speak of the construction by Durgabhānu of a lotus-pool to the east of Ujjain by damming up the river Piśgalikā¹ and to his performance of *tulādāna*² together with rich gifts to the Brāhmanas at the holy place of Piśāchamōksha.³ He is said to have brought glory to the emperor of Delhi (i.e., Akbar) by his capture of the fortified village Ahilaka (modern Alhad) and to have put to flight the advancing hordes of the Sultān of Gujarāt (verses 24-25)⁴. He made a gift of a thousand cows to the Brāhmanas at Rāmpurā (verse 26) and proceeded to the city of Madhu (i.e., Mathurā) to distribute more gifts to the Brāhmanas on the occasion of a solar eclipse (verse 27).

Verses 28-31 describe Durga's greatness in valour, devotion to god Vishnu, etc., and inform us that, having appointed the loyal Padārtha as his Finance Minister, Durga enjoyed the favour of the lord of Delhi and got *jāgirs* from him. Verse 32 praises Padārtha's virtues.

In the next section (verses 33-36) Durga's son, Chandra⁵ is introduced. He is said to have raised Padārtha to the status of his Prime Minister, to have fought against and defeated a Mohammedan king Turati⁶ and also to have conquered the hostile kings of the West and several Mohammedan generals and thus to have earned great fame.

This section is followed by an account of the activities of Padārtha who had, by now, gained a position of power and influence as Prime Minister. He was greatly devoted to the Tīrthankaras (verse 37). He made gifts of food and clothes to the *sangha* while setting out to see the festival in the Jaina temple probably referred to in verse 11 above (verse 38), made a pilgrimage to the Durgasarov (a pond excavated by Durga), gave away gifts of different kinds for eight days and made some *loma* in 'this place', viz., the place near the step-well (verses 39-41). The present step-well excavated by him is said to have been furnished with several rest-houses (*saudha-śata*) for the comfort of the travellers (verse 42).

Then come the details of date in verse 43 which we have already discussed. The same verse says that Padārtha got the tank filled up (with water) and made gifts of money to the Brāhmanas. It is interesting to note that the well is still known as *Pāttā Shāk ki Bācari*, i.e. 'the step-well of the minister Pāttā' (corrupt form of Padārtha).⁷ Verse 44 informs us that the well was constructed by the architect (*Sūtradhāra*) Rāmadāsa, the son of Shētā (=Khetā), who boasts of the excellence of his work as a challenge to the pride of other architects. Verse 45 introduces Kṣhava

¹ This river cannot be the Chambal which does not flow to the east of Ujjain, nor even the Sīprā which also flows to the west. It may possibly be some minor tributary of Sīprā which may be flowing to the east of Ujjain. In 1st maps there are a couple of tanks on the eastern side of Ujjain formed by building of dams, but their history requires investigation.

² Rāmpurā in Kāyā mentions a *Tulādāna* by Durga's queen there on a lunar eclipse occurring on Kārtika Pūrṇimā.

³ Dr. Trivedi has informed me that it is the same place known as Saṅkṣobdhāra on the bank of the Chambal. The Piśāchamōksha rite is still performed when a fair is held there twice a year on the full-moon days of Vaiśākha and Kārtika. This place is 10 miles from Rāmpurā. [The expression *Piśāchamōksha* reminds us of the story of the emancipation of Piśācha at Prayāga (*Pudmaperisā*, VI, 130) and of *Piśāchamōksha-nirāsa* as the name of a sacred bathing place—see M. Williams Sans. *Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *Piśācha*.—Ed.]

⁴ [Probably the reference here is to the war of Gujarāt in 1584 in which Durga is said to have distinguished himself (*His-i-Akbar*, op. cit., p. 459).—Ed.]

⁵ *Madira-ut-Tawar* (p. 906) mentions that Durga's son Chandra had, in the beginning of Jahāngir's reign, the rank of 700. Gradually he attained a higher rank and held the title of *Rao*. Being an imperial *Māmadār*, he could appoint Padārtha to be the minister of his own affairs and holdings as well (vide, *Udaypur Rājya ka Itihās*, pp. 1002-03).

⁶ Could it be a corruption of Turati? Turati is the name of a tribe (tribe) in Khurda (Blochman, *His-i-Akbar*, p. 373). He may have been a petty chief of that tribe ruling over some principality in that region.

⁷ *Pāttā Shāk* may stand for *Pāttāsh*, 'the king'.—Ed.]

as a very learned Brāhmaṇa. He may have been the composer of the *prastāvi*. In line 29, only the words *saugata-dharma-vāṇī* (i.e., one conversant with the religion of Sugata) are legible. Sugata is primarily an epithet of the Buddha, but here it seems to have been used for the Jina, Jainism having been then very popular at Rāmpurā and in the adjoining region. Buddhism had long disappeared from this region.¹

The geographical names occurring in this record, viz., Dūshapāripurā *alias* Rāmpurā, Delhi, Ujjayini, and Mathurā are well known and we have tried to identify the river Pingalikā.

A

TEXT²

- 1 ॥ ओ नमः[*] सिध्वे(दे)भ्यः । स(सं)वत्
- 2 ॥ १६६४ वषे(र्षे) वसाव(वंशाख)मास-
- 3 ॥ सुक्लपक्षसप्तम्यां गुरौ पुष(ष्य)-
- 4 ॥ नक्षत्र(त्रे) एतस्मिन् दिन(ने) सं-
- 5 ॥ गङ्गा श्रीनाम्ना[*] तस्य पुत्र[*]
- 6 ॥ सं जोगा तस्य पुत्र[*] सं
- 7 ॥ जीवा तस्य पुत्र[*] संग-
- 8 ॥ इ श्रीपदारण्य[*] पा[ष्ट]
- 9 ॥ ज्ञाता(तिः) व(व)घेरवाल-
- 10 ॥ गा(गो)त्रं [तिन³] सन्यावापा(पो) प्र-
- 11 ॥ तिष्ठा(ष्ठा) कृता[*] सु(शु)भ(र्ष)
- 12 ॥ भवन्तु(तु)॥ स(सु)त्रव(घा)रः
- 13 ॥ रामा ॥ श्रीः

¹ This is what Dr. H. V. Triedi, wrote to me.

² From impressions.

³ The word *Saugat* and its contraction *Sau²* in the preceding lines stand for the Sanskrit *Saṅghārāṭhā* or

⁴ path.

B

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1, 44 *Śālīnī* ; vv. 2, 6, 7, 10-14, 18, 27, 29, 32, 38-39, 47(1) *Upajūti* ; vv. 3, 34, 42, 43, 45, 46 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 4, 16, 20, 26, 28, 30, 35 *Anuśṭubh* ; vv. 5, 15, 22, 24, 31, 37, 40, 41 *Andravajrā* ; verse 8 *Faitūliya* ; verse 9 *Āryāgītī* (defective, with one *mātrā* too much in the 2nd *pāda* and one too short in the fourth *pāda*) ; verse 17 first half *Udgītī* while second half is damaged ; verse 19 *Seṅguta* ; vv. 21, 23 *Upēndravajrā* ; verse 25 *Gītī* ; vv. 33, 36 *Drutavilambita*.]

- 1 ॥ [धी]गणेशभारतीभ्यां नमः । नत्वा देवं विघ्नराजं गणेशं देवीं वा[णीं] दिव्य-
सिंहासनस्थां(स्थाम्) ॥ जीवामूनोदं ७ — — [दशायां] — — लोके [कल्पवृक्ष] ७ — —²
[॥१॥] ७ — ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — — ७ — ७ — [भ्रा]जितपादपद्माः ॥
- 2 ॥ [सम]स्तसंशितमोक्षमार्गं[1] विद्वत्प्रियं पान्तु पदार्थकं ते ॥२॥ साद्वद्वादचजातयो
निगदिताः श्रेष्ठा(ष्ठा) विना भूतले तन्मय्ये [प्र]विता[ः] सु[धर्म]निरता व — ७ —
— ७ — ॥ — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — धर्मं स्वकीये स्थिता मि-
- 3 ॥ [ध्या]स्थाविनिर्वाजितातिनिपुणा[ः³] पण्ये स्थितानां शुभे ॥३॥ तेत्रवाणेषु गोत्रेषु
श्रेष्टि(ष्टि)गोत्रं शुभं मतं(तम्) ॥ तस्मिन् पदार्थको जातः सर्वगोत्रप्रकाशकः
॥४॥ त — ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — — — [प्र]दानाधिगतप्रतीतिः ॥
- 4 ॥ [व्या]पारदक्षो निजवं(वं)धुमस्यः(स्यो) नाधूधनाड्यः प्रथितः पृथिव्या(व्याम्) ॥५॥
तस्यात्मजीभूत्सूहृदाप्त[ः] — — रत्नाकराक्षी(क्षी)तकरः कलाड्यः ॥ य[था] जनानंद-
[हिरः⁴] ७ — — ७ — ७ — — ७ [मुदय]कीर्तिः ॥६॥ ग्रामंददुर्गा-
- 5 ॥ विपतिं प्रजानां दूरीकृताधि सुनयेन⁵ दक्ष(क्षम्) ॥ प्रभुं गुणाड्यं समवाप्य शस्वत्
(श्वद्) धनार्थकामान् वृ(वृ)भु[ज]े[धि]कश्रीः ॥७॥ अचलः⁶ किल यो[ग]संज्ञिकं
७ ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ — ॥ अधिकारिपदे नियु(यु)क्त-
- 6 ॥ [वान्] निजकार्यक्षम⁷ पादवं(वम्) ॥८॥ गूर्जरदेशाधिपतिः शकपो यं प्राप्य
मेदपादसंज्ञिस्थं(स्थम्) ॥ गतभीः पालयमानो(नः) शरणं यत्प्रतापसंज्ञिकं कृतवान्
॥९॥ ७ — ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — — — ७ नीयः⁸ सुगुणाभिरामः यो

¹ From impression.

² The original probably had *kālpavṛkṣaḥ kalyāṇa*.

³ Better read *śaṅkṣā chā dākṣaṇa*.

⁴ The name Achala here refers to Durgabhānu.

⁵ This sign indicates an omission which however is not found supplied in the portion available. Read *śaṅkṣā chā dākṣaṇa*.

⁶ This may be conjecturally restored as *yō dākṣaṇa*.

- 7 ॥ — ॐ — दशलक्षणे भूकृतप्रयत्नो निजधर्ममुदये ॥१०॥ दयापरः सत्यपरः कृताधी(यैः)
सत्पात्रदानेन सुगीतकीर्तिः ॥ चैत्यालये सद्गुरुभक्तियुक्तो ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ —
— ॐ — — ॥११॥ जीवाभिधस्तत्तनयो
- 8 ॥ [ब]भूव स्वकीयधर्मेण दृढप्रतीतिः ॥ दयाद्रभावो गुरुदेवभक्तो वंशाघ्नीवृद्धि-
मतां वरिष्ठः(पुः) ॥१२॥ चैत्यालये वृद्धिकरं स्वकीये सदा शुभध्यान-
विधूतमोहं(हम्) ॥ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — ॐ — — — रिक्तं भव्यगुणं चकार ॥१३॥
- 9 ॥ तदा धर्मात् प्राप्तसमस्तकामो च(मश्च)तुविधं दानमदाद्यातिभ्यः ॥ सत्पात्रदानेन
कृपायुतेन प्राप्नोति लोके पदवीं च गुर्वी(र्वीम्) ॥१४॥ तस्यात्मजौ द्वौ
विनयोपपन्नौ — ॐ — — ॐ — ॐ — — ॥ या(ज्या)मान् पदार्थोनुजनिश्च
- 10 ॥ नाथू दीर्घायुषो तौ भवतां भवेस्मिन् ॥१५॥ श्रीमद्गुर्गनरेशस्य कर्तकमुकृतस्य
च ॥ वर्ण्यते तस्य राज्यं हि रामराज्योपमं शुभं(भम्) ॥१६॥ श्रीमत्प्रताप-
सूनी दुर्गनूपे भूपतिप्रवरे ॥ ... कुर्वति ज्ञात्वा(?) ... [पु]ण्यकारिणो मनुजाः
॥१७॥
- 11 ॥ श्रीदुर्गभानुः किल पुत्रपौत्रैर्ज्योत्यात्सहस्रं(लं) स(श)रदां नरेन्द्रः ॥ पति
यमासाद्य नरेन्द्ररत्नं राजन्वती भूमिरियं विभाति ॥१८॥ दूषणारिपुरुषः
कृतवान् यो वज्रदाननिघ्नं(हं)निजकीर्तिं(त्तिम्) ॥ सा ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — लोकगतिं वा
अर्गलाविरहितां
- 12 ॥ विपुलवित् ॥१९॥ निजस्वामिपुरे रम्ये श्रीमद्गुर्गनरेस्वरः ॥ शुभं सरोवरं
चक्रे सर्वलोकसुखावहं(हम्) ॥२०॥ नयेन जित्वा नृपतीन् बलाढ्यो नतांश्च
चक्रे वशवर्तिनस्तान् ॥ दिगंतराजश्च(जाश्च)^१ दुराशयान् यो ॐ — ॐ^२ देशान्
विगतप्रभावान् ॥२१॥
- 13 ॥ पद्माकरं कारितवान् हि प्राच्या^३ दिव्यज्जयिन्यां व(ब)हुसत्त्वजुष्टं(ष्टम्) ॥
वध्वा(द्ध्वा) नदीं पिगलिका घनानि श्रीदुर्गभानुवितरन् व(ब)ह्नि ॥२२॥
कलत्रपुत्रद्विजवर्यसर्वरूपेत्य तां पुण्यापिशाचमोक्षे ॥ अचौकरदुर्गनूपस्तुलां यो
हिर-

^१ Compare धर्तिहं ब्रह्मन् धर्तिहं धर्तिहं सन्ध्या-सन्ध्या-सन्ध्या / धर्तिहं सन्ध्या-सन्ध्या-सन्ध्या / धर्तिहं सन्ध्या-सन्ध्या-सन्ध्या

^२ The symbol is not observed here.

^३ The correction is unnecessary.

^४ The aksharas may be symbols or symbols or symbols.

^५ Read yama.

- 14 ॥ श्यदानं बहु चालदानं(नम्) ॥२३॥ श्रीदुर्गभूपः किल वक्षिणस्यां सोहृत्लकं
वारणदुर्निवारं(रम्) ॥ जित्वाहवे सैन्यपती(ती)श्च हत्वा दिल्लीस्वरं कीर्तिपरं
चकार ॥२४॥ गूर्जरदेशाधिपतिर्मुं(तिः सु)दुष्करः स्वं जगं ध्रुवं मेने ॥
बिलो-
- 15 ॥ क्व दुर्गनृपतेना(र्ता)शीरं मञ्जपुरत्स(स्स)रं भग्नः ॥२५॥ गोसहस्रमहादानं
विधिवद्दीनवल्लभः ॥ दुषणारिपुरे दुर्गो ददौ कल्पद्रुमोपमः ॥२६॥ मधोः
पुरो प्राप्य जगत्प्रवित्रां सूर्योपरागे हि ददौ महान्ति ॥ दानानि चान्यानि
त्रयो-
- 16 ॥ दशानि^१ श्रीदुर्गभूगो द्विजपुंगवेभ्यः ॥२७॥ क्षात्रं दद्यालु(लु)तां दानं विनयं
धर्मखणं ॥ विज्ञानं विष्णुभक्तिं च वर्णितुं तस्य क[*] क्षमः ॥२८॥
तस्य प्रभोदु(दु)र्गनराधिपस्य मान्वाग्रणीषा(ग्र)ह्यगुणो वदान्यः ॥ परोपका-
रेवज-
- 17 ॥ निधिः पदार्था(र्थः) प्रीत्या जनानन्दकरः कुरालुः ॥२९॥ दयया दानमानाभ्यां
नयेन प्रश्रयेण च ॥ पदार्थः प्राप्तस्तकल्पो(त्तः) सर्वलोकप्रियोभवत् ॥३०॥ (कृ)त्वा-
(त्वा)धिकारं^२ विपुले धने स्वे सेवापरं दुर्गनृपः पदार्थं(धर्मम्) ॥ दिल्ली-
- 18 ॥ श्वरात्प्राप्तनिजोरुमानो देशाननेकान् बू(बु)भुजे तदात्तान् ॥३१॥ विश्रामभूमिः
किल सञ्जनातां पदारथः पुण्यनिधिः गुणजः ॥ समाधिताः सत्फलमानुर्वीत
निदाघतप्ता इव कल्पवृक्षं(क्षम्) ॥३२॥ विविधमंत्रप-
- 19 ॥ इ हि पदार्थके सकलकार्यधुराधरणक्षमं(मम्) ॥ हृदि विजित्य मुधा-
निधिसंज्ञिको(कः) सकलमंत्रिजनेष्वकरोद्विभुं(भुम्) ॥३३॥ श्रीमदुर्गनरेश्वरस्य
तनये(य)श्चन्द्रा^३न्वयद्योतकचन्द्रः आश्रमगुणान्वितो निजजनानन्दप्रदः[*] कां(कां)तिमान्
- 20 ॥ संग्रामे तुरती विजित्य सहसा म्लेच्छा(च्छा)धिपं दुस्तहं ॥^४ नीत्वा
दुर्दुम्भवाजिराजिमतनोत् कीर्तिं जगद्विधुतां(ताम्) ॥३४॥ दिशि मंदायते यस्यां
भानो[र*] भानुसहस्रकं(कम्)^५ ॥ तस्यामेव तु चन्द्रेण प्रतापररयो जि-

^१ The reading may have to be corrected as *trayāśā-dāyāni vishāpīnā*.

^२ *Adhikāram* in the sense of *adhikāramulam*.

^३ Read *nāthir-guṇajñak*.

^४ This Chandra was a remote ancestor of Chandra, the son of Durgashblan.

^५ These vertical strokes are redundant.

^६ For influence of *Kāhikā*, compare *Ruparukā*, IV. 40, *śiti mandigat tīṣṭa dākṣiṇāyānāṁ rāṣṭra-śāpī*.

- 21 ॥ ता[^{*}] ॥३५॥ समरभूमिगतः सुतरां वभी नृपतिपूजितदुर्गतनृद्रवः ॥
 - यव[न^{*}]सैन्यपतीनहनत्यरात्(न्)^१ विजयिवीरकुमारसमग्रभः ॥३६॥ इ(ई)दृग्विधा-
 चन्द्रमसोधिकारं लब्ध्वा वितेने विपुलं यशः स्व(स्वन्) ॥ देवा[ल]-
- 22 ॥ यं तोयंकृतां च भक्तिं कुर्वन् पदार्थो दयया च दानं(नम्) ॥३७॥
 देवोत्सवं तस्य जिनालयस्य द्रष्टुं प्रतिष्ठा(ष्टा)वसरे हि सभः ॥
 सन्मानभोज्य[^१]त्रदुकूलवस्त्रै[^{*}] समर्पितः सद्गन्तैरिहाप्तः ॥३८॥ रथे
 विधायामर[या]-
- 23 ॥ ७-^३[ल्वं] तत्रोपविश्यायजनैः पदार्थः ॥ दानं ददत्पौरजनैः सहर्षैः शनैर्ययौ
 दुर्गसरसमीपे ॥३९॥ यात्रां विधायानु जलस्य दत्त्वा(त्वा) वस्त्राण्यनन्तानि
 सुवासिनोभ्यः पूगफलानां निज(च)यं जनेभ्यो
- 24 ॥ - ७ ति^१ प्राविशदालयं स्व(स्वम्) ॥४०॥ घन्नाष्टकं वर्णचतुष्टयेभ्यो(भ्यः)
 प्रीत्या वदन्नित्यमवारितान्न(न्नम्) ॥ कृत्वा शुभं मंडपमत्र होमं संपूज्य संप्र
 विससजं पूर्णं(र्णम्) ॥४१॥ जीवासुनुरकारयान्नजकुले भास्वत् ७ - -
- 25 ॥ ७-^१रथ्यासौधशता(तां) गवाक्षरुचिरां शस्ताकृतिं दीपिकां(काम्) ॥ दूरादागत-
 शर्मदां दृढशिलाव(व)द्धां पुरात्पश्चिमे पूर्णा(र्णां) शीव(त)जलेन भव्यरचना-
 सोपानपंक्त्यन्वितां(ताम्) ॥४२॥ श्रीमद्विक्रमभूमिपस्य समयात् प-
- 26 ॥ ७ - - न्मिमे मासे राधसि^२ वत्सरे गुरुयुते भास्वत्तिथौ चोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)ले ॥
 विप्रान् वेदविदः सुवर्णं ७ ७ -^३वस्त्रादिभिः(भि)स्तोषयन् चूणी(र्णी)कृत्य सुदी-
 पिकां च वितरन् वित्तं पदार्थोधिकं(कम्) ॥४३॥ वे(वे)तासुनूः सूत्रधार[र]-
- 27 [श्चकार] शस्ताकारां दीपिकां रामदासः ॥ शिल्पं तस्या वीक्ष्य शिल्पी मनोज्ञं
 कश्चि[च्छित्तेनादधात् शिल्प]गर्वं(र्वम्) ॥४४॥ भारद्वाजकुलोद्भवो [द्विजवरः]
 श्रीकेशवः पुण्यकृत् वेदव्याकरणागमार्थवि[द]-
- 28 ॥ - - ७ - - ॥ - - - ७ ७ - ७ नः सुधि ७ - - - ७ - - ७ -
 ॥४५॥ - - ७ ७ पारगः सुचरितो गौ(कौ)सल्यगात्र भवद्भवे[व]-

^१ Read 'pala-avadali-parān'.

^२ The damaged letters may be conjecturally restored as *radha*.

^३ Originally 'bhaga-chandra-dharmik'.

^४ The lost word may be *pranipatya*.

^५ This name of the month is usually *āśvina*.

^६ This may be restored as *radha*.

No. 18—ATIYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAMAKKAL

(2 Plates)

K. R. SRINIVASAN, MADRAS AND P. R. SRINIVASAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 29-6-1931)

The inscriptions dealt with here are found in the rock-cut cave temple dedicated to the god Rāṅganātha¹ at Nāmakkal, a large town in the Salem District of Madras State. Of these, Inscription A² was discovered only recently by K. R. Srinivasan and copied by P. R. Srinivasan. The rest were copied by the Epigraphist in 1906³ but only cursorily examined by him. Fresh copies of these also were taken by P. R. Srinivasan. They are edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India. We are thankful to Pandit V. S. Subrahmanya Sastri for his assistance in deciphering the inscriptions.

Nāmakkal seems to have been known by this name only from the late Nāyaka period.⁴ It is not known how and why the place came to be so called⁵. The earlier Tamil name of the hill of the place is Tīrūvāraikkal (Tīrū-Āraikkal or Āraikkal with the honorific prefix Tīrū) in Eḷār-nādu of North Kōṭṭu.⁶ *Ārai* means a fort wall (*Tamil Lexicon*, s.v.) and *kal* refers to the rock; hence *Ārai-kkal* may be taken to mean the fortified rock, Tīrū denoting its sacredness because of the two cave temples and a structural temple on top.⁷

The inscriptions are found engraved in two planes in the cave temple which has two parts, namely a rectangular sanctum with a high floor level with two pillars and two pilasters on the front line and containing the huge two-armed reclining rock-cut sculpture of god Rāṅganātha with a number of attendant figures⁸ carved on the walls, and a verandah in front of the sanctum with two pillars and two pilasters on its facade but with a lower floor level. Inscription A is engraved on the east face of the two-armed corbel over the northern pillar of the verandah⁹. Inscription B is engraved on the beam cut above the corbels of the pillars of the sanctum while Inscriptions C and D are engraved on the eastern faces of the corbels of the southern and northern pillars of the sanctum respectively. There are nine single-line inscriptions of *śīvalāsa*, found here, and they

¹ It has been called also Paḷḷikonguṣapuram (vide *A. R. Ep.*, No. 10 of 1906). There is another cave temple here dedicated to Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa known as the Śīngapuram temple (*Ibid.*). These two cave temples have been noticed by the Epigraphist in the Annual Report for 1906. For further inscriptions from the place vide Nos. 328-29 of 1938-39 and Part II, p. 71 of the Report for 1938-39.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1930-31, No. B 291.

³ *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 7 and Part II, pp. 57-59.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 12.

⁵ Perhaps the place was named Nāmaṣṭūr after a certain Nāma, and the rock came to be called Nāmaṣṭūr-kal or Nāmakkal. Tirumandūr or Śrī Aṣṭāvī in the Tirunelveli District had an alternative name of Nāmaṣṭūr. (See *Tirumandūrpāraṭi*, line 125, commentary, Dr. U. V. Srinivāsa Iyer's Edition).

⁶ *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, Nos. 5 and 11.

⁷ There are a number of names of towns and places in South India ending in *kal*, as for instance Vāṅgal, on the South bank of the Kāvēr near Kārūr; Dīpṭikkal in Madurai District; Orāṅgal (Warrangal) in Andhra Pradesh; Tīrūṅkal (Tirunagallu) in Mysore, etc.

⁸ For particulars see *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, Part II, p. 58, para. 23.

⁹ The corbel over the southern pillar seems to have borne an inscription. Unfortunately it is completely effaced except for traces of some letters.

occur as follows : three on each of the pilasters of the sanctum ; one at the top of each of the pillars, just below the corbel, all these on the sanctum facade ; and one on the northern pillar of the verandah, at its top, just below the corbel.

The characters are Grantha and they are akin to those in which some of the inscriptions of the Pallava kings that ruled after Pallava Narasimhavarman I (circa 630-668 A. D.) are written, and they bear a special resemblance to the Grantha characters of the inscription in the Atrapa-chanda-mandapam at Śāluvaṅkuppam¹ belonging to the time of Pallava Narasimhavarman II Rājasiṃha (circa 700-728 A. D.). Some of the letters e.g., *gri* and *gu* (Ins. A) and *ḍḍri* in *ḍḍriḡu* (Ins. B, line 1) of the inscriptions dealt with here are nearly identical with the respective letters occurring in the Śāluvaṅkuppam inscription. The letters *a* and *ā* of the present inscriptions have two forms (Ins. B) of which the looped variety of *a*, is interesting because of its rarity in the period to which these inscriptions are assigned. The presence of this type of *a* here and in the Śāluvaṅkuppam inscription, might suggest that the inscriptions under review are nearer in point of time to the Śāluvaṅkuppam record. The characters of these inscriptions when compared with those of the Sanskrit portion of the Ānaimalai līṅga record of 770 A. D. belonging to the time of Pāṇḍya Māraṇḍaiaṅga,² show that they are definitely earlier. Thus palaeographically the position of these inscriptions may be said to be somewhere between 720 and 750 A. D. It must, however, be stated that these are the only inscriptions written in this early Grantha script known so far from the Kōṅga country.

As regards orthography some points deserve mention here. There is the doubling of the consonants after *r* e.g., *darppaṇam*³ (Ins. A, line 1), *Mārkhaḍḍiḡu* and *parḡḡa* (Ins. B, line 1), "*pāreḍḍ*" (Ins. C, line 2) and *Uṭṭalakarapṭika* (*ḍi*-*ida* on the southern pilaster of sanctum). In *Dakṣhaḥ-taṭi* (Ins. B, line 1) the *visarga* has been changed to the following consonant. In *grihaḥ-Vāḥḥ* (Ins. A, line 1) the *anusvara* is compounded with the following letter. The *jibhāmūliya* occurs in *aṭṭiṭṭi-karṭṭe* (Ins. B, line 2).

The four main inscriptions are in Sanskrit verse but their style is, however, defective and errors of spelling too occur. Owing to this, and to the peeling away of some parts of the surface of the rock on which they are engraved, the full purport of two out of the four verses is not clear. The labels are also in Sanskrit.

The inscriptions do not contain any date. But each one of them is important in its own way. Inscription A, discovered recently, is important not only because it is a foundation inscription⁴ mentioning the excavation of the cave temple called the Aṭṭiyānṭha-viṣṇu-griham, but also because it contains the name of the king (*vipatiḥ*), who caused the work to be done, as *Gupāṭṭa*⁵ which was not known from the other inscriptions examined in 1906. The purport of Inscription D

¹ Above Vol. X, Plate facing p. 12.

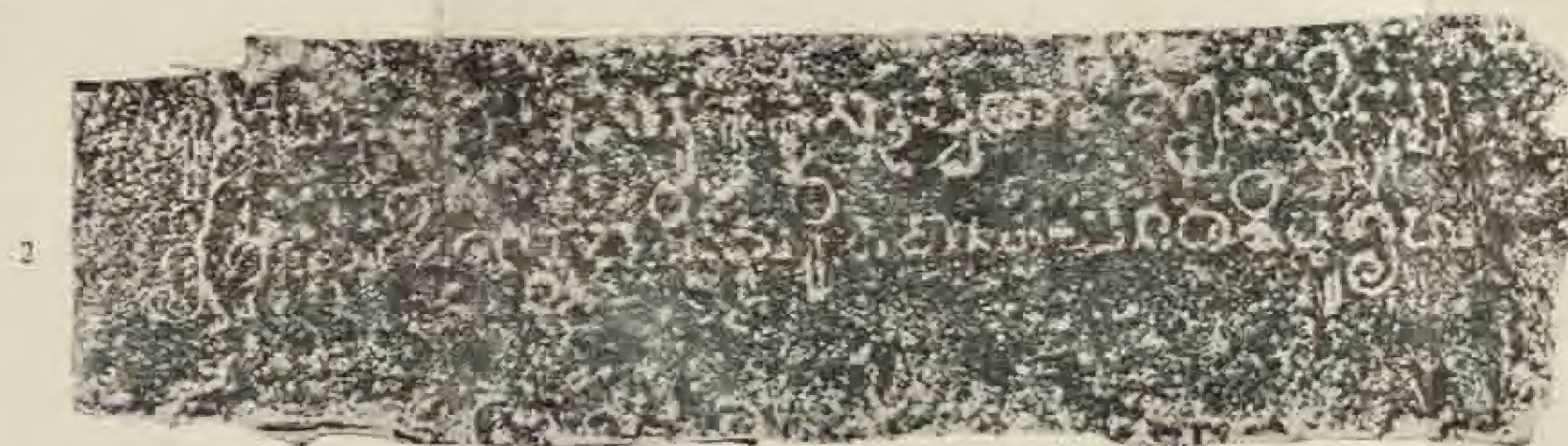
² Above Vol. VIII, Plate facing p. 320.

³ A number of such foundation inscriptions are known from South India, belonging more or less to the period to which the inscriptions discussed here are to be assigned e.g., the Truppankuppam (Madurai District) inscription (*J. R. Ep.*, 1951-52, No. B 143), the Malaṇḍakkuriccheḍi (Tirunelveli District) inscription discovered by K. R. Srinivasan (*Ibid.*, 1959-60, No. B 355) and the famous Maṇḍagappam (Chingleput District) inscription of Pallava Mahendravarmā I (*Ibid.*, 1905, No. 56) and similar but earlier ones in many of the Mahendravarmā cave temples in Tondaimandalam and Tiruchirappalli (Upper Cave-Lalīṭākura-Pallavararagiri).

⁴ A place (an important Vaiṣṇavite pilgrim centre) on the north bank of the Kāśī (north of the Upper Anicut) in the Tiruchirappalli District is named *Gupāṭṭam* perhaps an abbreviation of *Gupāṭṭa-kṣetra-tirumogalam* which is referred to in an inscription (*J. R. Ep.*, 1953-54, No. 377) from Srirangam dated in the ninth year of the reign of Vira-Rāmanātha (i.e., 1294 A. D.). It is about ten miles from Tiruchirappalli on the Tiruchirappalli-Nāmakkaḥ road. The place was evidently named after this Aṭṭiya king, when his territories perhaps reached up to this place at the height of his power.

ATIYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAMAKKAL—Plate I

A



Scale : One-sixth

B



Scale : One-sixth

sacked Tagadūr" refers to the well-fortified and strongly garrisoned Tagadūr in verse 78 and its sack by the Chēra king; and the colophon-like *padigam* at the end (of apparently later date than the compilation, and earlier to the commentaries) states that the Adigamān who had a great army and was the lord of Kolli-kkūram (the country around Kolli hills) was defeated along with the two great kings (Chōla and Pāṇḍya) and the drums, royal parasols and ornaments of the latter were captured and the fortress of Tagadūr sacked by the Chēra king, Peruñ-Chēral Irumporai. This event formed the theme of a poem of later times, the *Tagadūr Yāttirai*, now lost but known only from quotations in other works. Nachchinārkkiṇiyār, the great Tamil commentator in his commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam-purattinai sūtram* 7, on the material theme of *uṣṇai* (or the theme of besieging a fortress wearing the *uṣṇai*—a parasitic herb—*cuscuta*) cites as example the incident of the Adigamān's staying inside Tagadūr fort till the Chēra king Peruñchēral Irumporai advanced, laid siege and took it. The colophon of *Puraṇāpāru*, 60, calls this Chēra king *Tagadūr-erinda* (he who took Tagadūr) Peruñchēral Irumporai and the verse in praise of him was by the poet Mōṣi Kiraṇār. The Adiyamān is also called Neḍumān Añji or Añji or Eḷiṇi, in *Puraṇāpāru* verses 158, 230, and 392; and verse 138, enumerating the various liberal patrons, curiously enough, mentions Eḷiṇi as the lord of Kudirāmalai (also *Ahaṇāpāru*, 372) and Ūri, another patron as the lord of Kollimalai (also *Nayirai*, 283). *Puraṇāpāru*, 22, *Paḍirupputtu*, 73 and also *Silappadikāram*, 24, *pāttumadai*, attribute the overlordship of Kolli to the Chēra king. *Ahaṇāpāru*, 209 and *Nayirai*, 320 state that Ūri was defeated by the Maḷiyamān chieftain of Maḷḷūr, Kāri by name, and the Kolli hills were transferred to the Chēralar (Chēra). Adigamān or Adiyamān Neḍumān Añji was a patron of the celebrated poetess Anvayār who has praised him in many songs and his son Pohnṭṭeḷiṇi, in some. It was this Adiyamān who presented to her the fruit of longevity, a black nelli or *amala*, a story alluded to in the *Sirupāyārruppaḷai* of the *Pattupṭṭi* collection, (II, 99-162) and in later works as well in the context of enumerating the seven *Vallals* or liberal patrons (II, 84-112). She calls him the leader of the Maḷavar, *Maḷavar Perumāṇar*, *Maḷavar Kōmān* (*Puraṇāpāru* 88, 90) and is said to have gone on a diplomatic mission to the Tanjaimān ruler of Kāraḷi (identified by some as Tanjaimān Paṇṭiraiyaṇ) on Adiyamān's account (*Puraṇāpāru*, 25). In *Puraṇāpāru*, 99, she relates many facts about the Adiyamān, her patron. According to her, the Adiyamān was born of a family which as a result of their worship, sacrifices, and offerings of *āhatis* (oblations) to the gods, brought the sweet sugarcane to this world, and ruled the world with great ability for a very long time. Adiyān fought successful battles against seven opposing kings and destroyed among other rebellious strongholds, the fort of Kōvalūr (which is mentioned in his praise by poet Paravar) and possessed all the seven poris or *lāṇṇam* (royal insignia).¹ In *Ahaṇāpāru*, 142, an Adiyān, leader of a great army, is said to have been killed in battle by Mīṇḷi or Nīṇḷi, the intrepid general of the chieftain Nappān. Eḷiṇi (Adigān) was one of the seven lords (the two kings and five *ceḷ*s or chieftains, *i.e.*, Chēra, Sēmbiyaṇ or Chōla, Titiyaṇ, Eḷiṇi, Eruṇaiyāraṇ, Vēḷmān and Poruṇaṇ) of Talaiyāḷāṇkāṇattu-ch-cheruvēṇṇa Neḷuñchēḷiyaṇ, *i.e.*, the great Pāṇḍya, who gained a victory in the battlefield of Talaiyāḷāṇkāṇam, (*Ahaṇāpāru*, 36; *Puraṇāpāru*, 76).²

The name Sōma of the Atiya king in Inscription C has a curious parallel with three early Cambodian inscriptions in Sanskrit, one of them referring to a Koḍgavarman born of that lineage.³

¹ The seven *lāṇṇams* or *poris* as enumerated in a later work, the *Kalīṅgathu-parani* (*Kalpaḍi*, 18) are: *āḷḷai* (boat), *mēḷi* (plough), *āṇḍai* (dent or crescent moon?), *yōḷi* (lion or tiger), *vīṇai* (lute), *ṣīḷai* (bow) and *vaṇḍai* (fish).

² The other verses in *Puraṇāpāru* which refer to Adiyamān and his other names are 87, 89, 93, 94, 97, 98, 103, 104, 206, 208, 231, 232, 235, 310, 312, and 390. See also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of South India* (1958), p. 118.

³ Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kamboja*, No. 26-A; Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. I, pp. 251 ff.; see also *Inscriptions of Kamboja*, No. 2 (B.E.F.E.O. XXXI, 1) referring to the king Guṇavarman, the donor, as born of the family of Kaṇḍiṇya and the line in verse 6 reading *Kaṇḍiṇya-ṇṇāḷa-sāṇa*. A Jayavarman (Saka 890 and 892) refers to a Bāḷiḍiṇya belonging to the lineage of Sōma and Kaṇḍiṇya. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kamboja*, No. 111 ('A', pp. 3 and 6); Barth and Illegaigne, *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, No. 77 and Aymonier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris), II, 401-407—the text reads *Sōma-Kaṇḍiṇya-māḷa*.

This inscription records gifts to god Uppannāvara, by King Bhavavarman, descended from the Kaundinya and Sōma family. 'Koṅga' or 'Koṅgu' in the name Koṅgavarman is a characteristic Tamil name not met with elsewhere in Kambuja or other places in the far east.

The later Adigamāṇa were Chōḷa feudatories and fought against the Hoysaḷas, in whose inscriptions the name is further changed into Adiyama (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 493). Some later Adigamāṇa like Eḷiṇi and Viṭṭakādaḷagiya-Perumāl claimed to belong to the Chōra dynasty (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 332). And one Adigan (abbreviated form of Adigamāṇ) is said in the *Periāpurāṇam* (verses 3947, 3987) to have fought against the Chōḷa king, Puḷaḷ-chchōḷa (*ibid.*, p. 66) who died in Karuvār (Karūr).¹

Now, regarding the date of the king. Obviously, King Guṇaśīla of these inscriptions was a member of this ancient Adiyamāṇ family, although no king of this name belonging to this family is known from other sources, literary or epigraphical.² That he was endowed with independent authority, power and resources is clear from the fact of his having excavated the large Raṅganātha cave temple, perhaps also the Lakṣmī-narasimha cave temple, adorned with bas-reliefs noted for their beauty, and by his affecting the style of the imperial Pallavas in his inscriptions, especially in the *biṇḍas*. In order to undertake such magnificent works of art, the king must have had a fairly long, authoritative and comparatively peaceful reign.³ That there is no mention of any overlord in these inscriptions points to the fact that the king enjoyed independence, although it is difficult to say exactly for how long his independent rule over this area lasted. This independent reign of the king could have been possible only when the political conditions of South India, as computed from contemporary sources were favourable to him. It is known that for nearly half a century in the middle of the 8th century A. D., the Pallava authority over South India had waned due to the dynastic revolution at home and change over of the administration from the main line to a member of a collateral line⁴ i.e. 730-732 A.D. The earlier part of Nandivarman Pallavamalla's reign was occupied by internecine wars and in conflicts with the Chālukyas in the north. He had in fact to flee Kāñchi when Chālukya Vikramāditya II entered the capital in force before his 8th year (741-42 A. D.). He had also to face Pāṇḍya Rājasiṃha in many fields of battle according to the Pāṇḍya inscriptions.⁵ Pallava authority or influence did not extend to the banks of the Kāvēri (Chōḷa and Koṅgu-maṇḍalams) for some time between c. 742 and 780 A.D. as could be seen from the absence of Pallava inscriptions of this period in this area. Nor do the Pāṇḍyas of the period seem to have had a peaceful time, because, of the two Pāṇḍya kings of the period, namely, Kōch-chadaiyan (c. 710-743 A.D.) and his successor Māra-varman Rājasiṃha (c. 730-765 A.D.), the former was often engaged in warfare with his neighbours⁶ while the latter waged war with Nandivarman Pallavamalla⁷ and obtained victories at several places. Thus it may be presumed that neither the Pallavas nor the Pāṇḍyas, the two imperial powers of South India, had occasion to divert their attention towards the growing Adiyamāṇ power and their territory in and around Tagaḷūr, which included Nāmakkal. The Pāṇḍya king Kōchchadaiyan Raḡadūra (c. 700-730 A. D.) is called *Koṅṅur Kōmāṇ*, the Lord of the Koṅgar, in the Vēḷvikkudī plates⁸. His successor Pāṇḍya Māra-

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, p. 37, para. 34.

² See note on Guṇaśīlam, *ante*.

³ The time taken for the excavation of a cave temple like the Naḷḷi cave No. 3 was twenty years, started by Gōtamiputra in the 24th year or last year of his reign it was completed only in the 19th year of his successor Pulamāri. See above, Vol. VIII, pp. 60-74, *loc. cit.* 2-5. More or less the same time if not more, should have been necessary in this instance also, considering the greater hardness of the rock.

⁴ *Mem. ASI.*, No. 63, Historical Sculptures of the Veikuṇṭhapuramā Temple, Kāñchi, pp. 37 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 231 ff. and *I. A.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64 ff.

⁶ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandya Kingdom*, p. 56.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

⁸ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 261 ff.

varman Rājasinhha I (c. 740-765 A.D.), in the same grant, is said to have crossed the Kāvērī, subjugated the country of Malakōṅgam¹ and proceeded to Pāṇḍikkōḍumudi where he worshipped Śiva-Paśupati. His successor, Pāṇḍya Jaṣila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ (c. 768-815 A.D.) is stated, in the Madras Museum plates (Śrīvaramaṅgalam plates)² dated in his 17th year (c. 784 A.D.), to have defeated the Atiyaṇ and made him flee the field of battle at Āyiravēli-Ayirūr on the north bank of the Kāvērī and Puḡaḷiyūr, and, advancing further defeated also the Pallava and the Chēra (Chēra) armies which came to Atiyaṇ's aid by deploying forces to both the fronts, east and west, captured the king of Koṅḡu (Western Koṅḡu) with his elephant and imprisoned him in Madurai and subdued the *Koṅḡu-bhāmi*. It is to be noted that the exploits against the Koṅḡu country or the Atiyaṇ are not mentioned among those of Pāṇḍya Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ in his Viṣṭikṇṇi plates dated in his 3rd year (770-71 A.D.). The Pallava ally of Atiyaṇ was evidently Nandivarman Pallavamalla (731-796 A.D.). The Pāṇḍyan war with Atiyaṇ and the battles of Āyiravēli-Ayirūr and Puḡaḷiyūr must have been fought after 770 A.D. and before 784 A.D., perhaps closer to the latter date. It is significant to note that Koṅḡu engaged the attention of three successive Pāṇḍya kings of whom the second is said to have overrun Malakōṅgam, and the third and most powerful, perhaps, is said to have defeated the Atiyaṇ and the allied Pallava and Chēra armies. Here perhaps we get a hint of the rise into prominence of the Koṅḡu area and the Atiyamāys to significant power between c. 700 and 784 A.D.—(the date of accession of Kēchchhaḍaiyaṇ and the date of the Madras Museum plates of Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ) and the encouragement they had from Pallava Nandivarman and the Chēra rulers, perhaps as a foil to the Pāṇḍya imperialistic expansion resulting in the wars mentioned above. The wars of the two earlier kings were evidently punitive, their hold over the area not very lasting. But the wars of the last of the three Pāṇḍya kings, including the defeat of Atiyaṇ at Āyiravēli-Ayirūr and Puḡaḷiyūr³ were apparently the most decisive, and therefore it is very likely that Guṇasalla of the present record flourished at a time before the period when the regions under the Atiyas became the bone of contention between the Pallavas under Nandivarman Pallavamalla and the Pāṇḍyas under Māṇavarman Rājasinhha and his successor, i.e. sometime before c. 750 A.D.

As has been said above, the fact that the palaeography of the inscriptions is very much nearer to that of the inscriptions belonging to the time of Pallava Naraśimhavarman II and far earlier than that of the Ānamalai inscription (770 A.D.) of the time of Pāṇḍya Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ, goes to

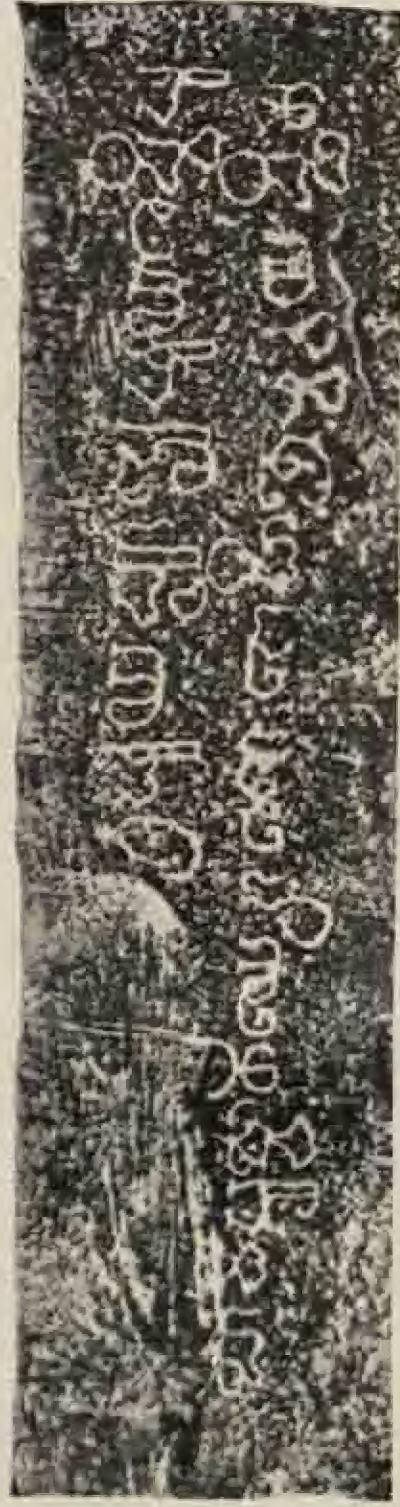
¹ Malakōṅgam, which included Koḍumudi (in the Erode Taluk of the Coimbatore District) was evidently the Koṅḡu part of Malanāḍu (Maharar-nāḍu) or the Koṅḡu area adjoining Malanāḍu, which is the territory on either bank of the Kāvērī in its eastern course through the Tiruchirappalli District and the western part of the adjacent Tanjavar Taluk of the Tanjavar District. It perhaps extended from Koḍumudi on the west where the hitherto south-flowing Kāvērī takes a sharp turn and thence flows east to the sea. This area included Nānakkal, the Kollimalai and Pachaimalai hills. An early Chōla inscription from the Koranganātha temple at Sēnirāmanallūr, a part of the ancient Mahamahāsaṅgalam (which is named after Mahendra Pallava I and, perhaps, like the cave temple at Tiruchirappalli, marks a point in the southern limits of the Pallava empire of his times) states that it was situated in *Endanmā-Melanāḍu* (north bank Malanāḍu) implying that a stretch on the south bank of the river formed the southern *Malanāḍu*. (See culture and Heritage Number of the Q. J. M. S., pp. 223 ff.)

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64 ff.

³ Āyiravēli-Ayirūr and Puḡaḷiyūr are very near Nānakkal. "Āyiravēli" seems to be more an adjunct of Ayirūr (meaning Ayirūr of 1000 *ellus*). Ayirūr is the modern Ayilūr, now called also Sēi-Rāmasamudraṇ on the north bank of the Kāvērī near Kāttappattūr in the Iluvai taluk of Tiruchirappalli and on the traditional ferry line across the river from the south from Madurai, see Dinidigai. Puḡaḷiyūr is modern Puḡaḷūr, 10 miles north-west of Karūr on the south bank of the Kāvērī, also on another traditional ferry across from the Nānakkal side to the south and recently bridged up. It is a modern township with a sugar mill, and its antiquity is evidenced by the rocks containing natural caverns and Brāhmi and Vatteḷuttu inscriptions. The same place Puḡaḷiyūr is mentioned in a Chōla inscription at Tiruchirappalli, *J. E. Ep.*, No. 631 of 1905. It comprises the villages of Puḡaḷūr-agrahāram, Puḡaḷai-Puḡaḷūr and Nāḷai-Puḡaḷūr. The Railway Station is called Puḡaḷūr. The Pāṇḍya after crossing the river from south to Ayirūr must have recrossed the river further west to fight the battle at Puḡaḷiyūr.

ATTIVA INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAMAKKAL—Plate II

C



Scale : One-fifth

D



Scale : One-fifth

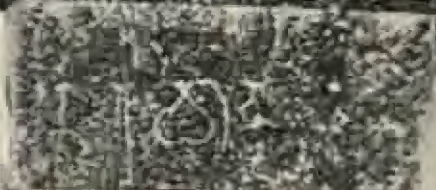
BIRUDAS

Nos.

1



2



3



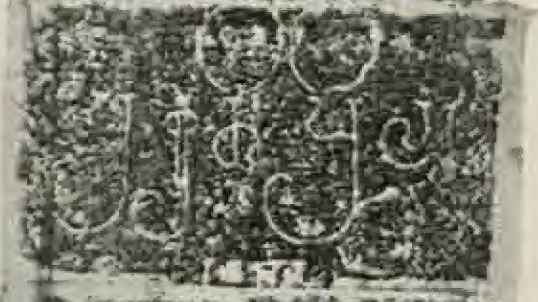
4



5



6



7



8



Scale : One-seventh

confirm this attribution. The style of the sculptures and architecture¹ is also characteristic of this period.

The nine single-line inscriptions mentioning as many *birudas* or epithets are interesting for their originality because from among the countless *birudas* of the Pallava kings, the only other dynasty which specialised in having a string of *birudas*, we find only one or two of them repeated here. The *birudas* are as follows :

Utpala-kurupikah (One who has lily in the ears); *Nara-vāhanaḥ* (One who is like Kubera in riches whose vehicle is man); *Madana-silānḥ* (handsome like Cupid); *Māna-nraḥ*² (essence of standards or rich in honour); *Naya-paruḥ* (inclined towards gentility); *Nara-dēvaḥ* (king or god amongst men); *prakṛti-priyaḥ* (delighting in nature or simplicity or delightful to the subjects); *Udāra-chittaḥ*³ (noble-minded); and *Vimala-charitaḥ* (possessing blemish-less character).

TEXT⁴A⁵

- 1 Atiya [kula] nu[h]kakabhān-ḥarppanam=idaiḥ grīham=Viśṇuḥ [| *]
- 2 śrī-Guṇasīlō nripatiḥ kṛitavān=Atiyanātha-viśṇu-grīham[| *]⁶

B⁷

- 1 O⁸ [| *] Ma(r⁹)kkaṇḍēya¹⁰-maharāṣi-¹¹Parma-Varuṇa¹²-Brahm-Ēśa-Dakṣhā-Saśi Sūryas-Tumburu-Nāṇḍan¹³ Guru-Bhṛigū Śārīgaḥ=cha Kaupōta(da)ki [| *]
- 2 ¹⁴[Chakraṭḥ] Nāntaka¹⁵-Pāṇchajanya-śāhitaḥ¹⁶=kartṛ dīśa[nta] śrīya[nt¹⁷]¹⁸ kūrāja[nt¹⁹]
Madhu-Kēṭabha²⁰-kēṣayikṛita[ḥ*]-śayyā-grīhā-dr̥v-vṛitāḥ [| *]²¹

¹ For an exhaustive account of the cave temples, see K. R. Srinivasan's monograph on the *Cave Temples of the Pāṇḍya and Kongu countries* to be published in the *Indian Temple Architecture Series*, by the Archaeological Survey of India.

² It is of interest to note that this *biruda* which is similar to the title of the famous text on architecture, seemingly suggests that the king intended to convey through this title the idea that his work, namely the magnificent cave temple was excavated according to architectural canons.

³ Cf. *Vichitra-chitta*, (curious-minded), one of the titles of Pallava Mahēndravarmā I.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1900-01, No. B 291.

⁶ *Metre*, *Arjā*.

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1900-01 No. B 292.

⁸ There is a symbol like this here which may stand for an auspicious word like *Om*.

⁹ Read *Mārkandeya*.

¹⁰ The word stands for *Suparna* (i.e., Garuda).

¹¹ The *va* has a hook to its left which is to be ignored.

¹² The following two names are also compounded with a dual ending.

¹³ This line appears to be a palimpsest traces of earlier writing being visible in the super- and subscript-like marks which have to be ignored.

¹⁴ Read *Nandaka*.

¹⁵ Read *māta*. The *v* rds Śārīga, Kaupōdakī, Nandaka and Pāṇchajanya denote the names of the bow, mace, sword and conch respectively of Viśṇu. Sudarśana, the name of the discus simply mentioned here as *śāhita*, is not given.

¹⁶ Read *śrīga[ḥ*]*.

¹⁷ Read *Kēṭabha*.

¹⁸ *Metre* : *Śārdūlavikṛitā*.

C¹

- 1trāshu¹ yas-y-ādyēshu yasasvishu [| *]
 2 Sōma[h*] pūrvvō=tiyēndrōgām dauhitrāshv=anvaya(ē)=sthita[h | || *]²

D¹

- 1 Atiy-ānvavāyā-gurogā narapatinā³[ti][| *]
 2 Atiy-Endra-vishnu-grīham=iti...mamu[nā]* kārī[taś] kri[ti]nā [| *]⁴

BIRUDAS⁵

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Southern pilaster of sanctum | 1 <i>Utpala-karpūkaś</i> |
| | 2 <i>Nara-vāhanaś</i> |
| | 3 <i>Madana-vilāsaś</i> |
| Southern pillar of sanctum : | 4 <i>Māna-sāraś</i> (below Ins. C) |
| Northern pillar of sanctum : | 5 <i>Naya-jarāś</i> (below Ins. D) |
| Northern pilaster of sanctum : | 6 <i>Nara-dēvaś</i> |
| | 7 <i>Prakṛiti-priyaś</i> |
| | 8 <i>Udāra-chītaś</i> |
| Northern pillar of facade : | 9 <i>Vimala-charitaś</i> |

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1900-61, No. B 1293.

² Read 'trāśka'.

³ Metre: Anand/akā.

⁴ *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 7.

⁵ The portion after this reads 'anvaya' which is not quite intelligible.

⁶ The form of this śā is not satisfactory. It seems to have been inserted later.

⁷ Metre: Anand.

⁸ These are engraved at different places as indicated but illustrated one below the other in the plate.

No. 19—PANCHALINGALA INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAİKAMALLA, SAKA 999

B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 9-5-1959)

This inscription, edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a stone near the Nāgalakṣṭha (platform with snake-images under a peepal tree) in front of the Pañchalīṅgēśvara temple at **Pañchalīṅgāla**, a village in the Kurnool Taluk, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. The inscription is noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1953-54 as No. 50 of Appendix B, and reviewed in the same Report in the Introduction (pp. 4-5). On the top centre of the record is depicted in relief a pedestal with five *lingas* (the *pañcha-linga*), a couchant bull facing the pedestal and a cow with its calf on the opposite side. Right above the cow is the representation of the sun and in front of the calf an upright dagger with a curved blade. Above the bull is the crescent moon.

The record is engraved in Kannada characters and except for the two imprecatory verses at the end, the language of the record is also Kannada. As regards the palaeography and the orthography, there is nothing of special interest. The characters of the record are regular for the period to which they belong. Attention may, however, be drawn to the use of the second case-ending in place of the seventh in the words *Rāmēśvara tirthavāsi mandu* in line 8. *Be* is used for *va* in *dhārāpurbhakaṃ* (lines 19-20) and *Śrīparibhataḥ* (line 24).

The record belongs to the reign of the Western Chālukya king **Bhuvanaīkamalla Sōmēśvara (II)** and is dated Śaka 990, Kīlaka, Pushya, bahula pañchamī, Sunday, Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti. The details of the given date are irregular. In the Śaka year 990 corresponding to 1068 A. D., the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti occurred on December 24, Wednesday, whereas the given *tithi* corresponded to December 16, Tuesday. The intended date may perhaps be 1068 A. D., December 24.

At the time of this record the king is stated to have been camping at *Berkkemōksha-appayagaviṭṭu* to the north of the Kṛishṇā river in *Kandūr-nāḍu*. The term *appayaga-viṭṭu* stands for a temporary camping place as opposed to *melaviṭṭu* which denotes the capital.¹ It is difficult to identify the place called *Berkkemōksha*. It cannot be *Pañchalīṅgāla* itself, for, this place is situated to the south of the river Kṛishṇā. I am, therefore, inclined to identify it with the village *Bargedinni* in the Jatprol Taluk, Mahbubnagar District, which is to the north of the Kṛishṇā. There is another village named *Barkapalli* in the Kalwakurthi Taluk of the same District. But the former is to be preferred because of its proximity to the river Kṛishṇā.

The purpose of the record is to renew a gift made earlier by *Vinaya-Satyāśraya* (i.e., *Vinayāditya Satyāśraya*) to god *Pañchalīṅgādēva*, and recorded on copper-plates. It appears to have comprised of the village *Gudigōri* which was probably a hamlet of *Kālpajji* and formed part of the *śaḥa-vṛitti* (*śhaḥa-vṛitti*) of *Pañchalīṅga*. This *śhaḥa-vṛitti* is stated to be 1400 *mattar* in extent spread over the two *ārumbāḍas* (groups of six villages) one in *Najavāgi* on the Southern bank and the other in *Yade-nāḍu* on the Northern bank of the river *Tuṅgabhadra*. For this purpose *Kāśmīrapāṇḍita*, the *mahāśāhāśāhāpate* of the temple of *Pañchalīṅga* was sent for by king *Sōmēśvara* who, after having the feet of the priest with the water of *Kṛishṇavareṇā* made over the gift for the upkeep of the various shrines within the compound of the *Pañchalīṅga* temple and for offerings to the deities therein.

¹ In this record both these terms occur. Line 3 says that the king was having *Kalyāṇa* as his *melaviṭṭu*.

The composer of the record is stated to have been Nāgachandra Kavindra. Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar refers to a poet Nāgachandra who is said to have been the author of *Rāmachandracharita-purāṇa* and *Mallinātha-purāṇa*.¹ He assigns this poet to about 1105 A.D., on the basis of an inscription of Vikramāditya VI dated Śaka 1027 and says that he might have been a poet in the court of Hoysaḥa Viṣṇuvardhana (1104-1141 A.D.). Nāgachandra Kavindra of the present record may possibly be the same as this poet Nāgachandra. If this is so, his date will have to be pushed back to 1068 A.D.²

The record throws welcome light on the political career of Sōmēśvara II. Studied together with the other records of this king, it gives us quite a good picture of his movements. The Chōḷa records state that Vira Bājendra defeated Sōmēśvara II before the latter had time to take off his necklace (*kaṇḥikā*), burnt the city of Kampili and set up a pillar of victory at Karaḍikal, a place situated in the Raichur District.³ As opposed to this, a record from Belagāmi⁴ states that immediately after the death of Sōmēśvara I, the Chōḷa king took the occasion as opportune for invading the Chālukyan territory and laid siege to Gutti and that Sōmēśvara II met his opponent with might and defeated him. This battle must have been fought sometime between the months of April and August in the year 1068 A.D., the former being the date of his coronation and the latter the date of the Belagāmi record. While it should be admitted that there is an element of exaggeration in the narration of these events in the Chōḷa records, it may be inferred that the encounter at Gutti put an end to the Chōḷa incursions in the north.⁵ A record from Chinnatambulam⁶ dated the 15th of August 1068 A.D., refers to Jayasimha III, the younger brother of Sōmēśvara II as governing at Kampili. It is not unlikely that Jayasimha was posted to watch the southern frontiers during Sōmēśvara's campaigns in the north as will be described in the sequel.

After thus putting down the Chōḷa menace, Sōmēśvara II seems to have turned his attention towards the North. The record under study states that the king was camping at a place near the Kṛṣṇā river on his campaign of *digvijaya*.

During this period Mālava was passing through a crisis because of the dispute for succession after the death of Paramāra Bhōja. Bilhapa tells us⁷ that the Mālava king sought the aid of Chālukya Sōmēśvara I who, being a shrewd diplomat, agreed to help him and sent his son Vikramāditya VI, with whose help the Mālava king gained the throne. This Mālava king referred to herein is Paramāra Jayasimha. This was sometime before 1055 A.D., which is the earliest known record of Jayasimha⁸ as the Paramāra ruler. But Jayasimha's troubles were not over with this. In the latter part of his reign he had to face the invasion of his enemies who completely overthrew him. The Nagpur stone inscription⁹ states that Udayāditya, the successor of Jayasimha, had to overcome the troubles that had befallen the realm of Bhōja and to free the land from the dominion of Karna who, joined by Karnaśas, had swept over the earth like a

¹ *Karsāpuka-Kavi-Charita*, Vol. I, pp. 89 ff.

² It may be incidentally noted that a record from Daodāpur (*A. R. Ep.*, B. N. No. 64 of 1933-34) belonging to the reign of Vikramāditya VI and dated 1078 A.D. mentions Udaya Nāgādēva as the composer, and another record of the same king from Sōmāpur (*ibid.*, No. 75), dated 1080 A.D., states that Nāgarāra Kavindra corrected the composition of Mallikārjuna.

³ Above Vol. XXV, pp. 241 ff.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, No. 136.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 249.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 123.

⁷ *Vikramāditya-Charita*, Sarga III, vv. 67-68.

⁸ Above, Vol. III, pp. 46 ff.

⁹ Above, Vol. II, pp. 186 ff.

mighty ocean. This is a reference to the alliance of king Karna with Chālukya Sōmēśvara II, the then Karpāta ruler. The Dōṅgargaon inscription of Paramāra Jagaddēva¹ states that at this time Mālava was invaded by a confederacy of three kings. Regarding the two kings that allied with Sōmēśvara II scholars differ in their identification. While Prof. Mirashi holds² that the two kings who joined Sōmēśvara II were the Kalachuri king Karna and the Western Gaṅga king Udayāditya, Dr. Majumdar thinks that they were the Chaulukya Karna of Gujarat and the Kalachuri king.³ To this we shall come again.

It is now clear that Sōmēśvara II had to involve himself in a battle with the Paramāra and according to the Dōṅgargaon inscription he seems to have taken the offensive. When exactly this invasion took place has been a matter of conjecture. Prof. Mirashi has surmised that it might have been between 1069 A.D. and 1070 A.D., the latter being the date of the Sūṇi inscription⁴ of Sōmēśvara II which refers to him as a blazing fire to the ocean which is the race of the Mīlavayas. But the record under review enables us indirectly to narrow down the limits for the date of this invasion.

On the date of this record, viz., the end of 1068 A.D., Sōmēśvara was already on the north of the Kṛishṇā river. He is stated to be on the march against an unnamed enemy. The next engagement in which he was known to have been busy was his participation in the campaign against Mālava according to the Dōṅgargaon inscription referred to above. In the absence of any other clue to the contrary Sōmēśvara's *digvijaya* mentioned in the present record may be connected with the campaign against Mālava since he had already repelled the forces of the Chōla king, his only other enemy on the southern front, before August 1068 A.D. It may therefore be surmised that Sōmēśvara had commenced his *digvijaya* presumably in the northern direction before the date of the record, i.e., December 1068 A.D. The earliest reference to his successful completion of the northern expedition is obtained in an inscription from Guḍigēri⁵ dated in December 1072 A.D. Therefore Sōmēśvara's campaign in the north against Mālava may be considered to have taken place sometime between December 1068 A.D. and December 1072 A.D.⁶

In this campaign Sōmēśvara II seems to have been helped very much by two of his subordinates, Hoysala Eṣeyanaga⁷ and *daṇḍanāyaka* Udayāditya of the Gaṅga family.⁸

Besides these two, some other subordinates of Sōmēśvara II also seem to have taken part in this battle, for, the inscription from Guḍigēri referred to states that *manaverragade*, *daṇḍanāyaka* Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya defeated the kings of Lāṭa, Mālava, Saurāshtra, Gaṇḍa-vishaya and others of the North and brought back with him presents to the king. This being the case, it is difficult to agree with Prof. V. V. Mirashi who says that Udayāditya was one of the two 'kings' who joined Sōmēśvara II in defeating the Paramāra king. It cannot be explained why Udayāditya, a *daṇḍanāyaka* of Sōmēśvara II could have been mentioned as a member of the confederacy of three 'kings'. On the other hand we may, perhaps rightly, surmise that the two other kings were the Chaulukya Karna and Karna of the Kalachuri dynasty as Dr. Majumdar has pointed out.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 183.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 196-97, II; *III*, Vol. IV, Introduction, p. xxviii-xxix.

³ *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 57-59.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 96 ff.

⁵ *A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, B. K. No. 110.

⁶ There is however a record from Kākhaṇḍki (*A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, B. K. No. 172) dated 1069 A.D., December, 24, which states that Sōmēśvara was ruling from Samkanakereyūr, a village possibly in Bijapur District. It is not known whether Sōmēśvara's camp at Samkanakereyūr was enroute to his Mālava campaign.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Ak 102a and 117; Vol. VIII, Ch. 64.

⁸ *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 164. It is interesting to note that of these two, the former subsequently turned against his overlord and supported the claims of Vikramāditya VI for the throne. (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Ak 102 a).

- 18 ttar=olagaṇa Kālpa||iya Guḍigēriyaṁ Paṁchalīṅga-dēvara gōpurad=olagaṇa dē-
 19 vālayaṅga|a khaṁpa(ṇḍa)sphupita-jirṇōddhāraṇa dēva[bhōg-ā]nnadāna-nimittadim
 dhārā-
 20 pūrbbā(rvva)kaṁ mma(mā)ḍi tri[bhō]tō(g=ā)bhyantara-siddhi-yind=adara chatus-
 simeyind=olaga
 21 puṭṭida nidhi-nidhāna-nikshēpaṅga|=modalāg-ellam dēvar-artham=āgi biṭṭu samasta-
 rāja-
 22 abhiṇaṁga|umaṁ koṭṭar=I(r|I)dharmaḥk-ārānuṁ kā|am(kā|a)kā-lāntarado| uānā vupa
 (upa)dravam=māḍi-
 23 doḍe tappidodati Prayāgeyo|am Bāṇarāsīyo|am va(a)rggbyastīrtthado|am Ku-
 24 rukshetrado|am Gaṁgā-sāgi(ga)rado|am Śrīparbbā(rvva)tada pātā|a-gaṁgeyo|av endu ge-
 25 yda lakṣa-gō-vadheyuṁ Brāhmaṇa-vadheyuṁ bhrūpa-hatyamuṁ pśiḥcha-
 26 mahāpātakamumam mma(mā)ḍida dōshakke salvar ||
 Aśy-aiva [kula]-sah-
 27 bhūtāḥ Paṁchalīṅga-maḥh-dēramē[*] ādhipatyam kurushvēva¹ yāvaścha(ch-cha)ndr-ārkk-
 28 tārakam || Svadattam(ttām) paradattam(ttām) vā yō harēti vasumdhārā[m [*]
 ahaṣṭir-vvaraṇa-saḥsārāni(arāṇi) vi -
 29 śhṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimi[h] || I sa(sā)sanamam Nāgachandra-kavīndraṁ baredam ||

No. 20—THE PULLUR PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II PALLAVAMALLA—YEAR 33

(3 Plates)

T. V. MAHALINGAM, MADRAS.

(Received on 27-10-1958)

This set¹ of nine copper-plates is reported to have been unearthed sometime in May 1939, by the villagers of Pullūr in the Polur taluk of the North Arcot District, Madras State, while excavating the *ardha-mandapa* portion of the small Vishnu temple there, now dilapidated and in ruins. It is learnt that along with this set of plates were found a metallic image of Vishnu about 2 feet in height, a *Sudarśana* and a goddess nearly of the same size, another smaller image of the goddess and one or two coaches which may all be assigned to about the 12th century A.D. The plates measure each about 9½ inches by 3-5/8 inches and are written on both sides, except the first one the outer face of which is left blank. The outer face of the last plate bears faint traces of writing. They are all strung together with a copper ring about 3/8 inch thick and 4-3/4 inches in diameter, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular seal about 2-5/8 inches in diameter. The seal is completely worn out except for the faint traces of a couchant bull facing the proper right. The left hand corner of the first plate is torn off including the ring-hole. Consequently the first plate is found loose and a few letters at the beginning of the first three lines of the inscription are lost. Portions of the first side of the seventh plate have been erased and re-written. The letter writing seems to have been done after the set of plates had been strung and sealed as the particular plate bears traces of having been torn off from the set and re-inserted after re-writing as the twist in the plate has only been levelled up and not soldered. Palaeographically the letters themselves seem to be of a little later period, as may be seen from a few of them such as *kku* (lines 104 and 105), *sa* (line 105), etc. The whole set weighs 320 *tolas* with the ring and seal and 240 *tolas* without the ring and seal. The inscription on the plates is neatly executed and is in good preservation except where small portions of the sheets are broken and lost in plates I, III, VIII and IX. The portions damaged and lost in the last three plates are not much, being only one or two letters on each side of them and these letters can be restored without much difficulty.

As is usual with most copper-plate grants of the Tamil country, the record consists of two parts. The first one is in Sanskrit, written in the Grantha script (lines 1-17) and the second in the Tamil language and script (lines 17-132). The usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit at the end are again in the Grantha script followed by the signatures in Tamil. The Grantha script is also used in writing some of the Sanskrit words which occur in the Tamil portion of the record.

The script used for writing the record is of an ornamental variety though not highly florid, and palaeographically may be assigned to the eighth century A.D., to which period the inscription belongs. In the Grantha script the symbol for medial *ṣ* and also for *ḍ* is not written in the form of a downward stroke on the right of the consonant, but as a zig-zag line going upwards and slanting to the right with its upper end slightly thickened. This is seen adopted even in the Grantha

¹ A. R. Ep., 1939-40, App. A, No. 9. This is the fifth copper-plate charter of King Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the other four being the Udayindiram plates dated in his 21st year (S. J. I., Vol. II, No. 74), the Kaṭakudi plates of his 22nd year (*ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 75), the Taṇḍantōṣṭam plates of his 58th year (*ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 99) and the Perattaijamaṅgalam plates of his 61st year (above, Vol. XVIII, No. 14).

letters used here and there in the Tamil portion. This form of the symbol for medial *ā* is found, though in a more ornamental form, in the inscriptions of Mahendravarman¹, of Rājasimha² and even of Paramēśvaravarman I.³ But this is found used alongside the normal form of the vertical stroke with a *talaiṅkaṭṭu* in them, while this is the only form in the Pullur plates. The use of dots (*puḷḷi*), though not uniform is noteworthy. The doubling of the consonants after *r* like *varmma* in line 7 is a peculiarity usually met with in inscriptions from the south and this is probably due to the influence of the Dravidian languages. Another peculiarity is the letter *ka* in places where it should be *ksha*; and considering that invariably in almost all the copper-plate inscriptions in the Grantha script of the period this peculiarity is found it would be right to read it only as *ksha*, taking this as its form even though it is found also correctly written occasionally.

There are a few words in the inscription which are of lexicographical interest. One such is *Bappa*.⁴ The Sanskrit portion of the grant narrates the gift of the villages as *deivajvara-bappa-bhaṭṭārakānām-aṣṭa(aṣṭāntara)-śatāya* *śalilapārcam dattvān* (lines 16 and 17) "gave with the libation of water to one hundred and eight *Bappa-bhaṭṭārakas* (who are) the best of the twice-born". The very fact that the grant registers the gift of the villages as *brahmadāya* would show that the word *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka* denotes a *Brāhmaṇa* and this is confirmed by the Tamil portion of the grant wherein this is translated as *uṭṭeyyavar uḷḷūr nar-pō(r)pō(r)kku brahmadēyam aruṭi-chēkēṭṭu* (line 102) "pleased to grant as *brahmadāya* to one hundred and eight *Brāhmaṇas* who are good or pure and poor".⁵ In early Tamil literature the *Brāhmaṇas* are generally referred to only by the term *pārppār*. The use of this term *pārppār* in the Tamil portion as against the word *Bappa* in the Sanskrit portion seems to suggest a possible connection of the one with the other, though the process of their derivation cannot be determined. *Bhaṭṭāraka* means a chief; and *Bappa-bhaṭṭārakāḥ* means evidently chief *Brāhmaṇas*.

The term *paradatti* (line 112) is another word of interest. It occurs as *paradatti śeydada*, meaning *paradatti* was made. The term *paradatti śeyyadu* occurs in the Bāhūr plates of Nripa-tuṅga,⁶ wherein it has been translated as "the grant was made". The same term slightly changed into *paradatti* is used in the Kaṭākkudi plates of Nandivarman II⁷ and the Völūrpaṭṭayam plates of Nandivarman III⁸ as also the Anbil plates of Sundara Chōḷa,⁹ in the last of which it is written as *paradatti*. The word *paradatti* would mean either a gift to a third person or a gift made by a third person. It is used in the latter sense in the imprecatory verse '*śradattām paradattām vō*,' usually found in many of the records. The copper plates mentioned before wherein the word *paradatti* occurs also appear to record the gifts made by the subordinate chiefs of village within the region over which they were holding sway, and the orders of the monarchs were more or less in the nature of ratification of these gifts. As such the word *paradatti* may be taken as a gift made by some person other than the king.

Another word of interest that occurs in the plates is *ettarav* which is prefixed to the name of all the donees of the grant after the mention of their respective *gotras*, *vītras* and villages. In

¹ Inscriptions at Mahendravarāṭi (above, Vol. IV, Plate facing p. 152), at Talavāṅṇūr (ibid., Vol. XII, Plate facing p. 226) and at Śrīraṅgaṅḍam (ibid., Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 320).

² Kailāsanātha Temple Inscriptions (Text S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 24; Plate, ibid., Vol. II, p. 249).

³ Kōraṇ plates (Text S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 151; Plate, ibid., Vol. II, p. 312).

⁴ For the use of the words *Bappa* and *Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka* see Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 351. Also see C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, pp. 6-8.

⁵ The same expression *uḷḷūr nar-pōppār* occurs also in the Paṭṭattāṭṭamḍalam and Tanḍattāṭṭam plates of the monarch. See above, Vol. XVIII, p. 119; S. I. I., III, p. 321, l. 37.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 12.

⁷ S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 323, l. 133.

⁸ Ibid., p. 509, text, l. 53.

⁹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 65 text-line 185.

Tamil literature the word is used in the sense of a resident of the Vataa country.¹ But it is not used in that sense here. A reference to the context would show that it is a Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *astavya* meaning 'a resident of'.²

The Sanskrit portion of the record commences with an invocation to Śiva (verse 1). It then goes on to praise in general terms the Pallava kings who came in the lineage of Pallava whose ancestry is traced from the *Brāhmaṇa* Bharadvāja through Drōṇa and Drauṇi or Aivattāman (verses 2 to 4). Nandivarman born of that line became king (verse 5). He is described as Viṣṇu, being the lord of the wealth (Śrī) and of the earth, as Svāmi (Mahāsena or Kumāra) being the bearer of *Sakti* (power), as the sun with lustre though his rays were soft, and his rule is stated to have extended as far as the sea. This verse which is in double entendre may be interpreted as follows: He was (or bore the name) Śrī Vallabha; he obtained his kingship with the might of his arm, [he was acknowledged as (suzerain) king by others because of his power] and his taxation was mild. The next verse (verse 6) says that his orders were obeyed by the Kēraja, Chōja, Pāṇḍya, Maṇava Kaṭabha, Bāpa, Āndhra, Saṁdhava, Śāntavāṅkorrava,³ Gaṇḍa and Kadamba kings. Then follows a prose passage in Sanskrit which mentions that once when the king was seated in the audience hall surrounded by courtiers and princes, at the request of **Avanichandra Yuvarāja**, the lord of Viṭṭalapura and devoted to the Pallava, the king made the grant of four villages Nelli, Pullār, Kuṇḍiyūr and Takkār, situated on the southern bank of Cheyāra in the Paṅkudā-kōṭṭaka and Kijavēṇāṭaka, clubbed together into one unit and renamed *Nayadhīramaṅgalam* after the king's surname *Nayadhīra* to one hundred and eight *Brāhmaṇas*, making his minister Nāgaśarma *Brāhmādhīraja*, the executor of the grant. The minister is described as the *Bṛihaspati* in person and well versed in the science of weapons and warfare.

The Tamil portion of the grant says that in the **thirty-third regnal year Vijaya Nandivarman**, on the petition of **Avanichandra-Iṭṭavāṇ**, the king granted as *brāhmādēyam* the four villages of Nelli, Pullār and Kuṇḍiyūr of Kijavēṇāṭu and Takkāru of Maṇalikuṇḍa-nāḍu in Paṅkudā-kōṭṭam with *Brāhmādhīraja* as executor (*āpatti*) to one hundred and eight poor and good (or pure) *Brāhmaṇas* (*pār*ippār*) whose names are mentioned therein (see table below).

The boundaries of the gift villages according to the headman (*vīṇar*) of the *nāḍu* or the district are then given.⁴ This is followed by the *parihāras* or exemptions granted to the donees to be enjoyed by them. The date of the grant, 33rd year, 330th day (in the reign) of the king is then given. The usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit are then found, followed by the signatures of those responsible for the drafting and execution of the document on copper.⁵

It is generally considered that Nandivarman was a great devotee of Viṣṇu.⁶ But this grant begins with an invocation to Śiva. Of his other grants the Paṇṇāṭṭaṅgalam plates⁷ open with an invocation to Viṣṇu, while the introductory portion is lost in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates.⁸

¹ Cf. *Muvuntakūṭi*, Cantā, XV, line 62, where the king of the Vataa country is referred to as *Vatavya*.

² The term *astavya* is found mentioned in similar context in the first few names of the donees of the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman II (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 307). The editor of the plates has taken the word to mean "a resident of the Vataa country". But a careful perusal of the text would show that there also it would mean only a "resident of" thus making it a *tuṭbhava* form of *astavya*.

³ It is not clear whom this expression refers to.

⁴ The portion of the grant has been erased and rewritten and as such the reading adopted here is tentative.

⁵ A few more names of *Brāhmaṇas* written by a different hand follow the signature of *Nayadhīra-Peruṅgāṭṭu-ṭāra*. These names were perhaps left out of the main list of donees and were inserted later.

⁶ R. Gopalan, *A. History of the Pallavas of Kancī*, pp. 127-8.

⁷ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 126.

⁸ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 329.

The Udayēndiram grant,¹ which, like the present one, records the grant by Udayachandra, Lord of Vilvalapura, opens with an invocation to Śaṅkṣāiva residing on Mount Meru, i.e. Śiva. In the Kasikkunji plates² the invocatory portion contains nine verses of which the first one is in praise of *Parabrahma*, the next of Trivikrama i.e., Viṣṇu, the third of Hara (Śiva), the fourth of Trivikrama and Hara jointly, the fifth of Padmā (Lakṣmī), the sixth of Ārya (Pārvatī) and the seventh of Vināyaka. The eighth verse refers to the two-fold gods, i.e. the gods in heaven and the gods on earth (Bhūdēva) i.e. the Brāhmaṇas, while the ninth and the last verse of the section introduces the king Nandivarman, without mentioning his name but by epithets which are at the same time surnames of Brāhmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The same grant in another verse (verse 30) mentions that he worshipped the feet of Hari (Viṣṇu) while the Tapantōṭṭam plates state that he never knew of bowing down to others excepting to the pair of the worshipful feet of Mukunda (i.e. Viṣṇu). In consideration of the above it will not be quite correct to conclude that the invocatory verses of the grants are indicative of the religious leanings of the monarchs who issued the respective grants, as has sometimes been supposed. Possibly the rulers were worshippers of all gods without any distinction or more probably the invocation found in a grant depended on the nature of the gift recorded therein. The present inscription is more in the nature of a confirmation of the grant made by the heir-apparent of the chief of Vilvalapura. In view of the fact that the Udayēndiram grant registering a similar gift of *brāhmaḍēya* on the request of the chief of Vilvalapura also begins with an invocation to Śiva, we may possibly conclude that Śiva was the deity worshipped by those chiefs and that was probably the reason of the invocation to Śiva in the grant.

The inscription records that the orders of Nandivarman were obeyed by the Kāraja, Chōla, Pāṇḍya, Mālava, Kaṣabha, Bāga, Āndhra, Saindhava, Śāntavatikumvara,³ Gaṅga and Kadamba kings. This is but a conventional account given by the court poet. The Pattattāmaṅgalam plates⁴ mention that the kings such as Vallabha, Kaṣabha, Kāraja, Pāṇḍya, Chōla, Tulu, Gongaya (Konkaya) were waiting at king Nandivarman's gate for an opportunity to see him.

Nandivarman had a long reign of sixty-five years. This period witnessed the downfall and disappearance of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi, the inveterate and hereditary enemies of the Pallavas, as a political power to be reckoned with and the emergence of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in their stead. His reign which overlapped the duration of rule of more than one generation in the contemporary ruling families of the neighbouring kingdoms, was eventful and involved him in frequent warfare; and in these wars he was ably supported by his famous general Udayachandra.

The grant was made at the request of Avanichandra, the *Yuvārāja*, referred to as *Uvaradar* in the Tamil portion, and the lord of Vilvalapura. The Udayēndiram grant of the same king⁵ dated in his 21st regnal year, and thus twelve years earlier than the present one, registers the gift made by the king at the request of Udayachandra, his famous general and lord of Vilvalapura. Evidently Avanichandra was the son and heir-apparent of Udayachandra mentioned above; and his father was still ruling the principality at the time when this grant was made. An inscription from Kāñchīpuram⁶ dated in the 17th year of the reign of Nandivarman, the son and successor of Nandivarman mentions one Avanichandra who is obviously the same as the *Yuvārāja* of the present grant. If this identity is accepted, it follows that Avanichandra who was a *yuvārāja* on the date

¹ Ibid., pp. 365-66.

² Ibid., p. 246.

³ See note 3 p. 196.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 116.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. II, No. 74.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 132. See also C. Minakshi, op. cit., p. 51. Also *Ancient India*, No. 3, p. 48; *A.R. Ep.*, 1932-40 to 1942-43, pp. 224-30.

of the present grant continued to serve till after the 17th year of the reign of Nandivarman. If the reigns of Nandivarman Pallavamalla who ruled for 65 years and his successor Nantivarman who ruled for more than 50 years do not overlap, it may be surmised that Avanichandra served the Pallavas for not less than 50 years. Evidently Avanichandra was young and had been installed as *guvarāja* just before the date of the present grant.

The inscription registers the grant of the village of Nayadhīranmaṅgalam which was newly created by clubbing together the four existing villages as a *brahmadēya*. It is generally taken that the term *brahmadēya* stands for a tax-free gift of land and village to Brāhmanas. But among the *paribhāsa* or immunities granted to the donees of the present grant there occurs the term *pannic-āṭṭai-kkaraṭ-ṟiṭamēyem*, i.e. the non-payment of the tax (*kara*) for (a period of) twelve years.¹ The word *kara* evidently is derived from the Sanskrit *kara* and means the land-revenue as distinct from the other taxes and fees payable for citizenship (*kuṭi-ṟaṭ*), as will be evident from the Śilappadikāram.² From the above it has to be presumed that a *brahmadēya* village also had to pay some tax, though not from its inception, at least after some years.³ Evidently such villages had ordinarily to pay only the land-revenue due to the state and not the other dues payable to the local authorities or assemblies. They were free to conduct their own affairs without any interference from others; and this will become clear from the prohibition contained in the present grant (lines 120-21) that the district officer *nāḍikkōṭṭuṭ* (literally protector of the *nāḍu*), and the headman (*ṟiṭarōṭ*) should not enter the village, and the stipulation that the functions of such officers should be performed by the donees and their descendants. It is also stated therein (lines 123-25) that the *brahmadēya* was formed after proclaiming the villages as belonging to them (i.e. the donees) after removing the wheel (*ṟiṭi*, i.e. the wheel of authority) fixing (the boundary-stones) and planting *kūṭa* or the East Indian Arrow-root (*Curcuma angustifolia*). The Paṭṭattāṭṭamaṅgalam plates⁴ employ in this context the expression *kōṭam paṟiyam tīraṇḍu* meaning 'having removed the authority of the king and his officers'.

The usual formula of circumambulating the gift village with a female elephant in fixing boundaries found in other documents is not found in this record. The marking of the boundaries is usually expressed '*kaṭṭum kaṭṭiyum nāṭṭi*' 'planting stones and milk bush'. The Kaṭṭakkūṭi plates have *kaṭṭu*, i.e. *karikāṭṭikkūṭi* (*Helipteris prostrata*), a useful medicinal plant known as *Bhṛīngarājā* in Sanskrit. The present plates mention the planting of the East Indian Arrow-root along the boundaries (line 124).

¹ The term *pannic-āṭṭai-kkaraṭ*, literally meaning twelve-year-tax, may also be interpreted as a tax payable every twelfth year or the tax consolidated for twelve years. But they are constrained interpretations and do not fit in.

² Kāṭai 23, line 127: *Karukāṭṭa iṟamēyē*. See also *Maṇiakkūṭi*, Kāṭai 19, line 161. *Karupōr-ṭṭāṭṭa cāchirōṭṭiṭṭam*.

³ This view is in a way strengthened by the Tirumālur inscription of the time of Maḍurūcaka Uttama-chōḷa (S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 142). Some land in Sirriyāṭṭu, in Maṇayil-nāḍu, a sub-division of Maṇayil-kōṭṭam was granted in the 31st regnal year (891-92 A. D.) of Tondamān-Āṭṭōṭ-tuṭṭa Uḍaiyār (Āḍitya I) as a *dāṇ-dāṇ-brahmadēya* to the *mūḍa* of Veṇuppākkam, another *brahmadēya* village in the Paṇḍi-nāḍu of the same *kōṭam* with the stipulation that the latter should remit annually the produce and gold due from them as tax to the temple of Maḍāḍēra at Tirumālperu. Though a *ḍāṇa* was drawn up in the next year, no entry was made in the accounts as such, which mistake was rectified in the 4th regnal year (910-11 A. D.) of Parakāśavarman who took Maḍurū and Īṭam (i.e. Paṇḍitaka I). In the 30th regnal year (942-43 A. D.) of the latter, the *dāṇa* from Veṇuppākkam was increased as a result of a fresh grant. The village assembly did not remit the new items regularly and so the temple authorities lodged a complaint with Uttamachōḷa when he was at Kāñchīpuram, who after due enquiry, fined the village assembly and restored the grant to the temple in the 14th year (983-84 A. D.) of his reign. From this inscription which registers the success of one remission during the period of nearly one century it will be seen that payments were being made even by *brahmadēya* villages.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 127, (l. 36-37).

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 332, line 116. The editor has corrected the reading into *kaṭṭi* and translated it as *milk-bush*.

The manner in which the *brahmalēya* is said to have been granted is described as *sāmānya irandu-paṭṭi-ppadiyāl* (lines 110-11 and 125). This term occurs not only in the Kaṣṣkuḍi plates¹ but also in the Paṭṭattāṁgaṅgālam plates of the king.² That *paṭṭi* is a term of land measurement will be clear from the facts that the Kūraṁ plates³ of Parameśvaravarman I refers to the sale of five and a quarter *paṭṭi* of land (*ayindikāl paṭṭi nilamum eṇṇukondu* in I. 62) and that one *paṭṭi* measured one thousand two hundred *kūṭis* of land (*āyirutiṇṇūṇṇa-kkūṭippadiyāl vira-lāṇḍa nilam* in II. 59-60). Thus the term *sāmānya irandu-paṭṭi-ppadiyāl* occurring in the present grant has to be translated as "measured (as having) two ordinary *paṭṭis* (per share)". This would mean that each share consisted of two thousand and four hundred *kūṭis* of land.⁴

It is also stated in lines 111-12 that the *paradatti* was made by the king who was pleased to order that the *pāyohāṭṭu* and the *paradatti* should proceed according to the measure. The compound *pāyohāṭṭu*, not found elsewhere, is made up of two words *pāl* and *hāṭṭu*. The word *pāl* is used in Tamil literature in the sense of a share, portion or division and even apportionment while the other *hāṭṭu* in the sense of put on, wear, or bear. Evidently the word *pāyohāṭṭu* should be taken to mean the effecting or entry of the division or apportionment of the land and village granted.

As usual the grant of the village as a *brahmalēya* is said to have been made inclusive of all *parihāras* or immunities and a large number of such *parihāras* are also mentioned. Of the seven copper-plate grants of the Pallava kings so far obtained having both Sanskrit and Tamil portions, with the exception of the Bāhār plates which record the gift of the village as *brahmalēya* for the benefit of an educational institution, all the other six⁵ register gift to the Brāhmanas, and everyone of them contains a list of *parihāras* granted to the donees. But no two lists agree, even though we have quite a number of names common to them. Of the *parihāras* mentioned in the present grant many are found in the Kaṣṣkuḍi plates of the same monarch. There are also a few new ones.

The first item among the *parihāras* granted in *kōṇḷ-castu-chekekku* (line 113). The term oil-mill (*sekku*) is usually found separately or along with the term handloom (*taṇi*). But here it forms part of the compound as will be evident from the addition of the consonant *ch*. The word *castu* in the compound is evidently the other form of *ēṣṭu*, meaning a building site. Thus the entire term would mean the oil-mill put up on the temple site.

The list contains another word similarly ending with *castu*, occurring in line 115, *uḷavai paṭṭi-castu*. In the Kaṣṣkuḍi plates we have the term *uḷavay-paṭṭi-vattu* (line 129). Hultzsch left the term untranslated with a foot note⁶ stating that the term "contains the words *uḷaiyaṇ*, a servant, *paṭṭi*, a temple." Minakshi suggested⁷ that the term "would signify a tax in kind due to the king from the servants of the temple" taking the word *castu* as meaning "moveable property". But she

¹ Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 351-2, II. 107-8.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 122. The editor has read line 37 as '*kūṭipāl sāmānya irandu-paṭṭi-ppadiyāl*' with a footnote that the reading in brackets is tentative, the text being badly damaged in the original. The correct reading *kūṭipāl sāmānya paṭṭi-ppadiyāl* as given by Sri T. N. Sathakumaryan (*Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 129) is also supported by the original which I consulted at the Government Museum, Madras. See also *S. T. I.*, Vol. II, p. 359, n. 12.

³ Ibid., Vol. I, No. 151, pp. 154-55.

⁴ Even to-day in some villages especially in the Tanjore District (e.g. Udayasālūr in the Kumbakonam Taluk) holdings in the land property of the village are referred, though not officially in the records, but among villagers in terms of *paṇḍas* (shares) each *paṇḍa* comprising 2400 *kūṭis* (or 8 acres).

⁵ Kūraṁ plates of Parameśvaravarman I. Kaṣṣkuḍi plates. Paṭṭattāṁgaṅgālam plates. Taṇḍantōṭṭam and Pullūr plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Bāhār plates of Nripataṅga and Vellūrpalaiyam plates of Nandivarman III. The Udayeniliraṁ plates are only in Sanskrit, and not in Sanskrit and Tamil.

⁶ *S. T. I.*, Vol. II, p. 361, n. 3.

⁷ C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social life under the Pallavas*, p. 89.

was more inclined to take the word *uḷayray-paḷḷi* as the name of "a hamlet of the main village which was granted" thus making the term refer "to all kinds of income from the hamlet". The word *paḷḷi* is generally taken to mean the temple of a faith other than Brahmanical. If *uḷayray* occurring in the Kaṭṭikkudi plates and *uḷay* occurring in the present record can be taken as a corruption of *uḷaiṭai* which is probably connected with the word *uḷai* meaning suffering and pain, the term *uḷaiṭai-paḷḷi-vaṭṭu* may be taken to mean 'the site for the Jaina temple' as suggested by the *Tēṇṭram* hymns which always deride the Jains as those who undergo unnecessary suffering and pain.¹ This interpretation is perhaps closely connected with the statement in the Udayandiram plates,² of the same monarch wherein he is said to have made a gift expropriating the land from those "whose observances were not in accordance with the law (*aṇṇa-adha* [?] *jama krityān-cināṇya*)."

Two other terms, *uṇikkāṇam* and *paṇikkāṇam* (line 116), closely following the above also appear to have something to do with the heterodox religious faiths. The word *uṇi* means a sling made up of ropes or strings to carry utensils, etc.; and the *Tēṇṭram* hymns contain references to the practice of the Jaina monks carrying their water pots *kuṇḍigai* in such slings.³ The other word *paṇi* means to pluck out as of a leaf. The practice of the Jaina monks performing the ceremony of plucking out the hair from their bodies periodically is well-known; and it is also referred to in the *Tēṇṭram* hymns in which the word *paṇṭai* is used to indicate this practice.⁴ Thus these two terms should refer to the taxes payable by the Jaina monks for carrying their water pots in slings and for performing the ceremony of plucking out their hair respectively.

Two other terms *aṇṇapāṭi-taṇḍam* and *ḷeyṇ-pōguch-chiṇḍa paṇ* which precede the two terms discussed in the last paragraph are found after the term *uḷaiṭai-paḷḷi vaṭṭu* (lines 115-116). The first term means the fine (payable) by those who transgress the *dharma* or remain outside the pale of the law. The terms *apukaraṇai-taṇḍam* and *adhikaraṇai-taṇḍam* are found mentioned separately in the same grant (lines 111-115). These two terms are also mentioned in the Kaṭṭikkudi plates⁵ and they are taken to refer to judicial fines. As such the term *aṇṇa-paṇi-taṇḍam* may be interpreted either as indicating the fine on those who transgress the social or religious law or as the tax payable by a heretic. It is found at times in the imprecatory portion of the Tamil grants that those who hinder or obstruct the continuance of the grant so made, go outside the pale of the "law or *dharma* (*aṇṇattukku-pṇṇattay āvaṇ*)" in which context it will only mean heretics. Here also probably the term means a penal levy or impost payable by a heretic. The other term *ḷeyṇ-pōgu-chiṇḍa paṇ* would mean "the superior gold exclusive of the making". Probably the word *ḷeyṇ*, meaning the making would indicate the process of refining gold and the wastage incurred thereby. Probably gold refining was done at the place in those days. The mention of this item along with the other taxes payable by those professing faiths other than the Brahmanical one may be taken to indicate that those engaged in the profession were also Jaina.

It may appear rather strange that such taxes on people of a heretical faith should figure in a grant registering the gift of a *brahmadēya*. Possibly the tenants of the grant-villages included also people professing the heretical faiths. By the *parihāra* bestowed on them, it looks as though the donors were also entitled to collect the taxes, etc. payable to the king by the existing tenants.

Sāḍippon is another term (line 114) mentioned among the *parihāras* granted. The word *sāḍi* was used in those days to denote an earthen vessel, a jar. The tax being payable in gold (*paṇ*)

¹ *uṇi tāḍi uḷṭaṇḍal*.

² *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 366, l. 75.

³ Appar, *Tiruvudigai-vēṇṭraṭṭam*, 6th *Tirumurai*, *ḷaittiruṇḍaṇḍam* v. 8; see also, Sambandar, 3rd *Tirumurai*, *Tirumalapaḍi*, v. 10.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, v. 11; also Sambandar, 1st *Tirumurai*, *Tiruvappāmalai*, v. 10.

⁵ *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 353, ll. 128-29; p. 361, n. 2.

it cannot be taken to mean an ordinary mud-pot, but one with some special significance. Evidently it denotes the *mudu-makkai-chāḍi*, the jar or urn of the old people. It appears from classical Tamil literature that in the early period the entombing and burying the body in an earthen vessel (*tāḷi*) was one of the methods of disposing the dead.¹ Tamil literature of the mediaeval period shows that very old and feeble people were kept in the *mudu-makkai-chāḍi* and cared for.² The commentary of Nachchinārkinīyār on the *Takkēppuṇam* attributes to the Ājivikas the practice of 'entering the *tāḷi* for penance until death'.³ Very likely *tāḍi-ppuṇ* of the present grant indicates the tax in gold payable on such jars.

Another of the *parihāras* mentioned in the record is *hirāmanickcha-kkūṇam* (line 117). The same is found as *hirāmaṇa-rāsa-kkūṇam* in the Kaṣākkudi plates.⁴ This was interpreted by Hultzsch as "the share (*kkūṇam*) of the Brāhmanas and of the king". K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar explains the term as "the tax of (one) *kkūṇam* on the profits of the Brāhmanas" taking the word as made up of the words *Brāhmanar* and *āśakkūṇam*.⁵ Minakshi explains it as "the tax payable by the Brāhmanas (priests) of the king", taking the compound word as indicating both the payer and the payee.⁶ But it is to be noted that no other example can be cited for this practice of using such an expression to indicate both the payer and the payee. On the other hand it is found from the Kaṣākkudi plates that the grant of the Koḷukoḷli village as *brahmadāya* was made by the king on the petition of a person who is described as *Brāhmanyavarāṭṭar* in Tamil (line 106), and *Brahmayavarāja* in Sanskrit (line 103). This name which appears more as the designation of an officer than as a personal name would suggest the existence of another office with the name *Brahmarāja*. It may also be noted in this connection that the executor (*śruti*) of the grant now under publication was *Brahmādhirāja*. It is also seen that a certain *Brahmādhirāja*, evidently the executor himself, figures among the donees and got four shares, the largest number, in the grant village. But what exactly was the status of the person or the nature of the office is not known. In later days, especially during the period of the Imperial Chōlas of Tanjāvūr and the Pāṇḍyas of Maḍurai, this title was borne by the Brāhmana ministers of the kings who were holding responsible military offices. Very likely they were also ruling over some fiefs. It is possible that the term under consideration may be taken to indicate a chief among the Brāhmanas. Therefore if the terms *Brahmarāja* and *Brahmādhirāja* can be connected with *hirāmanarāja-kkūṇam* as discussed above it may be taken to mean the tax payable to such a person.

The term *pattūr-śchāṭṭu* occurs both in the present grant (line 115) as well as in the Kaṣākkudi plates (line 129). Hultzsch left it untranslated. Minakshi took the term as *śāṭṭavari* and meaning the tax on toddy yielding trees of Pattūr, which was perhaps a hamlet of the village.⁷ But the occurrence of the term in the present grant makes it difficult to take Pattūr as a hamlet of Koḷukoḷli. Further if the word intended is *śāṭṭu* meaning toddy, then the term should really be *Pattūr śāṭṭu*, without the doubling of the consonant. Hence the latter half of the word should be taken only as *śāṭṭu* meaning 'proclamation'. The first half of the word would then mean only ten. The whole word would probably mean proclaiming by beat of tom-tom in the (surrounding) ten villages.

Another *parihāra* mentioned in the grant is *kāl-kāṭṭipāmai* (line 119). The same is also found in the Kaṣākkudi plates (line 131) where this has been translated as non-payment of the fourth

¹ K. R. Srinivasan "The Megalithic Burials and Urn fields of South India in the light of Tamil Literature and Tradition" in *Ancient India*, No. 2.

² *Vidyaśāṭṭam Uṭṭa*, lines 14-16.

³ *Ancient India*, op. cit., p. 15.

⁴ *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 300.

Historical Sketches of Ancient India, p. 346.

Op. cit., p. 74.

Op. cit., p. 80.

part of the trunk.¹ The expression *kāḷkottu* should be taken to mean the digging of a channel. Evidently a tax was levied in those days when new channels were dug for irrigating fields. The donees of the present grant were obviously exempted from such payment.

Of the places mentioned in the present grant, Pallūr, one of the four villages granted is the same whetfrom the plates were discovered. The other three villages are all near by. The Chāyāru still flows in the North Arcot District and the Palkunnam, the headquarters of the *Kōṭam* bearing the same name is also in the same district and figures in many inscriptions.

TEXT²

[Metres: Verses 1, 3, 4 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 2 *Śaḍḍharā*; verses 5, 6, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*]

First Plate

- 1* {dva}ś-Śānikari(ṭ) mūrttiś-śāśānīś-śānikura-śāśharā [| *] pratipad-dīna-paryantē sandhy-śra sakalānātā [| | 1*] Bhāradvājō dvijātī-
- 2 ————— ṇakṛī(d*)-Drōṇa śāś(d*)-Drōṇā(d*)-Draugī eva-bāṇa-khaṇa-rapa-śamitā- [kṣha]tra³-chakrō babhūva[|] tasmād-ucchaya(ucchaya)-
- 3 ————[th]utara- prithivī(vī)-vallabhaḥ Pallav-ākhyah kalyah kalyāṇa-rāśiś-chalita-kali-mala-prōllasat-kīrtit-āśi [| | 2*]
- 4 Pallavāt=Pallavō vaimāḥ śrōyān kṛi(ṣṭi)mān-mahān-abhūt [| *] kṛita-sthītir-udagrāṇa(vā)m= uparyy=ucchaya(ucchaya)-mma-
- 5 hī(hī)bhṛitām [| | 3*] Yasmīn-mūṇa-mahāstambha-ti(ni)śchalasthītaya-sthirāḥ [| *] jāta-jāta-sarad-dāna-dha(dhā):ś-dha(dhā)śandra-ku-
- 6 śjarā[h*] [| | 4*] Tasmīn-bhūtibhṛidī(d=)śvarō Bali-ripurāśō(-kṣhō)hī-śrīyō vallabhaś= svām(mī) śaktidharaḥ param-niḍa-kurō rājā
- 7 ccha (cha) bhāṣvāḥ jvalan | vāś-pāṭita-bhūri-sāra-vanūdhō ratnākaraḥ Pallavō vaimā sam-prati Nandivarmma-ṇṇi-
- 8 pati[h*] prakhyāta-nām=ābhavai [|] [| 5*] Yō-yadi Kāraja-Chōja-Pāḍya-Majavaiḥ Kāja-bhru-Bāp-ādhipaiś=Āndhrū-

Second Plate, First Side

- 9 a=Śaindhava-Śāntavāṇikuravarait-Gaṇgaib Kadambai(tūbō)śvarai[h*] | ugr-ōdagra-samagra-vigraha-bhāya-vyagra-chyuta-pragrahaśr-ugrād=a-
- 10 rechhita-śāśanaḥ prithu-vaśah(śāḥ) śrōyān-śāśān kṣhītām [| || 6*] Sa ta kadāchid-rāja-rāja-[nitya-p]ād-ōpaṭvi-rāja-
- 11 ka-parivṛita[h*] kṛita-vyavasthā-sthāno-sthitis-tatra sthībēna paraś-chirantat-ānanta-sāmantā-mukhya-vikhyātēna Pallavabha-
- 12 ktinā Villala-purōśvareṇa(na) Avanichandra-yuvarāja-cāmna dhārma-kṛit-ārtthadī vijñā(jña)ptō datta-taśa(ścha)na-

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 361.

² From inked impressions.

³ The broken portion may be restored as *Śruti śrī* [| *] *Pāḍā*.

⁴ The *anvaya* is superfluous.

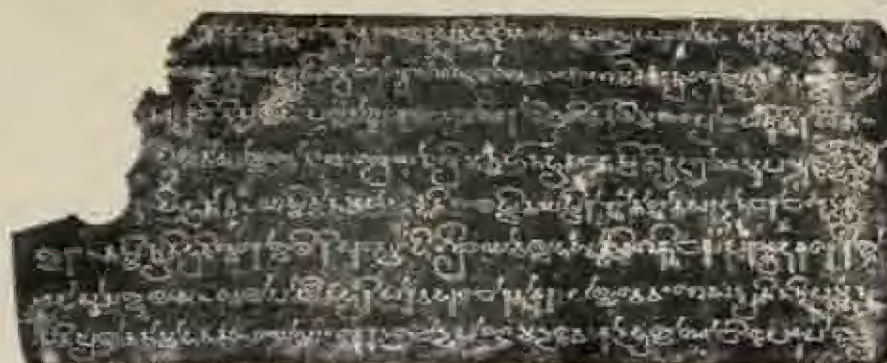
⁵ The *śāśa* of this word is the only instance in the whole inscription in which it looks like *śāśa*. In all other cases it resembles *śāśa*. Cf. *S. I. I.*, II, p. 346 n. 14.

2

4

6

8



2

4

6

8

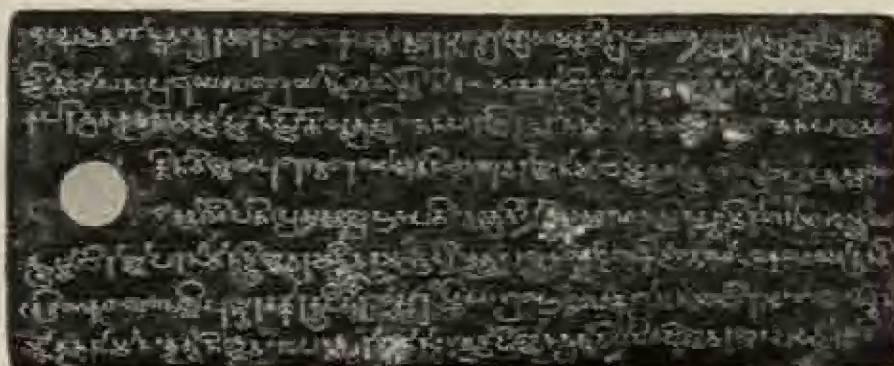
ii, a

10

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14

16



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14

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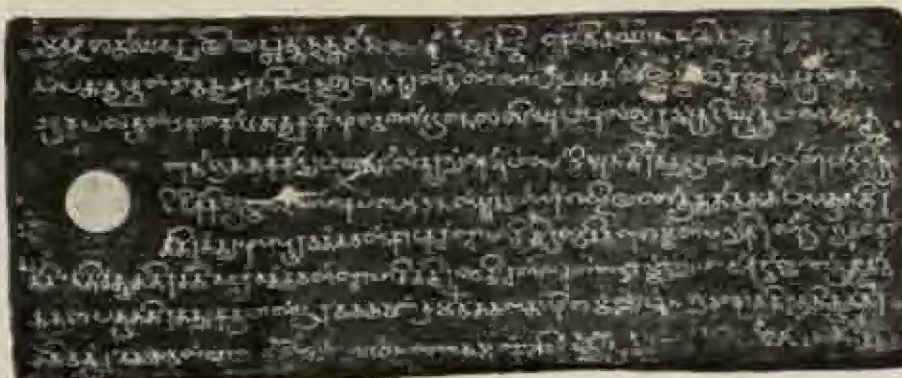
ii, b

18

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iii, a

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iv, a

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iv, b

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v, a

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- 13 taho(ksk5)gipatiḥ pratyatehaksha, -Br̥haspatiḥ taho(ksa)tra-vidyā-[vi]chataha(ksa)nam=
atahakshi(?)savāmi-rāga¹-Nāgaśatrumāpa-
14 m=Brāhmādhiraḥ-āpara-nāmāna²=divijavara-mantrivaram=ājñaptim kṛtvā Palkunda-kōṭṭakē
Kil-Vēṇātakē Chāyāru-nadi-
15 dakshina-kūḷa Nelli-Pullūra-Takkāra-Kuḍiūra³-chatur-grāmi-saṁgrahēn=aikagrāman=Naya-
dhīramarūgalam āva-nā-
16 muḥ-kṛta-nāmānaḥ kṛtvā nija-vahsā-parampar-āgatānām śuddhābhijana-vṛitta-vidyānām
divijavara-Bappa-bhaṭṭārakūṇa-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 17 m-ashja(ashōttura)atāya ssa(sa)lila-pūrvvan=dattavān (M. Svasti []*) K5-Viśa(jai)ya Nan-
divarmma(x*) ku yā[ḡ]du mu-
18 ppattu mūṅgrāvaḍu Avanichandra-Ṭavarasāṇ-viṇṇappattāl Brāhmādhiraḥ-āṇatti
19 āga Palkunṇa-kkōṭṭattu=kKilvēṇāṭṭu Nelliya Pullūru⁴=Kuḍiyūru[m*] Maṇalaiku-
20 la-nāṭṭu=tTakkāṇu in-nālgūru⁵=kōvum poriyu=tirttu muṇ porāmai māṭṭi ku-
21 ḡi-nikki brāhmādhīyam=āga=pperra nālgūr-nar=pāppār Śaṇḍila-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūttira-
22 ttira⁶*t-Uḷappār-vattavan Kāṭaka=chechōmāśi Tiru(Tri)vēdi Kūla-śarmmaṇ paḷḡira=ḡḡu |
ikkō-
23 ttiratt=ichchōttiratt=ivvūr-vattavan Śōmāśi=tTiru(Tri)vēdi Śaṇṇa-Kallāśarmmaṇum | Bhā-
radvāja-gōtratt=Āva-
24 ttamba-sūttirattu=kKumṇāḍūr-vattavan Kramavittan Tāḷśarmmaṇum | ik-kōttiratt=
i[eh*]chōttira-
25 tt=ivvūr-vattavan Yajña[k]āḷśarmmaṇum Gautama-k5(gō)ttiratt Prāvachana-sūttirattu=kKā-
vapūr-vatta-

Third Plate, First Side

- 26 vaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Uḷudamaṇḍāśarmmaṇum | ik-kōttiratt=i[eh*]chōttiratt=ivvūr-vattavan
Tiṇḍa-Pūdi(Bhūti)-Vā-
27 paśarmmaṇum | Tā(Nā)rāyaṇa-k(gō)ttiratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu=kKāyāḡu-vattavan Kramavi-
ttan Bhavaśarmma-
28 ṇum | Parāśara-gōtrattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Ārar(rūr)-vattavan Śaṇḍāṅgavi Kūḷāśar-
mmaṇum | Kāyapa-k(gō)tra-
29 tt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu=kKulaputti(ra-vattavan)⁷ Maṇiya=tTiru(tri)vēdi Vēṭpaḷiyum | ik-kō-
ttiratt=ich-chūt-
30 ttiratt=ivvūr-vattavan Śaṇḍāṅgavi Dēvaśarmmaṇum | ik-kōttiratt=ichchōttiratt=ivvūr-vatta-
van Śaḍa-
31 āgavi Śivapūdi(Bhūti)śarmmaṇum | Bhāradvāja-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu=chChōḷaiyūr-
vattavan

¹ Read akāśaḥ savāmi-rāga.

² Read Kuḍiyūru.

³ These three letters are superfluous.

⁴ The punctuation mark adopted in the plates at the end of the donors' names looks like a dot followed by a tapering line.

⁵ See lines 50-61 below.

⁶ DGA/61

- 32 Kandaṣaṣarmamam | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūttiratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Nārāyaṇa-Dōṣaṣarmamam | ik-kō-
 33 tratt=ich-chūttiratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Kandaṣaṣarmamam | Bhāradvāja-gōtrattu Prāvachana-sūtrattu=kKāva[nū]r-vatta-
 34 ...ti vēdi Nārāya(ṇa)ṣaṣarmamam | Āviraṣṭa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu Śiṣekkūr-vatta-
 vaṇ Bhaṭṭaṇ Kandaṣarmamam.

Third Plate, Second Side

- 35 [M] | [ik]-kōtratt=ich-chūttiratt=[I]vūr-vattavaṇ Tiraṣaṣarmamam | ik-kōtratt=ich-
 chūtratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Kuṇṇa-Vōṭpai-
 36 yam | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūttiratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Kaṇamam[da*]ṣarmamam | Ātraya-gōtrattu Vāṣṇa-sūtrattu Vi-
 37 ṇṇūr-vattavaṇ Kumāraṣarmamam | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Kaṇṇaṣarmamam |
 Kaudika-go-
 38 ttiratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu Uviyūr-vatta[va*]ṇ Dōṣama[n]ṇaṣarmamam | i-[k*]kōttira-
 39 (i=[ch*]-chūttiratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Vāṇḍōvaṣarmamam | i[k*]-kōtratt=
 [ch*]-chūttiratt-
 40 t=i-vvūr-vattavaṇ Kumārakaṇṇaṣarmamam | i[k*]-kōtratt=[ch*]-chūttirattu Pipara-vattavaṇ
 Dōṣaṣa-
 41 mnam | i[k*]kōtratt=[ch]chūttiratt=ivvūr-vatta[va*]ṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Kaṇamam[daṣa-
 ṣarmamam | Vāṣa-gōtratt=Āvatta-
 42 mba-sūttirattu Va[n]hāḷka-vattavaṇ Kāḷi-Dōṣaṣarmamam | Viṣṇuvēdiḷḷa-gōtratt=Āvatt-
 amba-sūttirattu
 43 Nimbe-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Nilakaṇṇaṣarmamam | i[k*]-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chū[ti*]tiratt=
 iv-vūr-vatta(v)vaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Viṣṇu-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 44 ḍaṣaṣarmamam | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūttiratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Tāḷ[ti]ṣarmamam |
 Bhāradvāja-go-
 45 tratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu Kumārṇūr-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Uḷḍamaṇṇaṣarmamam | ik-kō-
 tratt=ich-
 46 chūtra[ttu=i*]Tadṅāra-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi-chohōmāṣi Kandaṣarmamam | Bhāradvāja-
 gōtrattu Prāvachana-sūtrattu=kKā-
 47 vaṇūr-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Kandaṣarmamam paṇḍ=irandu | Kōṇḍipa-gōtrattu Prāvachana-
 48 sūtrattu=kKāvaṇūr-vattavaṇ Śōmāṣi Akkīṣarmamam | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vū-
 49 r-vattavaṇ Śūlamam[daṣarmamam | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Vādugaṣa-
 50 mnam | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūttiratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Māda(dha)vaṣarmamam | ik-kōtratt=
 Āvattamba-sūtrattu Va-
 51 ḍipara-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Dōṣaṣarmamam | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Tiru-
 (Tri)vēdi Nārā-
 52 yaṣaṣarmamam | Kāḷika-gōtrattu Prāvachana-sūtrattu=kKāvaṇūr-vattavaṇ Chaturvēdi
 Tira-Dōṣa-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 53 śarman paṅg=iraṇḍu | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Chaturvēdi Tiṇḍa-Tājīśar-
maṇum | Kōśika-
- 54 gōtratt=Āvattamba-sū[t*]tiratt=Āgārai-vattavaṇ Maṇḍaśarmaṇum | ik-kōttiratt=ich-chū-
tirattu Mā-
- 55 gaḷūr-vattavaṇ Nāganāḍaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[eh*]-chūttiratt=Ā[r*]kkāḍu-vattavaṇ Kūja-
śarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[eh*]-
- 56 chūttirattu Māṅgaṇūr-vattavaṇ Bālaśarmaṇum | Vata-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu Ka-
- 57 [aḷ]ūr-vattavaṇ Baddirakōjīśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[eh*]-chūttirattu Abhyantī-vattā[va*]ṇ
- 58 Māda(dha)vaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[eh*]-chūttiratt=i[v*]-vūr-vattavaṇ Kāḷaśarmaṇum |
ik-kōtratt=
- 59 t=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattā[va*]ṇ Nandiśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[eh*]-chūttiratt=i[v*]-vūr-
vattavaṇ Tīru(Tri)vēdi Śava[r*]ṇaśarma-
- 60 ṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[eh*]-chūttirattu Śemppaḷi-vattavaṇ Duggaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[eh*]-
chūttirattu Kulaputti-
- 61 ra-vattavaṇ Chatirpedi(Chaturvēdi) Kājamaṇḍaśarmaṇum | Śāraṇi-gōtrattu Chhandōga-
sūtrattu=pPāḍaga-vattavaṇ Śaḍa-

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 62 āgavi Pūdi(Bhūti)śarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Uḷudra[mā]daśar-
maṇum | Māṇḍala-gōtratt=Ā-
- 63 vattamba-sūtrattu Iḷakkamūro¹-vattavaṇ Nāgaḍamaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=
- Uḷumbūr-vattava-
- 64 ṇ Śaṅga-Dōṇaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtrattu-kKombaru-vattavaṇ Uḷudamaṇḍai-
śarmaṇum [|]
- 65 Śāṃkrītyāyana-gōtrattu [H*]raṇyakōśi-chchūtrattu Kuṇḷagūr-vattavaṇ Kaṇḍaśa-
rma[ṇ]
- 66 paṅg=iraṇḍu | Bhāradvāja-gōtrattu Hiraṇyakōśi-chchūtrattu Teṇḷagūr-[vat]tava-
- 67 ṇ Kōjaka-chchōmāśi Ta(Da)ttāśarman paṅg=iraṇḍu | Śāṃkrītyāyana-gōtrattu Hiraṇya-
- 68 kōśi-chchūtrattu Kuṇḷagūr-vattavaṇ Pākkamādaśarmaṇum | Koṇḍiṇa-gōtrattu Hiraṇyakōśi-
- 69 chchūtrattu-pPāḍaga-vattavaṇ Śaṅga-Tiṇḍaśarmaṇum | Ātraya-gōtrattu Hiraṇyakōśi-chchū-
trattu Paṇḍi-
- 70 kudir-vattavaṇ Pākkamādaśarmaṇum | Koṇḍiṇa-gōtrattu Hiraṇyakōśi-chchūtrattu
Kōvaraṇḍi-vattava-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 71 ṇ Pākkamādaśarmaṇum [] Māṇḍala-gōtrattu Hiraṇ(ṇ)yakōśi-sūtrattu Vaḷukūr-vattavaṇ
Kandaśarmaṇum |

¹ This is sometimes written as Iḷakkantipam. See *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIII, No. 240, p. 133.

² Space for one or two letters is left blank here.

- 72 Ātrēya-gōtrattu Āvattamba-sūtrattu Oṅkkaṇpākka-vattavaṇ Ṣaṭṭiśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chū-
 73 trattu Ṣaṭṭipura-vattavaṇ Kāśavaśarmaṇum | ik-kōt(ati)-ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Viahṇu-
 nandiśarmaṇum |
 74 Hārīta-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu Śā[ṇū]r-vattavaṇ Kūjaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chū-
 75 trattu Kochehaṇahēge-vattavaṇ Bhaṭṭaṇ Dīmōdiraśarmaṇ paṇḍ-irapḍu | Lōhita-
 76 gōtrattu Pravachapa-sūtrattu=tTūrpil-vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Tammaśarmaṇum | ik-
 77 kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Kumāraśarmaṇum | Kāśyapa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-
 sūtrattu-kKā-
 78 rambiēchēḍu-vattavaṇ Ṣaṇṇaśarmaṇum | Paśīśara-gōtrattu Pravachapa-sūtrattu-kKāva-
 nūr-vatta-
 79 vaṇ Udra(Urudra)kumāraśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Yōgēvara-
 śarmaṇum | Sāmki-

Sixth Plate, First Side

- 80 tyāyapa-gōtrattu Pravachapa-sū[ita*]ttu Vaśalūr-vattavaṇ Pūdi(Bhūti)śarmaṇum
 | Āviśṭha-gōtratt=Āvattamba-
 81 sūtrattu Irekkūr-vattavaṇ Kumāraśarmaṇum | Kāmappullūr-pPerumaḍchika Yōṣaṇ Kāṭṭi-
 kuṇi-pPa-
 82 vanāṇuṇ paṇḍ-onṇu | Kāmappullūr-kKōyilān Nūkaṇṭaṇ paṇḍ-onṇu | Bhāradvāja-gōtra-
 83 tta Chhandōga-sūtrattu=pPattāṇgi-vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Nāgaśarmaṇum | Kāśyapa-
 gōtra-
 84 tta-Āvattamba-sūtirattu-kKārambiēchēḍu-vattavaṇ Yajñaśarmaṇum | Bhāradvāja-gō-
 85 trattu Pravachapa-sūtrattu-kKāvaṇūr-vattavaṇ Kandaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt-
 86 t=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Kāḍiyuṇṇi Ṣaṇṇaśarmaṇum | Ātrēya-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtra[ttu*]
 Pāṇi-vattavaṇ
 87 Ṣaṇṇaśarmaṇum | Vāsiṣṭha-gōtrattu Pravachapa-sūtrattu Vaṇṇaṇūr-vattavaṇ Dōga-Viṇṇaś-
 armaṇum |
 88 ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Gaṇḍaśarmaṇum | Lōhita-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtra-
 tta Kāra-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

- 89 mbichēḍu-vattavaṇ Mū[r]ttīśarmaṇum | Kāśyapa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu Kāvaṇūr-
 vattavaṇ Kramavi-
 90 ttaṇ Śrī-Māda(dha)vaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtrattu-kKārambiēchēḍu-vattavaṇ
 Kramavaittaṇ Nandiśarmaṇum | i-
 91 k-kōtratt=ich-chūttī[ratt=]v-vūr-vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Kāśavaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=
 ich-chūttīatt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ
 92 Tiru(Tri)vēdi Tiṇḍaśarmaṇum | Garga-gōtrattu Āvattamba-sūtrattu Veṇḍēḍu-vattavaṇ
 [Ṣaḍa]-
 93 āgavi Vināśaśarmaṇum. | Ātrēya-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtratt=Uṣāpa-vattavaṇ Kumāra[ṣa]

v, b

72		72
74		74
76		76
78		78

vi, a

80		80
82		82
84		84
86		86
88		88

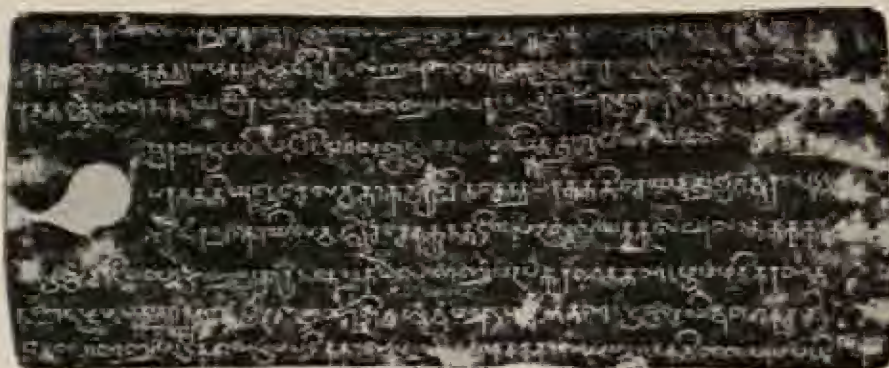
vi, b

90		90
92		92
94		94
96		96

vii, a

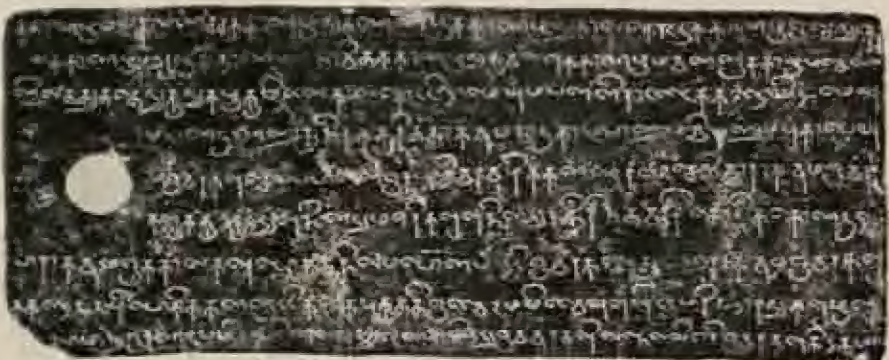
98		98
100		100
102		102
104		104
106		106

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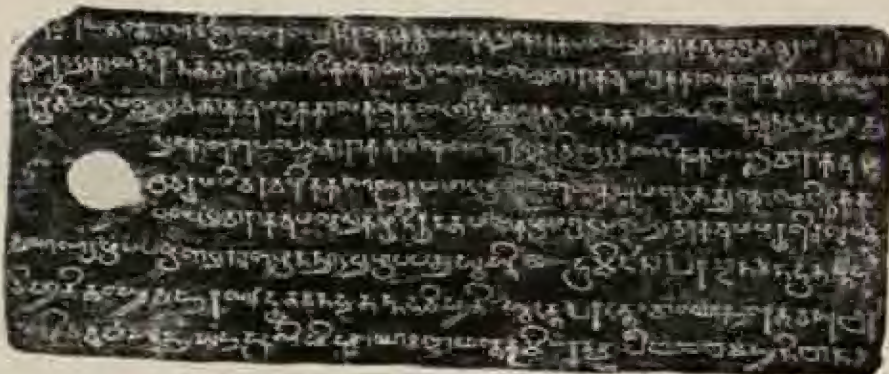
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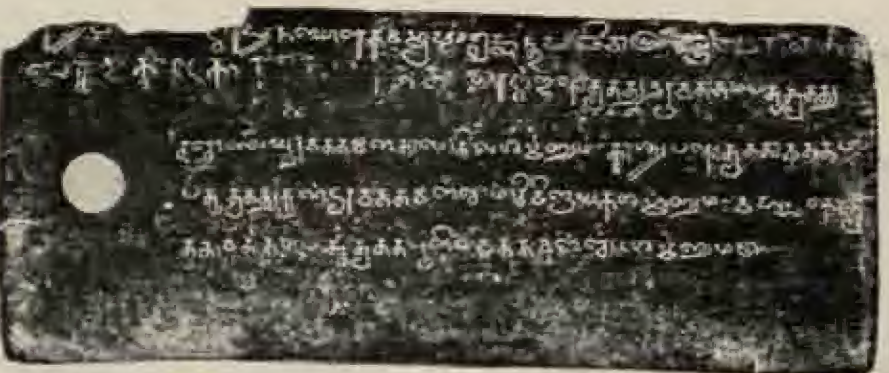
118
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138

- 94 rnaṇṇum | Kāśyapa-gōtrattu Pravaṇṇa-sūtrattu Āṅṅūr-vattavaṇ Śeṅṅiraṇ-kiṇavar (Dā)-
 95 mōḍila(dara)ṇarṇaṇ paṇṅ=iraṇḍu | Koṇḍiṇa-gōtrattu Chhandōga-sūtrattu Chentoru=vattavaṇ
 Śōmāśi-
 96 Iṇavvēṇṇai paṇṅ=iraṇḍu | Gaṇṇama-gōtrattu Pravaṇṇa-sūtrattu Kāṇṇūr-vattavaṇ Tiru-
 (Tri)vēḍi-Nara-
 97 siṅgaṇarṇaṇṇum | Bharadv[ā]ṇa-gōtrattu Vāṇṇi-sūtrattu Vāṅṅi-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṇṅavi Jōḍi-
 jūṇa-Bhaṇṇa-

Seventh Plate, First Side

- 98 [ṇum] | Kāśyapa-gōtrattu Paṇṇiḍūr=āṇṇa-Kāṇṇarṇaṇ paṇṅ=iraṇḍu | Bra[hmā]ṇṇi[ṇi]
 rājan paṇṇu nāṇṇu | Kaḍa[ṇi]-
 99 kāṇṇu-pparṇṇiṇṇai paṇṅ=ṇṇu | Śāṇṇaṇṇi-kiṇa paṇṅ=ṇṇu | Nāṇṇi-pparṇṇiṇṇai paṇṅ=
 o[ṇṇu*] |
 100 Kalivāṇṇu paṇṅ=ṇṇu | Perṇṇaṇṇi-kiṇa paṇṇu | Triṇṇaṇṇi paṇṇu | Bhagavatiyār paṇṇu
 | ivaṇṇi-
 101 tuṇṇaṇṇi paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai
 102 nūṇṇarṇaṇṇi nāṇṇu nāṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai
 103 mugaṇṇaṇṇi vaṇṇu nāṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai
 104 ṇṇu vaṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai
 105 nūṇṇarṇaṇṇi nāṇṇu nāṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai
 106 [ṇi] Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu
 107 [ṇi] Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu

Seventh Plate, Second Side

- 108 vaṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu
 109 gellai-yagattum=magappattu nūṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu
 yāṇṇi-
 110 [ṇi] Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu
 nūṇṇarṇaṇṇi
 111 iraṇḍu paṇṇi-ppaṇṇiṇṇai Brahmadāyana-āyittu [*] ippaṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇiṇṇai
 112 paṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai
 113 paṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai
 114 paṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai
 115 paṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai paṇṇu paṇṇiṇṇai
 116 nūṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu

Eighth Plate, First Side

- 117 kkaṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu Nāṇṇarṇaṇṇi paṇṇu

* This passage is defective.

* The letter pā is engraved below the line.

- 118 diy-kkāṇamum āṭṭu-kkāṇamum nāṟṇa-kkāṇamun=kuvaḷai-kkāṇamum vaṇṇā[ra*]-kkā[ṇa*]
mum veṇ-
119 pḍattu-tteṇṇuṇ=kaṇugum=ittāṇa kālkkōṭṭ=irāmeyum paṇṇir=āṭṭai=kkarai-yirāmeyu-
120 m paṇḍuṇṇu=nirkk=unittāgavum [| *] nāḍu-kōppāṇum puḍāpeya-¹
121 m ivarga] śeyappāṇa i[va*]rum=ivar=vaḷikkappārumē śeyivārāgavum[| *] ivar-
122 gaḷukku āṭṭu] nūṭṭum āṭṭaḷu] nūṭṭu=nir-inda vaḷi tōṇḷikkōṇḍu-
123 pō[vā*]rāgavum [| *] ikkāḷga] pōṇḍa nilam pōṇa māṭṭi² ivarga]ō tu[y*]ppārāgavum
[||*] ivargaḷo-
124 kk=araind=āḷi-pōgi-kkaṇ-nāṭṭi Kūḷai-puḍutti ivanṇum=ivai-yuḷḷitta pariḥārāṇḷaḷum=ūḷ
125 sāmānya irāṇḍu paṭṭi-ppaḍiyāl brahmaḍēyam=āyirū[| *] ivv=ūṇḷaḷi Nelli-āri ivargaḷ
kiḷkuma-ḷaḷ]

Eighth Plate, Second Side

- 126 . . [vi]riya=ttōṇḍināl āṇṇu nīr kōḷkum aḷavū=kōḷkapperuvāḍāgavum [| *] ivv=ūr āṇḷaḷuk-
127 ku āṭṭu[k*]kāl nīr-inda vaḷi tōṇḷikkōṇḍ=uṇṇapperuvārāgavum [| *] ikkāḷga] kōḷkalamum
128 paḷḍipōḍum peruvāḍāgavum [|] ik-kāḷga] kūḷai-erittuṇ=kūṇṇōṭṭam paṇṇiyuṇ=kūṇṇ-
aḷuttu-
129 ō=kōḷḷapperāḍārāgavum[| *] kōḷḍār Kōvīmāṭ-raḍḍikka-ppaḍuvārāgavum [|]
130 ivarum=ivar=vaḷikkappārum māḍamum māḷḷaiyūm oḷuttu[k*]kōḷḍ-āṇḷaḷa-
131 pperuvārāgavum[| *] āṇḷaḷanṇu-tamaṇṇagavum iḍapperuvār[ā*]gavum=aruḷicheḥeyā-
132 du[| *] Yāṇḍu muppa[ttu*]mūṇṇu nāl mupṇṇu mupṇḍu [| *] Svasti (m) Bhūmi-
dānāt=parat=dānam na bhūtan=na bha-
133 viśyati [| *] tasy=eva haraḷā dātam na bhūtan=na bhaviśyati [||*] Svadatt[ā*]m=para-
datt[ā*]m vā yō harāta vasundharā[m | *]
134 śaśṭṭim-varṣa(saḥa)śaṣṭrāpi śh(vi)śṭṭhāyām jāyatē kṛmī[h] || Rakṣa=āpi [h]chā dharmā-
sya nāḷḷānam-

Ninth Plate, First Side

- 135 . [raṇyapā] [vāra]py-āṇṇyōr=ēkam mṛiśṭam=grīḷṇantu pā[r*]-thivā[h*] ||
ivai Navadī[ra]
136 Per[ū]ḷāḷṭṭ[ū]kārān=ēḷuttu[| *] Bhāradvāja-gōṭṭratt=Āvattamḷa-sūtrattu-
137 -chChōḷaiyūr-vattavaṇ Dāniḍḍila(dara)śarmamum | Kāśyapa-gōṭṭratt=Āvattam-
138 ba-sūtrattu Kuṇḍūr-vattavaṇ Sāmāzi Vināyakaśarmamum | Vasa(ṭsa)-gōṭṭra-
139 ti=Āvattamḷa-sūtratṭo Pūṇiya-vattavaṇ Setṭakarmamum ||

Tenth Plate, Second Side

[Contains traces of the preface of this grant commencing from *gyuchchan* to 1. 4 to *vaṇḍapa* in 1. 16.]

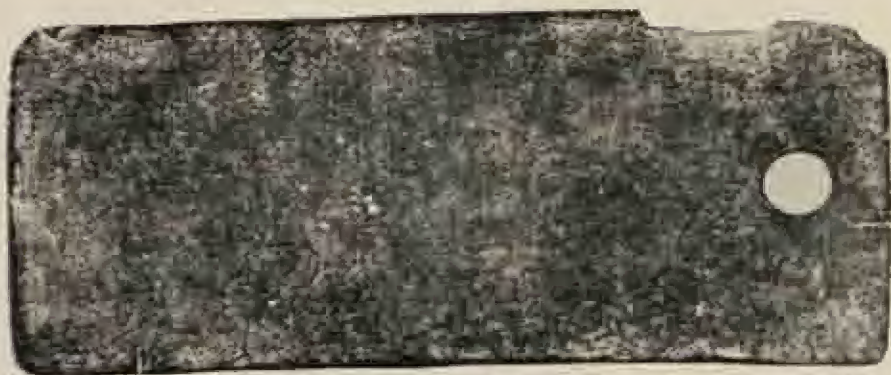
¹ Read *puḍāpeya*.

² [This may be a mistake for *per* or *pērka* māṭṭi.—Ed.]

³ The gap may be restored as *śāḷaṇḍa*.

THE PULLUR PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II PALLAVAMALLA—YEAR 33—Plate III

ix, b



Scale : One-half

SEAL



(from Photograph)



Serial No.	No. of line	Text	Śūra	Place of residence	Name	No. of alans
1	21	Saṅḍa	Avantamba	Uḷapūr	Kāṭaka-ṇ-Chomāḍi Trivēdi Kūḷaśarmaṇ	2
2	22	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ṣomāḍi Trivēdi Saṅḍa-Kaḷaśarmaṇ	1
3	24	Bhāraṇḍa	Do.	Kumārāyūr	Kṛamaṣiṭṭaṇ Tāḷaśarmaṇ	1
4	25	Do.	Do.	Do.	Yaḷḷa-Kūḷaśarmaṇ	1
5	26	Gaṇṭama	Pravāḷama	Kāraṇḍa	Trivēdi Uḷḍa-Maḷaśarmaṇ	1
6	26	Do.	Do.	Do.	Tiḍḍa-Bhūti-Vēḷpaśarmaṇ	1
7	27	Nāḷaṅḍa	Avantamba	Kāyāra	Kṛamaṣiṭṭaṇ Bhavadaśarmaṇ	1
8	28	Paṇḍura	Do.	Āra	Saḍaṅḍaṇi Kūḷaśarmaṇ	1
9	29	Kāṅḍa	Do.	Kaḷapaṭṭiṭṭaṇ	(Maṇḍa?) Trivēdi Vēṭṭaḍ	1
10	30	Do.	Do.	Do.	Saḍaṅḍaṇi Dēvaśarmaṇ	1
11	30	Do.	Do.	Do.	Saḍaṅḍaṇi Śivabūḍiśarmaṇ	1
12	31	Bhāraṇḍa	Do.	Sūḷaḷyūr	Kaṇḍa Viṇḍaśarmaṇ	1
13	32	Do.	Do.	Do.	Nāḷaṅḍa Dēvaśarmaṇ	1
14	33	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kaṇḍa Maḷaśarmaṇ	1
15	33	Do.	Pravāḷama	Kāraṇḍa	Trivēdi Nārāyaṇaśarmaṇ	1
16	34	Arivāḷa	Avantamba	Śiṇḍaḷūr	Bhūṭṭaṇi Kaṇḍaśarmaṇ	1
17	35	Do.	Do.	Do.	Tiḍḍaśarmaṇ	1
18	35	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kuṇṇa-Vēṭṭaḍ	1
19	36	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kaṇḍaṇḍaśarmaṇ	1
20	36	Āraṇḍa	Vaḷaḷ	Vaḷaḷūr	Kuṇṇaśarmaṇ	1
21	37	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kaḷaśarmaṇ	1
22	37	Kaṇḍa	Avantamba	Uḷyūr	Dēvaṇḍaśarmaṇ	1

Serial No.	No. of lines	Utters	Sutra	Place of residence	Name	No. of stanzas
33	38	Kaṇṭhika	Avastambha	Uṇḍar	Triśvādī Vāṇḍavārman	1
34	39	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kundāra Kāṇḍārman	1
35	40	Do.	Do.	Pipara	Dōṇḍārman	1
36	41	Do.	Do.	Do.	Triśvādī Kāṇḍārman	1
37	41	Vāṇḍa	Do.	Vāṇḍakam	Kāṇḍārman	1
38	42	Vāṇḍavāṇḍika	Do.	Stūḍa	Saṇḍāgarī Nīlakaṇṭhārman	1
39	43	Do.	Do.	Do.	Saṇḍāgarī Vāṇḍavāṇḍārman	1
40	44	Do.	Do.	Do.	Saṇḍāgarī Tāḍārman	1
41	44	Bhūṇḍavāṇḍika	Do.	Kanāṇḍar	Saṇḍāgarī Uṇḍa-Maṇḍārman	1
42	45	Do.	Do.	Tāṇḍar	Saṇḍāgarī Sūṇḍarī Kāṇḍārman	1
43	46	Do.	Pravachana	Kāṇḍar	Saṇḍāgarī Kāṇḍārman	2
44	47	Kāṇḍika	Do.	Do.	Sūṇḍarī Akkārman	1
45	48	Do.	Do.	Do.	Sūṇḍārman	1
46	49	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vāṇḍārman	1
47	50	Do.	Do.	Do.	Maṇḍavārman	1
48	50	Do.	Avastambha	Vāṇḍāgarī (Vāṇḍippa- ram?)	Saṇḍāgarī Dōṇḍārman	1
49	51	Do.	Do.	Do.	Triśvādī Nāṇḍavārman	1
50	52	Kāṇḍika	Pravachana	Kāṇḍar	Chaturvādī Tīṇḍa-Dōṇḍārman	2
51	53	Do.	Do.	Do.	Chaturvādī Tīṇḍa-Tāḍārman	1
52	53	Do.	Avastambha	Angārī	Maṇḍārman	1
53	54	Do.	Do.	Māṇḍar	Nāṇḍavārman	1
54	55	Do.	Do.	Āṇḍavāṇḍa	Kāṇḍārman	1

45	53	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Māṇḍapūr	Tisā (Bāḥa)śarmā	1
46	54	Vatṣa	Do.	Do.	Do.	Koṭaṇḍūr	Badrakāṭṭiśarmā	1
47	55	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Amṛtāyāṇi	Mādhavaśarmā	1
48	56	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Koṭaśarmā	1
49	57	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Nandīśarmā	1
50	58	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Trivēṇī Svayāśarmā	1
51	59	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Śrappal	Duggaśarmā	1
52	60	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kalapaṭṭaṇḍu	Chāṇḍavēḷi Kōṭaśarmā	1
53	61	Śāṇḍipal	Chāṇḍavēḷi	Do.	Do.	Pāḍagam	Śāṇḍavēḷi Dīkṣiśarmā	1
54	62	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Uṇṭa Mēḷaśarmā	1
55	63	Māṇḍala	Āvattamla	Do.	Do.	Paṅkandura (Paṅkanduraṇḍi)	Nāḍaśarmā	1
56	64	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Uḍumbār	Śāṇḍaśarmā	1
57	65	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kōmbaru	Uṇṭa Mēḷaśarmā	1
58	66	Śāṇḍikṛtyāyana	Uḍumbārakū	Do.	Do.	Kuṇḍapūr	Koṇḍaśarmā	2
59	67	Uḍumbār	Do.	Do.	Do.	Tēṇḍūr	Kāṭṭaśarmā	2
60	68	Śāṇḍikṛtyāyana	Do.	Do.	Do.	Koṇḍapūr	Pāḍaśarmā	1
61	69	Koṇḍi	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pāḍagam	Śāṇḍaśarmā	1
62	70	Āṇḍi	Do.	Do.	Do.	Paṇḍikudī	Pāḍaśarmā	1
63	71	Koṇḍi	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kōṇḍavēḷi	Pāḍaśarmā	1
64	72	Māḍala	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vēḷakū	Koṇḍaśarmā	1
65	73	Āṇḍi	Āvattamla	Do.	Do.	Oṭṭakūṭṭapakkam	Śāṇḍaśarmā	1
66	74	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Śāṇḍipam	Kōṇḍaśarmā	1
67	75	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vēṇḍavēḷiśarmā	1
68	76	Uḍumbār	Do.	Do.	Do.	Śāṇḍi	Kōṇḍaśarmā	1
69	77	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kōṇḍavēḷi	Bhāṇḍaśarmā	2

Serial No.	No. of line	Gāthā	Śāstra	Place of residence	Name	No. of shāstras
70	76	Lāhita	Prasachana	Thēppil	Trivedi Tammalarman	1
71	77	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kumārānman	1
72	78	Kātyapa	Avattambā	Kārambichchēdu	Sāggarman	1
73	79	Parāra	Pravachana	Kāvūr	Udrakumārānman	1
74	79	Do.	Do.	Do.	Yogāvarānman	1
75	80	Sāmeritayana	Do.	Vādār	Pōllānman	1
76	80	Āvishā	Avattambā	Iṣṭākūr	Kumārānman	1
77	81	..	..	Kānappādūr	Perumāṇḍilā Yōṣaṇ Kāṭṭikkōḷ- Dhavanāṇḍan	1
78	82	..	..	Do.	Nīlakaṇṭhan of Kōyil	1
79	82	Phārmatrāja	Chinnṭōḷa	Pattangī	Trivedi Nāṇḍānman	1
80	83	Kātyapa	Avattambā	Kārambichchēdu	Yōṣṭhānman	1
81	84	Blāṇṇavāja	Pravachana	Kāvūr	Kōmāṇḍānman	1
82	85	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kāṭṭiyōṇi Sannānman	1
83	86	Ārōya	Avattambā	Pāḷai	Sāggarman	1
84	87	Vāṇḍhā	Pravachana	Vengayūr	Dāṇa Vināṇḍānman	1
85	88	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kāndachēman	1
86	88	Lāhita	Avattambā	Kārambichchēdu	Mūṇ ^{re} pīṭhānman	1
87	89	Kātyapa	Do.	Kāvūr	Kōmāṇḍān Sṛi Māṇḍavānman	1
88	90	Do.	Do.	Kārambichchēdu	Kōmāṇḍān Nāṇḍānman	1
89	90	Do.	Do.	Do.	Trivedi Kāṣṇasēnman	1
90	91	Do.	Do.	Do.	Trivedi Tīrṭhānman	1
91	92	Gāḍga	Do.	Venjēdu	Sōḷṇṇayal Vināṇḍānman	1

No. 21—BUDARSINGI INSCRIPTION OF KADAMBA CHATTAYYADEVA, SAKA 1179

R. N. GURAV, Hasan

(Received on 28-9-51)

Budarsingi is a small village five miles south of Hubli and about half a mile west of the Hubli-Harihar road, in the Hubli Taluk of the Dharwar District. The present epigraph¹ is inscribed on the **Nandi-pillar**, set up outside the Hanumān temple situated to the east of the village. The writing covers an area of 2'10" by 14" and contains fifty lines. The average height of letters is two-fifth of an inch. The epigraph is in a fairly good state of preservation.

Except for one verse in lines 17-18, the inscription is in **Kannada language and characters**. The characters are regular for the period to which they belong. We may note also that all the usual orthographical peculiarities are found therein.

The epigraph starts with a *vachana* of Siddharāmanātha, which is similar to the one found in the Saṅgūr inscription.²

The inscription then gives an invocatory verse in Sanskrit (lines 17-18) and introduces the **Kadamba** chief **Chattayyadeva** with a number of titles (lines 18-32). The details of date given, viz., Śaka 1179, Pūṅgaśa-saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha-suddha 15, Ādityavāra, correspond regularly to **1257 A.D., April 29, Sunday, f.d.t. -08**. Chattayyadeva, also known as Shashthi, in whose reign the grant is dated came to power in 1246-47 A.D. Accordingly the present grant may be assigned to about the tenth year of his reign. The record refers to the temple of Kapila-Siddha-Mallikārjunaśōva at the holy place of Sonnalige (lines 33-36) and states that Chattayyadeva made a gift of the village Vuchchangi (lines 36-40) for the worship of the god Mallikārjuna; for the repairs of the temple and for the purposes of (1) *aṣṭa-saṣṭhi* (*śaṣṭhi*)-*tīrtha*-Siddha-*toṭaka*-*khanana* (2) *chatusa* (*śaka*)-*kaṭa*-*ābhishēka* (3) *nitya-hōma* and (4) *āvāsichhātra*. *Aṣṭa-śaṣṭhi-tīrtha-siddha-toṭaka*, i.e., the holy tank with sixty eight *tīrthas*, it may be observed, is credited to have been excavated at Sonnalige by Siddharāma, the famous Śaiva saint of that place.³ The grant therefore recorded in this inscription apparently was made for the repairs or the upkeep of the tank. The *chatusa-kaṭa-ābhishēka*, also seems to refer to what is described as *gōya-majjana*, by Rāghavāṅka.⁴ *Nitya-hōma* is the offering of oblations every day and the grant for *āvāsichhātra*, meant for the maintenance of the students in the temple.

We find that there is considerable similarity in the expression of words and phrases between the text of the grant and passages in the *Siddharāma-charitra*.⁵ This shows that the composer of the present record was quite conversant with Rāghavāṅka's work. The inscription ends with a reference to Siddharāma (lines 48-50).

The temple of Kapilaśiddha Mallikārjunaśōva was constructed by Siddharāmanātha in Sonnalige, i.e., the modern Sholapur. Sonnalige is described in the inscription as *abhimūsa*

¹ This is referred to by Dr. Fleet in *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. 4, Pt. 31, p. 572. (This has been noticed in *A. E. Ep.* 1941-42, B. K. No. 14.—Ed.)

² *Ahore*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 129 ff.

³ *Siddharāma-charitra* of Rāghavāṅka, (published by Karnataka Saṅgha, Shimoga, Ed. T. S. Venkannayya and D. L. Narasimhaachar), *Sandhi* IV, verses 17 ff.



⁴ *Ibid.*, *Sandhi* V.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Sandhi* IV, verses 18 and 20; VIII, 95, etc.

Śrīśaila yōga-ramaṇiya kaṣṭra which is similar to Rāghavāṅka's description of the place in *Siddhaśāma-charitra*.¹

The geographical places referred to are Śrīśaila, Sonnalige, Halasige-nāḍu, Sabbi-kampapa and Vuchcharigi. Vuchcharigi is Budarsingi where the record is found. The other places are well known.

TEXT²

- 1  Svasti Ści [ōm] [||*] Jaya Paramēśva(śva)ra Paramātma Iśva(śva)raṇ=urvī-pa-
- 2 rvvīy=adamaṅgikomaṇḍirppau=ōrvvanuṃmigeṣ=āgi yōgiga|a
- 3 manada koneya Jōṭṭisva(śva)raṇuṃ Vriśa(Vṛiśa)bhana rūp=āgi yajamānanu[m=ā]bhāryya-
- 4 nūth tāney=āgi [yō]g=ādi=saṃpāṇa-ba[eyaniga]=ellamaṃ saṃpāḍiśi [yōga]-ra-
- 5 maṇiya-kaṣṭravane [sta]ṃav-iṭṭu salākha-viḍiḍu abha(bhū)ṇava-Śrīśai(śai)|avane mōḍi
Kapiḷlasiddha-
- 6 Mallikārijjunadōvare nelasi nīḍuḍu puṇya-pāpaṃga|aṃ baran(ra)-pēḍu besan
- 7 pēḍuttav=iralu yōm besan dōvā yenalu yī sthānadalu mānyav=ā-
- 8 gi vūruḡa|aṃ bhūmiga|aṃ dhanaṃga|aṃ yī Liṅgaḡko haṣṭōḍaḡaṃ
- 9 mōḍi koṭṭudamaṃ manam pēṇade kaḷadukomaṇḍeṇ=ambātana ātana
- 10 mātā-mātā-pitrurḡga|=chavam yeppatta-yēlu-kōḷi varuśan(śam)ba-
- 11 raṃ puḷu-gomḍada narakadoḷḡg=ikḷi nū=āhutiḡolatt=ira ḡaḷi[dā] ye-
- 12 le pāpava | Yī dōvana bhūmi da(dha)nakk=ān=athjūven=chulu paṇḍeyan pāv=āḍa-
- 13 rḍḍante manath bedagi poḍavattanaṃ bōga-ṅghraṃ koṭṭu bā kaṇḍi yole puṇ-
- 14 ḡyavō Kaviḷṣakke | Yūṇṭ=i yeraḍara leṇḡga puṇya-pāpaṃga|u pā-
- 15 rḍḍaṃ=koṭṭoyvadu tappadu ḍiṭa ḍiṭa satyaṃ ḡaṇḍire | Yūṇṭ=iḍu(du)
- 16 āri Siddhaśāmanāthadōvaru puṇya-pāpakke nīyāṃśikoḷa vachana ||
- 17  Namō=stu krōḷa-rūpāya | āa(sa)-vyā(eā)ḡara-vanā mald | dāṃṣṭra-āḡrē
- 18 rājatē yasya | muṣṭhā(eṭā)-staṃbha=śamākru(kṛi) || Svasti samadigata-paṃcha-
- 19 mahā=ś(ś)abha-mahā-Māhō(ś)varan | samasta-bhavana-saṃstūyya(stūya)māna |
- 20 Hara-dharaṇi-prasūta | Himavadu-girīndra-ra[ṇu*]dra-āḡkar-ābhyaḍayamā-
- 21 na | mahā-pracharūḍa-mārttaṇḍa-kar=āti-tīra-nōja-pratāpa=vaḷkri(kṛi)ta-saka|a-maṇ-
- 22 ḡa|a | vuttanḡga-saṃha-tūm[ehha]ṃ | vānara-mahādhyajaṃ | perumāṭi(maṇṭṭi)-tūryya-
- 23 nirḡghōsa(śa)ṇa | chatur=āṭi-nagar-ādhikṛi=ā|a(eḡṭā)-ḡaa(ś)-āe(ś)vaṃśa(dha)-yaḷka-
- 24 dīkḡhā-dīkḡhita-kuja-prasūta | himavadu-girīndra-ra[ṇu*]dra-āḡkarā(a)=aḡhā-

¹ *Siddhaśāma-charitra* III, verse 38.

² From ink impressions prepared by me.

- 25 pita-mahā-sa(sa)kti-prabhāva | tyāga-jaga-jhampa | nīssa(śa)mka-Rāma | subhaṣṭi(ṭa)-kanaka
 26 nikas(ṣh)-ōpapa(ṭa) | s(ś)araṇ-āgata-rajra-paṇjara | lōkaika-kalpadruma | ś(ś)anikrān-
 27 ti-dhavaṭa | mūrtti-Nārāyaṇa | kīrtti-mārttaṇḍa rāyalalāṭa-paṭṭa | vai-
 28 ri-gharaṭṭa | subhaṭa-rāja-si(śi)khāmaṇi | Kadsūba-ebūḍḍamaṇi | yitṭy-akhiṭa-
 29 nāmāvaṭi-samāṭaṇḍa(kṛ)ta śri-Saptakōṭṭiśva(śva)radōba(va)-labdha-vaṇa-prasāda
 30 śri-Kadamba-kuṭa-tiṭṭa | paṭchima-samudrādhipati | S(Ś)ivachitta bhujā-
 31 baṭa-viṭṭa]-Chaṭṭaiyadēva-viśaya-rājyaṇṇa-uttar-ōttarābhividdhā(ḍḍa)-
 32 pravarddhamāna S(Ś)aka-varsha 117[9]-neya Piṇḡaṭa-saṇḍa[vaṭsara]-
 33 da Vaisākha-suddha 15 Ādityavāradamḍu śrīmatu abhina-
 34 vaśrīś(ś)aiṭa-yōga-ramaṇiṭa-kahētrav=ṇippa śri-Soḍḍana-
 35 iḡeyya-pura-var-ādhīśvara mahā-mahima-Kapilāsiddha(ḍḍa)-Ma-
 36 ṭṭikārjunaśvara aṇḡa-bhōga-raṇḡa-bhōga navina-prasāda-
 37 karuṇa aṣṭa-sa(śa)ṣṭi (aṭṭi)-tīrttha-Siddha(ḍḍa)-taṭṭa-khaṇḍa dīn-ānāṭh-ōda-
 38 ra-bharuṇa | chātuska(śṭka)-kaṭaś-ābhīś(śṭ)ka | gō-prachāra nitya-bō-
 39 ma | āvāsi-chāṭṭa-ādy-anōka-dēva-kāryako taṇḍa-āṭṭa Halasige-nā-
 40 ḍḍoṭṭa Sabbi-kampanaḍḍaḍḍaḍḍa Vochehangī-nāma grāma
 41 pūrv-ōṭṭa]-prasiddha(ḍḍa)-śīmā-samāṇḍa-ṭṭa]-tur-āghāṭṭa-ōṭṭalakhita
 42 jala-pūṭṭa]-nidhi-nidhāna-nikshēp-a(ś)raṇ-ōpavan-ādy-upēta
 43 aṣṭa-bhōga-tōṭṭa-sā(śvā)ṇa-saṭka-sāda-daṭṭa-nūṭṭa-bā-
 44 ra-kāra-haṭṭa-āḍi sakaṭa-draṇḍy-ōpārjya-ōpēta-samāṇḍa-
 45 sarvābhāṭṭa paribhāṇḍa-āḡi sarva-namaśyavaṇḍa mādī śri-
 46 Chaṭṭaiyadēvaṇḍa taṇḍa eva-hastadīn dhārā-pūrvakam mādī
 47 koṭṭa dharmma chaṇḍr-āṭṭa-tārāṇ arāṇ saṭṭaṭṭa-ire]
 48 Śri-parama-Siddhārāṇaṇḍa pāpa-haraṇḍa martya-
 49 ḍḍaḍḍa voḍḍaṇḍa nīḍaṇḍa] Chāpaṭa-biṭṭa-nayanaṇḍa śrīpada-soṇ-
 50 nambidatṭa=aridatṭa(u) | Maṇḡaṭa-mahā-śri śri śri]

No. 22—ANNAVARAPPADU PLATES OF KATAYA VEMA REDDI

(2 Plates)

K. H. V. SIEMA, OOTACAMUND AND T. KRISHNAMURTY, PITTALAVEMAVARAM

(Received on 5. 8. 1962)

After the downfall of the Kakatiyas in Andhra, the Reddis of Kondaviti came into prominence and ruled the country for about two centuries. Unlike the Gajapatis of Orissa and the Narapatis of Vijayanagara, who held their sway over Andhra for sometime, the Reddis were the undisputed Telugu rulers of the country and their rule forms a glorious chapter in the history of the Andhra country. That the country had its golden age under these Reddi rulers is clearly borne out from a number of their records and from the literary works of the great Telugu poets such as Śrinātha and Errāpreṣaḍa who were patronised by these rulers. Although several inscriptions of these kings have been published so far, many facts pertaining to their history are, however, still obscure and their genealogy, therefore, is not satisfactorily worked out. The copper plate grant published below throws welcome light both on the genealogy of these kings as well as on other details pertaining to their family which remained hitherto unknown.

The plates were discovered as early as 1916 in Annavarappadu, a hamlet of Mallāvaram in the Tanuku Taluk of the West Godavari District, while digging for laying the foundations of a house-site belonging to Sri Akella Sarvaṇnagaru of the village. The news reached Sri Turnu Krishna murty who secured the plates which were lying with the members of Sri Sarvaṇna's family through the courtesy of his friend Sri P. Venkataratnam Naidu. While he was studying the plates for publication, Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, the then Commissioner of the Religious Endowments Board of the composite Madras State happened to camp in a nearby village and having come to know about these plates, sent word to Sri Krishna murty and requested him for the plates. The latter placed the set unreservedly in Sri B. V. Krishna Rao's hands. On his return to Madras, Sri Krishna Rao sent them to the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy for being reviewed in his Annual Report. The set was noticed as No. 4 of Appendix A in the Report for the year 1916-17 and was duly returned to Sri Krishna Rao, who later sold away the set along with several other copper plates collected by him in his capacity as the Commissioner to the Keeper of the National Museum at Delhi. The inscription on the plates is now edited with the help of the excellent inked impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

The set consists of seven thick copper plates each measuring about 9 inches in length and 5 inches in breadth and engraved on both the sides. Each plate is perforated with a ring-hole of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter towards the left margin. The thick ring which has all the plates strung on to it, bears the royal seal on a lump of metal attached to it. The seal depicts the figure of a seated bull, the emblem of the Reddi kings.¹ All the plates together with the ring weigh 429 tolae. The plates are numbered in Telugu-Kannada numerals on their inner sides and in the left margin.

The writing is neatly executed and is in an excellent state of preservation. It appears that the record was engraved by two different scribes. The characters are Telugu current in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the Andhra country and are exactly similar to those of many other grants of the Reddi kings published so far. However, the following palaeographical peculiarities

¹ These have been published in Telugu in *Bhāratī*, Vol. XXXVII, part 10, pp. 1 B.

² See the *Catalogue of copper plate grants in the Government Museum, Madras: Reddi chiefs of Kondaviti*, Nos. 2, 3 and 4.

may be noted. No distinction is made between the medial signs of *a* and *ā*, *e* and *ī* and *o* and *ō*. The sign for the aspirate seen in some cases, resembles a small inverted crescent below the right arm of the letter. This, however, is not uniform in all the cases. Some of the aspirate letters have quite distinct forms to differentiate them from their unaspirated counterparts. The *repha* is indicated by a curved stroke at the top right of the letter. The final form of *t* and *n* occur frequently. The *anusvāra* is used invariably for final *m* and also the class nasals. The only letters that differ from those of the present day are *da*, *dha*, *sa* and *ja*. The difference between *ja* and *da* lies in the top stroke and so also between *da* and *ja*, in the loop towards the right arm. *Dha* resembles exactly the present day *da*. The letters *ka*, *sa* and *ha* can easily be identified even though they differ slightly from their present forms. Among the orthographical peculiarities, the spellings like *perāchēka* (line 17), *brahmāṇḍa* (lines 70-71), etc. may be noted.¹ The consonants following the *repha* are sometimes doubled and sometimes not.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit with the exception of the passages in Telugu describing the boundaries of the villages granted. Besides its historical importance, this charter is an excellent specimen of beautiful inscriptional composition in chaste Sanskrit verse replete with good *ślokaśloka*s. The author's command over poetics is indeed very remarkable. The contents of the charter are summarised below.

The first five verses invoke the Boar (*Varāha-Vishṇu*), Śiva (*Aśtamaṁṛta*), Viṇḍu (*Parāṇa-puruṣa*), Gaṇēśa (*Pratyākṣapati*) and the Moon (*Saṁ-kalā*) respectively. This is followed by a geographical description of the Andhra country and of Aślakaśikā, the capital town of the Redḍi rulers. Says the charter, "The land extending from the Southern Ocean to the king of mountains (*Himālayas*) was known as *Rhātata-Vaṣṭa* in which prevailed different castes and customs; and in that was situated the land of the Andhras, otherwise called *Trilīṅga-bhūmi* by its association with the three famous shrines (*Śrīgaṇi*), viz. *Śrīaślā*, *Kāśyapa* and *Dākṣa*rāma (verses 6-8). Therein are the five gardens (*ārāma*s) namely *Dīkṣa*, *Amara*, *Kaṣṭra*, *Kumāra* and *Prācya*, the sporting grounds of Śiva and the holy rivers such as *Gautamī* (*Gōdāvarī*), *Kṛishṇavēṇī*, *Malāpāhā*, *Bhūmaratī* and *Tuṅgabhadra* (verses 9-11). On the bank of the river *Kṛishṇā* is *Śrīkākuṣa*, the abode of *Vishṇu* (*Śrīvallabha*) for the protection of the three worlds. There flows the beautiful river *Kundī*, on the bank of which is the city called *Addaṁki*, which resembles the Heaven (*Amaraṁvati*) by (the beauty of) its horses, the donors and the women, who resemble the celestial nymphs (verses 12-15). During the age of *Kali*, there came out the righteous fourth caste from the feet of *Vishṇu* like the flow of the *Gaṅgā* and the one who became the ruler of that city is going to be described with all his descendants here (verses 16-17)."

"In the country known as *Paṇḍya-nāḍa*, there was a town by name *Vellāṣēri*, ruling from which the rulers of that place later became famous as the chiefs of the *Vellāṣēri-gōtra*. In that family of the wealthy fourth caste was born king *Prōlaya*, the righteous and the store-house of all the arts, who, by elevating the virtues and earning the fame of that of the ancient king *Triṅgyana* of the *Pallava*s, obtained the name of *Pallava-Triṅgyana*, and who, crushing, like a lion, the elephants of the *Pāṇḍya* kings in battle, became famous in all the ten quarters of the world as *Pāṇḍya-triṅgyajalānari* (verses 18-21). With his unequalled and illustrious son, king *Vēma*, praised as the Primeval Boar (*Mahā-Varāha*) by all the learned for his act of lifting up the country that was submerged under the *māchāśā* (*Muslim*) ocean, the land of the Andhras shone brilliantly and while this king was lawfully ruling (the earth) there flourished all the *śāstras* and *śāstra*s and hundreds of sacrifices were performed. How can one describe the

¹ The spellings arising out of such unages have not been consistently corrected in the text.

fame of one who had the steps of the Śrīśaila built! At his instance, his younger brother, Annaya, who was like Chakrapāṇi (Viṣṇu) in his qualities, having been placed in the rank of an heir-apparent (*yovarāja*) was ruling the earth with supreme sovereignty. His talented wife Anyamā gave birth to (four sons) Anavōta, Mumuṣāḍi, Māchaya and Anavēma among whom king Vēma adopted the heroic Anavōta and Anavēma as his sons. King Vēma along with his brothers, Māchā, Malla and Anna, having enjoyed all the fruits of life, ruled the earth for a long time. After him, the powerful Anavōta, his (adopted) son, ascended the throne, and when he became the king of the Āndhra country the people shed their fear, and were full of joy, wealth, etc. He (Anavōta) married Anyamā, the daughter of king Nārapa, like Viṣṇu, the goddess Lakṣmī, and she gave birth to twins Kumāragiri, a son, and Anyamāmbhā, a daughter who by their birth, gave immense pleasure to their father. Anavōta made Koṇḍaviḍu as his capital, the wonderful construction of which caused bewilderment even to Brahmā. With its white and high mansions, mountain-like elephants, famous horses which were as though they were born in the country of Vanāyu, the heroic soldiers, ladies resembling celestial damsels and the cool and scented breeze, the city (Koṇḍaviḍu) looked like Amarāvati (Heaven) on the earth. From that rich and impregnable city Anavōta ruled happily with all his kinsmen (verses 23-42). His brother, Anavēma, the fame of whose prowess filled the whole of the universe, ascended the throne (after his brother Anavōta), and for the first time, ruled the land from Śrīśaila to Simhāchala. How could it be possible to describe the glory and power of him who, even before succeeding to his brother's throne, seized forcibly the seven constituents of royalty (*saptāṅgas*) of all the kings! How can he, who, by his munificent gifts, fulfilled all the desires of the desirous and destroyed the poverty of all, be compared with Dadhichi, Karna and Śibi who, being incapable of giving any wealth, gave only their bones, skin and flesh respectively. Barring Anavēma and Bhārgava (i.e. Paraśurāma), who also had either overcome all the kings or satisfied all the Brāhmanas in this world (verses 43-46)! After him, when his brother's son Kumāragiri took over the burden of the earth, Ananta (the serpent-king) retired from the task of bearing that burden; the elephants of all the eight corners were free to go with their mates; theft was unheard of and there were plenty of timely rains resulting in good crops; the Brāhmanas devoid of all their fears, were happy. Several temples were built and many settlements for the thousands of the learned made and whatever could be thought of as righteous was all done by him (verses 47-50)."

"There was at that time a capital city known as Paḷlāmuduḷḷā full of several beautiful shops. In Paḷḷa-nāḍu, and the chief of that city, born in the fourth caste, was famous for his good qualities. His descendants adopted the name of that city, viz. Paḷlāmuduḷḷā for their *gōtra* which vied for all the good qualities of its members with that of the member of the Vellāṣṭri-gōtra (verses 51-53). In that family, the abode of wealth, was born king Kāṭa, who was praised by all and who made the people rich like the celestial tree. By destroying the glory of all the enemy kings, he (Kāṭa) became glorious like Indra in Nandanavana. Tallamā, born of a respectable family and possessed of all good qualities, became his wife. To king Kāṭaya and Tallamā was born king Mīra, who set an example to all the kings in valour, power and noble qualities. He married Māchamā of a well-known family and had by her a son by name Kāṭa who was like Jayanta to Indra and Śacī and who was fit for protecting all the Brāhmanas. While he resembled the lord of the *paśśas* (i.e. Kubēra) in distributing wealth and in collecting it as well, he was like the Sun in his valour and the Moon in his bounty. By overthrowing in the battle-field the enemy kings who were like Bhīṣma and Duryōdhana, he acquired the title of *Samgrāma-Dhanaś-jaya*, and by forgiving those wounded who fled from the battle, the title of *Sangāḍi-rakṣapāṇi* (verses 54-58). King Annaya, having considered the good qualities and descent of Kāṭa, offered the hand of his daughter, Doḍḍamāmbhā in marriage to him even as the lord of the Mountains (Himavān) did that of Gaurī to Śiva. Because of her greatness and virtues, the learned praised her as Doḍḍamāmbhā (i.e. great lady)

in the language of the Āndhras. Kāṭa's association with Anavōta was as intimate as that of the shadow to the person (verses 64-66). Doḍḍāmbā gave birth to a son named Vēma, who was prosperous and invincible and was like an incarnation of lord Mahāśūra; and the parents were also very happy at the sight of their son even as Haimavatī and Mahāśūra were. Vēma became famous as *Jagurakṣapāla* in the language of the Āndhras by his virtuous advice to the kings. His enemy kings cursed Samkrandana for having cut off the wings of the mountains whither they ran in fear of the sound of the king's battle-drums but met with the same sounds re-echoed by the mountains now incapacitated to fly. Who among the kings on earth equals Vēma whose strength of arms destroyed fear among the alarmed, whose wealth destroyed the poverty among the poor, whose occupation lay in discourses with the virtuous, whose pleasures confined themselves to his kinship of equal rank and whose speech always adhered to truth. He excelled Brāhmapati in intelligence, Sukra and such others in skill and all the benefactors in his bounteous benefactions to the needy. Having taken in marriage the hand of Anyamā, the daughter of his own uncle Anavōta, king Vēma was resplendent with her as gold with a diamond. Anyamā too having been wedded to king Vēma, the best among men (Purnashōtama) was, as it were, the manifestation of goddess Lakṣmī herself (verses 66-76). On Thursday, the third of the dark fortnight in the month of Chaitra, of the Śaka year counted by *adri-nabha-agri-chandra*, when the sun was entering the Aries (*Ājya*), she (Anyamā) having purified herself by bathing in the waters of the river Viśvāmitrī, and having taken the permission of her husband, made a grant of the village Paluparti which was once given to her by her brothers, to the Brāhmaṇas. Thereoforth the village granted became famous as Anyamāvara. With its different types of lands such as *maihōya*, *śāliyā*, *yacurpa* and *yayya* and several fine groves full of fruits, how could not this village excel all the rest? As though vying with one another out of envy to excel each other among themselves, the various sciences such as the *śruti*, *smṛiti*, *purāṇa*, *pratyāyā*, etc. flourished among the Brāhmaṇas of that village" (verses 76-79). Here follows the list of the donees with their respective shares, as given below in a tabular form, and the boundaries in Telugu, of the gift village together with the 35 *puttis* of land of (the village) Kaḍami (verses 80-81). This part of the charter ends with the four usual imprecatory verses and with the sign manual *Pallavatrāṣṭra* usually found in all the charters of the Redḍi kings (verses 82-85).

The next part of the charter which is in the nature of an appendix says: "In the southern country there exists a city named Poḷḷāṇḍūḷḷā, and in that was born in the fourth caste as though to lift up the submerged earth, the chief Kāṭa, the very image of Madhuripu. From him was born the righteous king Māra, to whom was born the powerful king Kāṭa, who as if to justify his name, wandered in the waters of the river Kṛishṇā and destroyed the enemy fortrees of Divi. Doḍḍāmbā had from him (Kāṭa) the son Vēma, who was the king of the Āndhras and whose fame as the very Indra on earth in having deprived the pride of the king of the elephants (*Gaḇḇāḥita*) and others by his sword, filled the universe. Besides enjoying the fruits of royalty, he was also the administrator of the kingdom of Anavōta who was both his uncle and father-in-law. The good statesman that he was, Vēma made Anavōta and Kumāragiri respectively rule the kingdom and having thus elevated the kings born in the Vellāsēri family himself earned fame as their faithful servant (verses 86-91). On the death of king Kumāragiri and at his behest king Vēma ruled the earth. With the object of enhancing the greatness of both the villages Vēmavara and Anyamāvara named respectively after himself and his wife, king Vēma gave away the rest of the village, Kaḍami, to the same donees who had already received a portion of the village, to be put to use by them for their rites and rituals, on the day of the lunar eclipse on Wednesday in the month of Māgha of the cyclic year Chitrabhānu in the Śaka year counted by *śalāhī*, *iśakupa*, *mūrti* and *chandra*. With the blessings of the Brāhmaṇas of the two villages Annavara and Vēmavara, well satisfied in having their desires fulfilled, may king Vēma, the leader in bearing the burden of the earth and capable

of ruling it, be forever prosperous with all his sons and grandsons" (verses 92-94). Next, the boundaries of the gift-land are given in Telugu prose, which is followed by the usual imprecatory verses (97-100). The charter finally ends again with the sign manual of the Reddī kings *Śrī Pālavatraya* and with the adoration to Umā-Mahādeva.

The record is important in that it throws new light on the genealogy of the Reddī kings. It informs us for the first time, that Anavōta and Anavēma were the sons of king Annaya by Anyamāmbā and not of his brother Prōlayavēma as was hitherto supposed by all the scholars. The literary and the epigraphical evidence published so far makes us believe that both the brothers Anavōta and Anavēma were the sons of Prōlayavēma.¹ The Kalayachūru grant of the Reddī queen Anitali adds that Anamācha was also the son of Prōlayavēma.² However, there are some records which go against this statement. An inscription engraved on two pillars near the *Nandamangapa* in the temple of Mallikārjuna at Śrīsaīla, Nandikotkur taluk, Karnool District, states that Anavēma built that *manḍapa* for the merit of his own father Annaya.³ This record said to be composed by his famous court-poet Bālasarasvati, is dated in Śaka 1299 corresponding to 1377 A.D., in the reign of king Anavēma. The Epigraphist remarks on this record that "The statement at the end of the Telugu portion that the *manḍapa* was built by Anavēma for the merit of his father Annaya suggests that though he was the son of Vēma, he had a high regard for his father's brother Annaya and respected him as his own father." Basing on this remark, the editor of *Reddīsamachika* adds: "The *Vīraśīromangapa* was said to be built by Anavēmareddi for the merit of his father Annayareddi. But Annaya was not the father of Anavēma, but only his younger brother. There is however, some ambiguity in this statement. In the Naḍupūru grant it is said that Vēmāsāni, the daughter of Annāreddi, was the younger sister of Anavēma. So it appears that Anavēma, though a son of Prōlayavēma, was probably brought up by his uncle Annayareddi from his childhood, and hence he had high regard as in his father towards Annaya also." In this connection attention may be drawn to a record in the temple of Rāmalingēśvara at Kandukūru, Nellore District, wherein it is stated that the victorious king Vēma, the son of Anna-bhūpati of the Pappu family glorified the age of Kali into that of *Kṛita-yuga*.⁴ King Vēma, referred to in this inscription is no doubt identical with Anavēma of the inscription at Śrīsaīla. Thus it is borne out from these two records that Anavēma was a son of Annayareddi and not of Prōlayavēma.

A damaged record at Udayavalli, Guntur District, speaks of Māchamarēddi as the son of *Jaganabhaṅgaṇḍa* Annaya.⁵ The date of this record, however, is not clear. Another record from the Agastyaśvara temple at Vēdappalli, Nalgonda District, dated Śaka 1299 corresponding to 1377 A.D., mentions Anamācha in the reign of the king Anavēma.⁶ Anamāchāreddi or Māchamarēddi, the son of Annaya cited in the above two records, is one and the same and is identical with the younger brother of Anavōta and Anavēma.

¹ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 137 ff., and *J.R.Ep.*, 1922-23, App. A, No. 15.

² *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. IV, pp. 93-112 and *Bharati*, Vol. XXI.

³ *SI*, Vol. X, No. 559, lines 119-22.

⁴ *J.R.Ep.*, 1916, Part II, Introduction p. 115.

⁵ *Reddīsamachika*, p. 67.

⁶ *Prāharaṅga-kāṭhāraśāstrādhikāraḥ Anna-bhūpatiḥ | Śrīśaīla-kāṇḍi-śrī-veṅkaṭa-pratīpābhakḥ | Tatyā-patrēna Jayatā Vēma-bhūpatiḥ tēna gūṛva prāśastāḥ-mangyāḥ Kalib Kṛitayogā-kṛitakḥ | Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 492.

⁷ *SI*, Vol. X, No. 560.

⁸ *J.R.Ep.* 1941-42, App. E-No. 48. (*Hyd. Arch. Ep.*, 1934-35, p. 28. Dr. P. Śrinivasasastri wrongly identifies Anamāchāreddi of this record with Prōlayavēma's younger brother).

From a record in the village of Vēlpūru, Sattenapalli Taluk, Guntur District, it is known that Vēmāsāni, the wife of Nallanāka, was the daughter of Anamāmbā and Annāreḍḍi, the younger brother of Prōlayavēma.¹ It was this Vēmāsāni who is referred to as Anavēma's sister in the Naḍupūru grant cited above.² From the above references it is evident that Annāreḍḍi, the younger brother of Prōlayavēma had a wife by name Anyamāmbā and that Vēmāreḍḍi and Māchāreḍḍi were the sons of Annāreḍḍi himself. Thus the fact that Anavōta, Māchaya and Anavēma were born to Anyamāmbā by Annayareḍḍi is well corroborated by epigraphical evidences cited above. It is also interesting to note that the names Ana-Vōta, Ana-Mācha and Ana-Vēma show clearly that they were all the sons of Annāreḍḍi and not of Prōlayavēma. That Mummaḍi was also one of the sons of Annāreḍḍi is known for the first time only from the record under review. Probably he died in his childhood. Verse 29 of this charter states that out of the four sons of his younger brother Annāreḍḍi, king Prōlayavēma adopted the two brothers Anavōta and Anavēma. It is clear that Prōlayavēma had no issue to succeed him on the throne and hence he had to choose his younger brother's sons for adoption. Verse 25 makes us believe that Annayareḍḍi was taking a more prominent part in the matters of administration and Prōlayavēma appointed him as the heir-apparent (*yavārōja*) thereby preferring him and his sons to his other brothers and their sons to succeed to the throne of Kaṇḍaviḍu. From the literary work *Harivamśamu* also it is known that Anavōta was associated in the administration of the kingdom by his paternal uncle, king Prōlayavēma.³ There are instances wherein the brothers Anavōta and Anavēma are mentioned as Vēmaya-Anavōta and Vēmaya-Anavēma, but this may be after they were adopted by king Prōlayavēma and chosen as heir-apparents. However, it is interesting to note that Anamācha is nowhere mentioned as Vēmaya-Anamācha, nor is he stated even in the present grant to have been adopted by his uncle. Even Doḍḍāmbā, the wife of Kāta II, is mentioned in this record as the daughter of Annayareḍḍi only, while the *Kumārāgiri-rājyam*⁴ states that she was Prōlayavēma's daughter. Anavēma is described in the Driḷḷavaram grant⁵ as the son of Prōlāmbā. She was perhaps the queen of Prōlayavēma who is said to have adopted these brothers. Errāpregaḍa also refers to Anavēma as the son of Prōlāmā in his *Harivamśamu*.⁶

The charter furnishes for the first time the name of Kāṭayavēma's queen, the daughter of Anavōta and the sister of Kumārāgiri Redḍi. Scholars differ in their opinion in identifying her name with that of many others referred to in the inscriptions published so far, but nowhere is it mentioned in such clear terms as in the present charter. Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma in his monumental work on the Redḍi kingdoms summarised all these discussions as follows: "The name of the sister of king Kumārāgiri is not definitely known either from inscriptions or from literature. According to the late Sri K. V. Lakshmana Rao, she was Mallāmbikā (*Andhra-Vijñāna-Sarvasaṃgraha*, Vol. II, p. 25). His authority is Kāṭayavēma's Dāksharāma inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 328). This record, however, does not explicitly state that she was the daughter of Anavōta I. While editing the Kaṭuvachēru grant (*Andhra Sāhitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. III, pp. 103 ff.), the late Sri J. Ramayyapantulu also wrote that, of Doḍḍāmbikā and Mallāmbikā, the two wives of Kāṭayavēma, the second was the sister of Kumārāgiri. Even the Tottāramūḍi plates of Kāṭayavēma do not make the relationship between Mallāmbā and Kumārāgiri or Anavōta I clear (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.). Hence there is no definite proof to say that Mallāsāni or Mallāmbikā was the daughter of king Anavōta I and the sister of Kumārāgiri.

¹ *III*, Vol. X, No. 558, lines 72-79.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 279.

³ *Harivamśamu*, Part II, Canto 9, verses 286.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 319, l. n. 3.

⁵ *A.R.E.p.*, 1922-23, App. A, No. 15.

⁶ *Harivamśamu*, Part I, Canto 7, verse 32.

Following Lakshmana Rao and Ramayyapantulu, the late Sri C. Virabhadra Rao also wrote that Mallāmbā was the sister of Kumāragiri (*Andhrula Charitram*, Vol. III, p. 171 and p. 256). Mallāsānamma was the daughter of a certain Kanniborāya (I) (*SI*, Vol. IV, No. 103) and the sister of Mukkanṭirāya. We do not know who this Kanniborāya was. There seems to be some mistake in the reading of the name since the name, as such, sounds unusual and strange.¹ However, it is certain that Mallāmbā was not the daughter of Anavōta and the sister of Kumāragiri.²

On the basis of the Kaluvachēru grant of the Redḍi queen Anitallī,³ it was believed by many scholars that Doḍḍāmbā was perhaps her mother, and the sister of Kumāragiri. But the charter in question clearly states that Anyamāmbā, the daughter of Anavōta and the twin sister of prince Kumāragiri was given in marriage to Kāṭayavēma and that the village Tuluparti was named Anyamāvāra or Annavara after her. A record⁴ in upper Ahōbālam, Sirvel Taluk, Kurnool District, mentions the names of Tallāsānamma and Mallāsānamma as Kāṭayavēma's wives. Mallāsānamma or Mallāmbā as the wife of Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi is already known from the latter's Tottaramūḍi plates⁵ and also from other inscriptions at Dākshārūma. There is reason to believe from the Vēnavāraṁ grant of Allāḍavēmareḍḍi⁶ that a daughter of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II was also one of the queens of Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi. It is also interesting to note that Allāḍareḍḍi got his son Vēma wedded to Hariharāmbā, the daughter of Kāṭayavēma together with the fortune of his (Kāṭayavēma's) kingdom (*sāmāyga-lakṣmṇā samam*). The Kaluvachēru grant of Anitallī⁷ also describes that the sinless Allāḍa having uplifted the earth (i.e. Kāṭayavēma's kingdom) that was submerged under a host of the wicked kings, handed it over to Anitallī, the daughter of Kāṭayavēma. From the above two verses it can be clearly seen that Allāḍa, the shrewd statesman, got both Hariharāmbā and Anitallī, the daughters of Kāṭayavēma, married to his own sons Vēma and Virabhadra respectively. It should also be remembered that Hariharāmbā was the grand-daughter of the great Vijayanagara emperor Harihara II while Anitallī was the grand-daughter of the Redḍi king Anavōta I and hence the latter was virtually the heir-apparent of the whole Redḍi kingdom. It may perhaps be a fact that Anyamāmbā mentioned in this charter was also called Doḍḍāmbā who is said to be the mother of Anitallī in her Kaluvachēru grant.⁸

Dr. N. Venkataramaṣayya has cited a damaged record lying near the western *prākāra* wall of the Bhīmāvara temple at Dākshārūma, which states that the mother of Kumāragirireḍḍi and

¹ The reading is so on the impression. Perhaps it may be a mistake for Kanniborāya.

² *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. IV, pp. 93-112 and also *Bharati*, Vol. XXI.

³ *SI*, Vol. X, No. 577.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

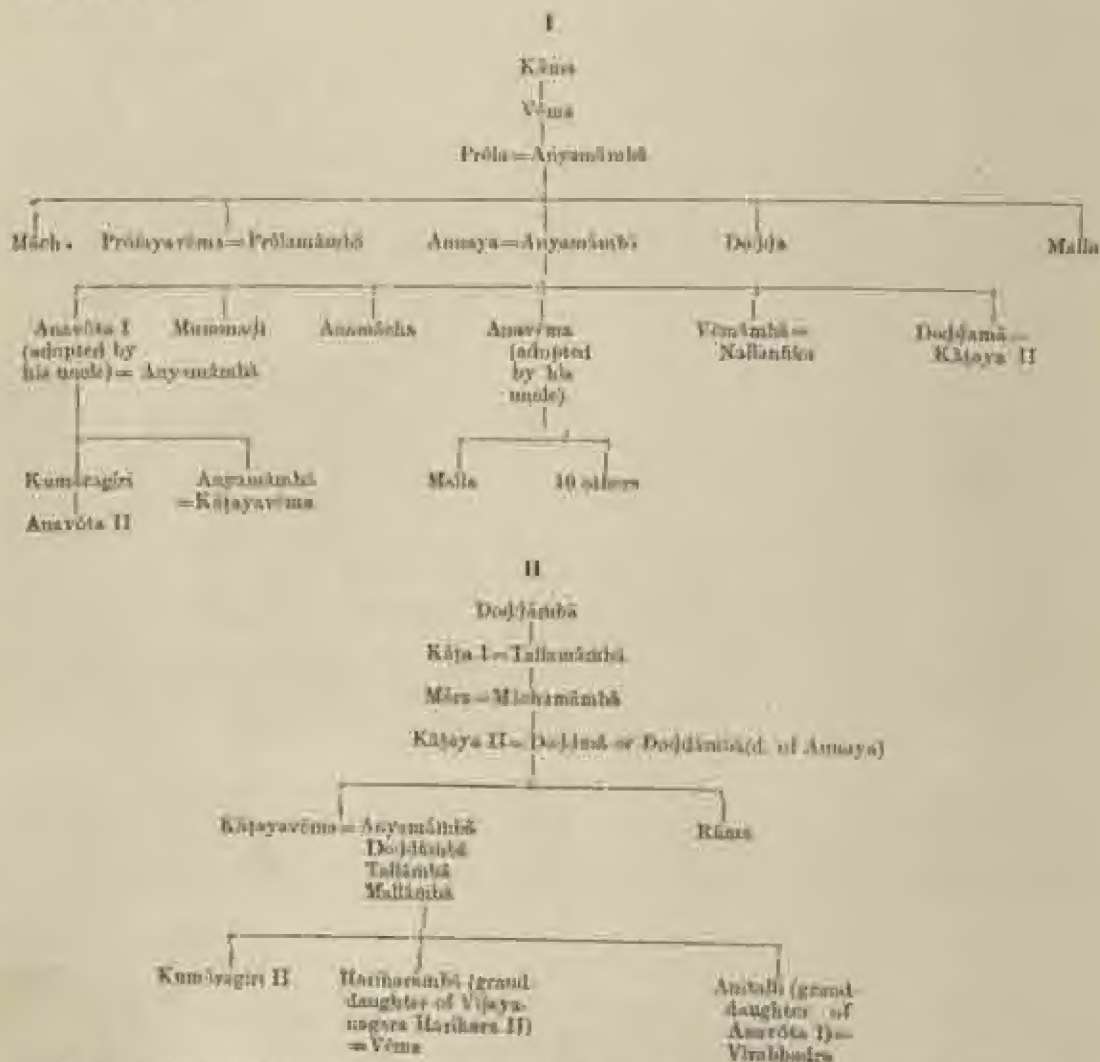
⁵ *Above* Vol. XIII, pp. 257 ff. The original plates of this grant are now in the possession of the British Museum but the text was carefully checked from the impressions that were received in the Office of the Govt. Epigraphist for India some time back. The trend of the text clearly indicates that the composer of the charter speaks of the two daughters of Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi only. It is obvious that he had altered the readings 'paṇḍri' and 'paṇḍri' in a confusion. The emendations suggested by the late Sri V. Peulihakara Sastrigaru seem to be fully justified.

⁶ Sri Taraga Kṛishnamurti informs that there is a tradition that the villages Annavaram, Mallāvaram and Aitamūḍi near Pithlavēmpavaram in the Tanuku Taluk, West Godavari District were granted by the three queens of a certain Vēmareḍḍi after their names Anyamāmbā, Mallāmbā and Aitamāmbā respectively. The king Vēmareḍḍi was no other than Kāṭayavēma and his wives Anyamāmbā and Mallāmbā or Mallāsānamma are already known to us. If this tradition has to be believed we have to accept that Kāṭayavēma had yet another wife by name Aitamāmbā.

the queen of Anavōta I was Manumāmbā.¹ The charter in question clearly says that Anavōta I married Anyamāmbā, the daughter of a certain Nāraparāju, who gave birth to the twins Kumāragiri and Anyamāmbā, the wife of Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi. It is, however, not known whether Anyamāmbā, the daughter of Nāraparāju of this charter, was also called Manumāmbā.

The genealogy of king Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi described fully in this grant furnishes the names of all the queens of the family for the first time.

From the above discussions the genealogy of the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu may be re-constructed as shown below.



The charter under review throws considerable light on the exact period of Kumāragiri's death, which again has been a matter of dispute among the scholars. The absence of his inscriptions bearing a date after Śaka 1322 (1400 A.D.) and the grant made on the occasion of the *Maḥarā-*

¹ *Redḍimāmbā*, pp. 231 E.

Anavōta prōḷāḍḍa gatai sapatai dharaṇi-triṇḍā |
anḍā-nayānāḍḍi kāḍḍā nāmbā Manumāmbā |
Kumāragiriṇḍānāya prōḷāḍḍa = anayama = anyā |
Kumāra rāraṇḍi kāḍḍi Kumāragiri-māpatā |

amākrānti in the month of Pushya of the cyclic year Chitrabhānu corresponding to the Śaka year 1324 (1403 A.D.) by his brother-in-law Kūṣaṭavēmāreddi for the recovery of Kumāragirireddi from illness in an inscription at Kottāra, Barvaḍa Taluk, Krishna District, made some scholars opine that Kumāragiri must have passed away sometime later than Śaka 1324 (1402 A.D.).¹ Others are of the view that he must have lived at least upto Śaka 1327 (1405 A.D.)² as some inscriptions bearing that date refer to certain gifts made for the merit of Kumāragirireddi, the terms *śikṣakṛtānāṃ* and *akṣayamuktānāṃ* used in these inscriptions being construed as applicable only for persons alive on that date. But the record under review makes it unequivocally clear (verses 92-95) that Kumāragiri died before Śaka 1324, Chitrabhānu, Mṛgha, Wednesday, lunar eclipse, corresponding regularly to 1403 A.D., February 7. The details of the date of Kūṣaṭavēma's grant referring to Kumāragiri's illness can be equated to 1402 A.D., December 27. Hence, it is obvious that Kumāragiri must have passed away sometime after 27th December 1402 A.D., and before 7th February 1403 A.D.

Besides the important points discussed above, this charter furnishes a few more facts about the history of the Reddi rulers. It is said that the Reddis of Koṇḍaviḍu obtained the name of *Vellāṣēri* or *Vellaṣēri* for their *gōtra* from a village bearing that name, i.e. Vellaṣēri in Paṇṭa-nāḍu over which one of their ancestors ruled. Likewise, the name of the *gōtra* of Kāṭa 1 and his descendants was 'Paḷḷāṃḍuḷḷā' after the name of the village from which his ancestors ruled in their early days. Since both the families hailed from the country of Paṇṭa-nāḍu in which the two villages Vellaṣēri and Paḷḷāṃḍuḷḷā were situated, the members of these families came to be known as belonging to the Paṇṭa-vṃśā. Here we find also the explanation for the first time, why Prōḷaya bore the title of '*Pallava-trinayana*' which later became the sign-manual of all the copper-plate grants issued by the Reddi kings. It is said that king Prōḷaya having upheld the Hindu *dharma* even as the ancient king Trinayana of the Pallava race had done, and having acquired fame like him, became famous by that name. This seems to be an indirect suggestion that Prōḷaya also played his part in liberating the coastal regions of the Āndhra country from the Muslim yoke immediately after the downfall of the Kākatiyas of Warangal. Though old, he must have joined Prōḷaya-nāyaka of the Musunūri family with his sons Vēma and others in the war of independence and succeeded in expelling the Muslims from the Āndhra country and in re-establishing the Hindu religion. Prōḷaya fought like a lion against the Pāṇḍya and obtained the title of '*Pāṇḍya-rūpa-gaḇa-śēri*'. This victory over the Pāṇḍya chiefs must be attributed to the period when Prōḷaya and also his father Vēma were in the service of the Kākatiya kings of Warangal. Prōḷaya perhaps accompanied Muppidi-nāyaka, the Kākatiya general, on his expedition to Kāñchi in Śaka 1238 (1314 A.D.), during the reign of Kāḍaḷi Prōṭṣparudra. Like the many other titles this also was later adopted by his successors.

Vēma, the son of Prōḷaya is well known as the saviour of the Telugu country from the Muslim yoke and as the benefactor who constructed the steps to the Śrīśaila mountain. In the record under review it is said that he had appointed his younger brother Annayareddi as his heir-apparent (*prava-rāja*) and associated him in matters of administration. It may be recalled here that *Haravāṃśamu*, the celebrated Telugu work of the court poet Errāppegada, however, describes Anavāṭa as the best general and the crown prince. It could not have been possible for Anavāṭa to have become the heir-apparent or the crown prince while his father Annayareddi was alive. It also appears from the above work that Annayareddi died earlier than Prōḷayavēma, his elder brother and king. An inscription at Tripurāntakam dated in Śaka 1269 (1347 A.D.) mentions *Jaganābhagajga Kāḷāḍya Annayareddi*.³

¹ *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, p. 130 and also *Andhra Pṛāśāstha-samśrānti*, Vol. III, p.

² *Reddīsamśrānti*, p. 62.

³ *SLI*, Vol. X, No. 552, lines 8-9.

This is the latest date so far known for him. In an earlier record of Prōlayavēma from the same place dated Saka 1268 (1346 A.D.), Anavōta figures without any epithets or titles.¹ Hence, there is reason to believe that Annayareddi must have died sometime after Saka 1269 (1347 A.D.) and that Anavōta succeeded him as the crown-prince. If this were so, it would follow that *Haricakulam* was composed sometime after 1347 A.D. King Anavōta shifted his capital from Ashlakūki to Kondavīdu, an irresistible hill fortress. It is also hinted that his younger brother Anavēma helped him in all his conquests and it is for the first time during Anavēma's reign that the Reddi kingdom extended from Śrīraṣṭam up to Sindhāchalam. Anavēma's munificence to the Brāhmanas is well-known.

Kāja I, who also claimed to belong to the *Panta* clan like the Reddi kings of Kondavīdu is said to have ruled from Pallamundulla, a place hitherto unknown. His grandson Kāja II married the daughter of Annayareddi and the sister of Anavōta and Anavēma, and helped them in all their conquests as well as in their administrations. The complete destruction of the fortress of Divi in the river Kṛishṇā is attributed to him. The Dākṣhārāma inscription of Anavōta,² dated in Saka 1273 (1354 A.D.), refers to him (Anavōta) as *dvīpa-jētā* (the conqueror of Dvīpa or Divi). He must have assumed that title obviously after the conquest of Dvīpa or Divi, identified with Talagodavī, in the Kanchapatnam Taluk, Krishna District. His younger brother Anavēma also bears the title '*Dvīpa-dvīpa-vāhaka*' in his Śrīraṣṭam record referred to above.³ From the charter under review it is clear that Kāja II actually reduced such an impregnable fortress as Divi, may be on behalf of his own brother-in-law and king, Anavōta. Kājayavēma's commentary called the *Kumārāgiri-vijayam* on the three dramas of the poet Kālidāsa also confirms this statement by attributing this victory over Divi to his own father Kāja II. The title *Jaladargamalla* was acquired by him as a consequence.⁴ It is evident from the language of the verses that Kāja II held a high administrative position under his brothers-in-law Anavōta and Anavēma, just as his son Kājayavēma did during the reign of Kumārāgireddi. Kājayavēmareddi is said to have made Anavēma and Kumārāgiri successively to sit on the throne and rule, i.e. he actively helped them in the administration of the kingdom. From the descriptions such as *Rājya-śri-ramaṇi-mayamsaurāṇikā* (the self-chosen lord of the dāmas) of the kingdom) in the Pachchani-Tāṇḍipattu grant and *Rājya-Ramānṛmaṇi-mayamsaurāṇikā-labdhā-nāyaka-sambhāga* (one who has the good fortune to be the chosen lord by the royal goddess of the state) of the Śrīraṣṭam record, it is believed by some scholars that Anavēma actually occupied the throne immediately after the death of his brother Anavōta, setting aside the claim of his nephew Kumārāgiri.⁵ But this is not so as is borne out by a number of records of Anavēma and his successors and also from the present charter. Anavēma's successful campaigns undertaken during the reign of his brother must have compelled the ministers and the nobles to elect him as king at that critical juncture. It is likely that his own brother Anavōta himself with the consent of Kāja I and Kājayavēma preferred him as his successor. Anavēma too proved himself worthy of the choice for his reign was one of increasing success and prosperity. In fact, Kāja II and his son Kājayavēma proved themselves to be able statesmen and indeed they took all pains to enhance the glory and the prestige of the Reddi kingdom. Their interest in matters of administration was such that the kings left the entire burden on their shoulders.

¹ Ibid., No. 561.

² Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 1287.

³ Ibid., Vol. X, No. 877.

⁴ *Supplemental*, p. 266 and also above, Vol. IV, pp. 121 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 286 ff.

A verse in the Gūpavarman grant¹ of Kumāragirireḍḍi and also in the Tottaramāḍi plates of Kāṭayavēma speaks of the latter exalting king Kumāragiri to the throne even as Kṛishṇa exalted Dharmarāja and thereby caused him to shine. This statement cannot be a mere figurative one as was believed by several scholars but seems to suggest that Kumāragiri's accession to the throne was not again a smooth and peaceful one but that he had to fight for it. The present charter also lends some colour to this surmise in stating that Kāṭayavēma made Anavēma and Kumāragiri to sit on the throne and rule successively. Thus we find that the good statesman and the powerful general Kāṭayavēma intervened and made first Anavēma the king and later Kumāragiri, staying off other claimants to the throne. However, there is no evidence, literary or epigraphic, to the identity of those opponents of Kumāragiri, if there were any. It is generally believed that Kumāragiri's cousins Peda-Kōṁṣajivēma and his brother Mācha, the rulers of a small principality at Chandavōla must have put forth their claims to the throne of Konjaviṇḍa and opposed Kumāragiri's accession, nothing being known about Anavēma's children.² But the Kandukūru inscription referred to above clearly states that the munificent Vēma, the son of Annareḍḍi of the Paṇṭa-kula had eleven sons equal in power to the eleven Rudras³ of whom Mallareḍḍi was one. It seems that Vēmareḍḍi, son of Annareḍḍi, of the Paṇṭa-kula of this (Kandukūru) record could be none else than king Anavēmareḍḍi, the younger brother of Anavōta. If the statement about Anavēma's sons in this Kandukūru record is true, it will be clear that Kumāragiri had his own nearer cousins to fight with rather than Peda-Kōṁṣajivēma and his brother Mācha. It was also natural for Anavēma's sons to put forth their claim and oppose Kumāragiri immediately after the death of their father. Perhaps, Peda-Kōṁṣajivēma and his brother Mācha also joined Anavēma's sons Malla and others in opposing Kumāragiri. Under these circumstances, Kāṭayavēma who married Anyamāmbā, the daughter of Anavōta and the twin sister of Kumāragiri, must have interposed and also fought with the opponents for the sake of his own brother-in-law Kumāragirireḍḍi for whom he secured the throne. It is this perhaps that made Kumāragiri have implicit confidence in Kāṭayavēma whom he appointed as his own minister and on whose shoulders he left the entire burden of the kingdom. Kāṭayavēma too, in turn loyally and faithfully served Kumāragiri. He carried out the behests of his master with implicit obedience. Kumāragirireḍḍi bestowed on Kāṭayavēma the kingship of the Rājamahēndravara-rājya before his death.⁴ Kāṭayavēma's devotion and great regard towards his master Kumāragiri made him accept the kingship of the Rājamahēndravara-rājya which later proved to be the cause for constant friction between the two families and ultimately resulted in the complete destruction of both the houses and in the disappearance of the Redḍi rule from Andhra.

The date of the first part of the record is Saka 1307 counted by the chronogram *adri, nabha, agni and chandra, Chitra ha. 3, Thursday, Mācha-sarikramana*, regularly corresponding to 1385 A.D., March 30, while the second part contains the date, Saka 1324 counted by the chronogram *jaladhi, Geshana, snūti and chandra*, in the cyclic year *Chitrabhānu, Māgha, lunar eclipse, Wednesday*, corresponding to 1403 A.D., February 7. The first date marked the occasion for the gift of the village Pūḥparti by Anyamāmbā who had once received it from her brother Kumāragiri and which thereafter came to be called Anyamāvata after the donor. The second, viz. 1403 A.D., 17 years later than the first date, was the occasion of the second grant by Kāṭayavēma, the husband of Anyamāmbā, of the remaining

¹ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 21 and above, Vol. IV, p. 223.

² *History of the Redḍi Kingdoms*, p. 123 and also *Andhra Vidyāna savasāna*, Vol. III, p. 120.

³ *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 482.

Turpa patra mahā-prāyāśa śāstāra sarōṭamāśa |

śāśāśa śāśāśa śāśāśa śāśāśa śāśāśa śāśāśa |

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 312 E.

portion of the village Kadami as *grāmagrāha* to the Brāhmaṇas of the two villages Anyavara, i.e. Anyamāvara and Vēṇsvara. It should be remembered that the first grant was given during the reign of Kumāragiri and the second after his death and in the reign of Kātayavēma. It appears that the whole record was engraved only on the latter date.

The donees of the grant village Pūṇapartī, renamed as Anyamāvara, Anyavara or Annavara after the donatrix, included 86 Brāhmaṇas of different *gōtra* besides the two deities, Sagarōśvaramahādēva and Kālāradēva. Perumāṣi, the son of Vēṇadēva of Kauṣika *gōtra*, who composed the excellent verses of this charter was one among them. He has attempted to imitate the great poet Kālidāsa in many places with excellent results and was a poet of no mean order in the court of Kātayavēma who was himself a profound scholar of Sanskrit and who wrote the well-known commentaries in Sanskrit by name *Kumāragirirājyaṃ*, on all the three Sanskrit dramas of Kālidāsa.

Serial No.	Name of the donee	Gōtra	Share
1	Lakṣmīnaga-sūmayājīn	Kauṣika	2
2	Peddi-bhaṭṭa	Do.	2
3	Kemāragirya	Do.	1
4	Appanārya	Do.	3
5	Ahōbalanātha-bhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	2
6	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa	Do.	2
7	Pedūmārya	Do.	1
8	Vallabhārya	Do.	1
9	Anantānāthabhaṭṭa	Do.	1
10	Ellanārya	Do.	1
11	Annamārya	Do.	2
12	Kāmanārya	Do.	1
13	Bhīmanārya	Do.	1
14	Śaṅkayārya	Do.	1
15	Mallinātha-sūmayājīn	Kātyāva	4
16	Rāmanārya	Do.	1
17	Narayanārya	Do.	1
18	Koṭimanārya	Do.	1
19	Anantārya	Do.	1½
20	Manjūnārya	Do.	1
21	Abhanārya	Do.	1
22	Mallanārya	Do.	1
23	Śrī-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1

Serial No.	Name of the donor	Gōtra	Square]
24	Peddāyārya	Kāyapa	1
25	Allāḡa-bhaṭṭa	Atśya	1
26	Anantārya	Do.	1
27	Siṃḡayārya	Do.	1
28	Pannayārya	Vedhāla	2
29	Mādhavārya	Śrīvāsa	6
30	Mīri-bhaṭṭa	Do.	2
31	Siṃḡaya-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1
32	Sōmyārya	Do.	1
33	Caṇapatyārya	Do.	1
34	Peddenārya	Gautama	1
35	Appanārya	Do.	1
36	Siṃḡanārya	Kaṇḡḡārya	2
37	Appalā-bhaṭṭa	Do.	2
38	Kāmanārya	Do.	2
39	Kaṭakam-Mallanārya	Do.	1
40	Mallanārya	Do.	1
41	Viṣṇunārya	Do.	1
42	Anipoddārya	Do.	1
43	Erārya	Do.	1
44	Erārya	Do.	1
45	Anantārya	Yāśa	1
46	Siṃḡayārya	Do.	1
47	Peddāyārya	Do.	1
48	Mallā-bhaṭṭa	Kāmakāyana Vi- rāmītra	2
49	Gōpāla-sōmayāḡi	Harita	1
50	Tippayārya	Do.	1
51	Kāchanārya	Do.	1
52	Chandayārya	Do.	1
53	Mallārya	Pārdārya	1
54	Lakḡayārya	Do.	1
55	Tippayārya	Do.	1
56	Vimāraḡu-Preguḡanārya	Kālabhava	2

Serial No.	Name of the donor	Grā	Shama
57	Gūṇayārya	Mandalya	1
58	Māyārya	Śāṇḍilya	41
59	Śiṅṣayārya	Lāṇḍa	2
60	Vīṣṇya-bhaṭṭa	Śāṭārata	1
61	Sagardevara-mahādēva . . . . .	.... . . . .	1
62	Kāśaradēva . . . . .	.... . . . .	1
63 ¹	Śāraṇārya	Āṭṭya	1
64	Peḍḍānārya	Kāṭyapa	1
65	Pennanārya	[Do.]	1
66	Śiṅṣanārya . . . . .	.... . . . .	1
67	Chivēṇa-lāṅṣanārya	Harita	1
68	Pennāḍi	Kanḍha	1

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Bharata-khupḍa, Andhra-bhūmi, Śrīnalla, Kāśdevara and Dākshārāma are well-known. The five *śrāmas*, viz. Dākha, Annara, Kāṣira, Kumāra and Prāchya are respectively identified with the five places Dākshārāma, Annarāvati, Pālakolla, Bhīmavarum and Guḍipūḍi, all in the Godavari (East and West) and Guntur Districts. The famous rivers Gaṇṭakī (i.e. Gōḍavari), Kṛṣṇā, Mālāpāhā, Bhīmavarathī and Tūṅgabhadra are also well-known. Śeṭṭākulam is the holy place of that name in the Krishna District. The river Kuṇḍi is the same as Guṇḍlakammā, often referred to in the Redḍi grants as Brahma-Kuṇḍi or Kuṇḍiprabhā. The places Paṇḍa-nāḍu, Addanki, Kōṇḍavḍu, Śrīnalla and Sindhāchala are also well-known. The village Vellāṇḍi in Paṇḍa-nāḍu, the original home of the Redḍi rulers of Kōṇḍavḍu, cannot be satisfactorily identified. Likewise 'Paṇḍamūḍi', the capital of Kāṣa I also cannot be identified. Perhaps the latter may be identified with Pallamḍi in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District. The village Nandanavara wherein Kāṣa I is said to have abode like Indra is not identifiable. The identity of Divā, the fortress has already been discussed above. As for Puṣṇapāṭi, renamed Anyanāvara, it is mentioned as such in some earlier records such as the Khupḍavalli grant² of the Kōṇa chief Gaṇapati and in two epigraphs at Mallāvarum.³ It is the same as the modern Annarappāḍu in the Tanuku Taluk wherein the present plates were discovered. Kaṇḍavalli may be identified with Khupḍavalli, a village about five miles towards south-east of Tanuku. Vēmaravaram, referred to in the charter as the village granted by Kāṣayavēma is obviously the present Pitalavēmaravaram near Annarappāḍu. The village Kaṣam which was divided and granted to the Brāhmanas of the villages Annavara and Vēmaravara now exists as Kōḍipāḍu, a hamlet about 2 or 4 furlongs to the north-west of Pitalavēmaravaram. It is mentioned in the earlier records in the Śiva temple at Mallāvarum referred to above and also in the former part of the present charter. Kāṣa Mallāvarum is perhaps identical with the present village Mallāvarum, nearby and was probably granted by Mallāmbā, another

¹ The following six names are added later to the list and it is stated that they were not present when the names of the donors were written and so their names were appended later.

² *Epigraphic*, Vol. 54, Item 11, p. 25.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, Nos. 375 and 76.

queen of Kāṭayavēma. Vaiśiṣṭha Gōḍāvari and Vēvūmra-nadi are the well known branches of the river Gōḍāvari. The other minor localities, such as Iṭṭikanūmti-tōmta, Bāli-puttala, Kāṣṭrēni-gutta, Tallōya-tōmta, Gorami-gattu, Pōtu-gattu, Gorami-kāluva, Janārdana-dēvaraguḍi, Peddā-pūmta and Nakkavirilanka, etc. are all places marking the boundaries of the gift villages.

We offer our thanks to Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma of the Andhra University for kindly going through this article.¹

TEXT²

[Metres : Verses 1, 46, 64, 70-72, 76, 86-88 *Sāradālavikīṇita* ; verses 2, 6, 25, 43, 52, 85, 100 *Śālīni* ; verses 3-4, 8-9, 14, 17, 40-41, 56-57, 60, 77, 80-84, 89-93, 97-99 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 5, 47 *Śikharinī* ; verses 7, 10-12, 15, 18-19, 22-24, 26-33, 36, 37-39, 42, 44, 46, 50-51, 53-55, 59-63, 65, 68-69, 73-75, 78-79 *Indraṇaḍṇī* ; verse 13 *Mandūkātātā* ; verses 16, 38, 58, 67, 94-96 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 20-21 *Ratnādhatā* ; verse 34 *Prithvī* ; verses 18-19 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate, First Side

- 1 A-vighname=astu[1*] Śrīnāthō=vaṭu vah purā Ball-grhē yasmīn Varāh-ā[śrītan] dadāhtr-ā[grē-
- 2 ṇa Bhuvō=dharam undati saty=advāha-llī-ōtenkō | prauḍh=ava pratibhūti sā khala na-
- 3 v=śūḍḍhā-pī Bhūtr=ojjhatī pāthah-prāvaramam pradārītavati sarvaṃ vapah=saṃśta-
- (śhīha)varh(vam)[11*] Śrīnān=astu
- 4 trīyaś nāḥ sa dāvah kshityā tōyān=ānāḥ=ānūḥna | vyōm=ādityān=ānūḥnā yajvanā svar-
- rvi
- 5 āvan sākshād=ātmaśhīr-yō bhīharti[12*] Mukha-bāh=āru-pādād=yaś=chātur-varṇya-
- 6 m=ajījanat | tam=Aupaniṣadām saumī Puruṣam(ruṣam) puruṣkar-śkṣaṇam[12*]
- Amṛtaśhā-
- 7 nām=śōśhānām bhuvanānātr bhārād=iva | yasy=śharam=abhih=antibah Pratyū-
- 8 hēśah sa pātu vah [14*] Śrīr=ratnam Sāmāhōs=timira-karīna-atamhha-
- 9 na=grīpī mṛigē[1] svar-nadyā Haripaṇa-payūhāḥ pravahamam | m-
- 10 dhāpāna-drōṇī sura-parīśadī bhāla-tilakam prathīti-kīrtitāyāḥ pradhā-
- 11 tu śubham vah Śāśtra[5] [15*] Bhūmār=bhāgam dākṣhīpād=amburāśār=ś-Sāśhādīrāḥ Bhā-
- 12 ratam varnam=āhuḥ | tatrā=py=śhād-Bhūratam kharādām=śvirbhūtā varṇā varṇa-
- 13 dharmnās=cha yatra [16*] Atr=Ānūḥrabhūś=śā Bharatasya kharād=śhagūni tu trīpī va-
- 14 saṃtiti yasyām | Śrīnāḥ=Kūṣṇavarayōś=cha Dākṣhārāmō cha saṃdārīta=va-

First Plate, Second Side³

- 15 bhavāni [17*] Tēśhām trayāṇām bhūgūḥḥ sāmīdhyād=anya-darśabhām | Tēṣṇga-
- bbhūr-i-
- 16 ti khyātīm=Amāhāra-bhūmār=bhīhartī sā [18*] Tatrā Dākṣh=Āmarā-Kāśhīra-Kumāra-Prāchya-
- 17 pūrvvakāḥ | pānchch=ś(śh=ā)rāmāḥ prakāśamāś krīdā=sthānāni Dhūr[19*] [19*] Śāpatnya-
- 18 rōśhād=iva tatrā Gauryyām nīryāya Gauntam=api bhārtur=īśāt | vahasy=ath=E-

¹ [We regret to record here the fact that Sri K.H.V. Sarma, one of the authors of this article as also Sri Somasekhara Sarma, passed away when the article was going through the press.—Ed.]

² From the impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

³ The plate bears the Telugu numeral 1 on the left margin.

- 19 ā-ōpi cha sañnidhattē tirāṣṇa tasyā iva sāntvanāya [[[10*] Tatr=ādi-Vimāna=api Kṛishṇavē-
 20 ṇim=anu-vrajaṁtyō vimalāśaytvāt | Malāpakā Bhūmarathī vibhānti āri-Tu-
 21 rugabhadrā Bhavanāśanī cha | [[[11*] Sākam Śrīyā tatra mah-āgrahārē Kṛishṇā-taṭē Kākula-
 nāma
 22 dhāy* | Śrīvallabhas=sat[1*]vagoṇ-ārayatvāt-trātum trilōkīm khalu sañnidhattē | [[[12*]
 23 Tatr=aiṇ-ōchchay-pu[li]na-jaghaṇḍ phēna-hā=ōrmi-hastā harṣa-ārēṇ-mukhara-
 24 rahanā varṇa-śvatta-nābhī | chakra-dvandva-stana-parikarā mīna-nētr-āmbuj-āsyā nārī
 sarvv-ā
 25 vasyava-subhag=ēv-āpagā bhāti Kumḍī [[[13*] Sarvva-sampat-samākīrṇā itrē tasyāḥ
 pratishṭhitā | Aude-
 26 nūti=ti samākhyatā rājadhānī vijrīmbhatē [[[14] Uchchaisravas-talya-balaś-turāṅgaḥ
 Kalpadri[drum]-ābhā-
 27 ā=cha vadūya-varyyāḥ | Rāmab-ōpamānāi ramaṣṭjanāś=cha sā bhāti bhūmāv=
 Amarāvati=va [[[15*]
 28 Kālā Kalau viraṣa-dhūrmika-rājalōkē Gaṅgā-pravāha iva Viṣṇupada-prasūtaḥ | dharm-ō-
 chcha-
 29 jivana-dharas-trijagat-prasiddhāś=āuddhō vibhāti purī tatra chaturtha-varṇṇaḥ [[[16*]
 Patis=tasyāḥ purō varṇṇa=tu

Second Plate, First Side

- 30 rīyya(ya)=sa hi varṇṇyatē | yas-tu bhū-rakṣhaṇa-prauḍha-putra-pautra-paramparaḥ [[[17*]
 Prāyāḥ parādhyā bhuvi Pa-
 31 mjanāśṇub pūr=uttamā tatra cha Vellāśrīḥ | tasyāḥ purāś=śatvad=adhīśvaratvāt=tad-
 ākhyay=ābhū-
 32 t=sa nirūḍha-gōtraḥ [[[18*] Sad-Ārchyuta-Śrī-sañitōb-chaturthāi* varṇṇāt=psyē=bdhāt=iva
 satva-pūrnāt | san-mā-
 33 raga-varṇīmilayāḥ kaṭā(lā)nām tasmād=udait=Prōḥaya-bhūpat-Induh [[[19*] Pallava-Trina-
 yanaṇya bhūpatēḥ prāktanām cha bhuvi dha-
 34 amam=udidha(dīha)raṇ | tad-vad=ēva cha sa kīrtim=arjāyan Pallava-Trinayana-prathām=
 adhāt | [20*] Kōsar=iva yudhī vikram-ōrjīṭab
 35 Pāṇḍyārīya-gaja-marddanō bhavan | sañtātataḥ dāśaṇ dīkṣa viṣṭ(ṣa)taḥ Pāṇḍyārā-
 yagajakōsar=ti saḥ | [[[21*] Putrīṇa tasyā-
 36 pratim-ōdayāna bhāgy-āvalatib-sākalām]-śalmabhājā | Anudhira-khamā Vēma-nripōṇa sā=
 bhūd=ś[ī]janvati t[ā]ja-dhurandharōpa | [[[22*] Uddh[ī]-
 37 tya bhūmim Yavan-āb-dhi-magnām sañsthāpsyañttam prakṛitau tam=āryyāḥ | śākabāt=
 kalau mānusha-
 38 dāhaṭhārī mahā-Varābhō-yam=ti-ṭrayaṇ(tti)ti | [[[23*] Dharmōṇa tasmim dharanṭō dadhānē
 sarvvāgi āstrū-
 39 py=akhlās=cha vādāḥ | kaipāḥ kratūnām cha tatsaya samyag=bhūdēvatābhū=samam=āvir-
 āṇa [[[24*] Mā-

* Cf. Kālidāsa's *Nipināśatīkā*. "Fichtāśatīka-sarvāṇa-śrīyā-śrīyā-śrīyā-śrīyā-śrīyā", etc.

* This verse occurs also in the Mayamāpura grant of Anavimavādī.

* The sandhi is not observed here.

* These four letters are written below the line.

- 40 lād=āgram caukhya-mathppāta-hēṭṭhō ṣōpānānām Sēgīrou athāpakaaya | śaktiś tasy=ādrīkasy
=ōya-
41 tīayā vā vaktuṁ śaktō Vēma-bhūmipatēḥ kaḥ ||[25*] Ājām tadīyam=anuvarttamānaś
tasy=ānājō bhū
42 patir=Annay-ākhyah | ākṣatapatrām=avanīm=atānī samethāpīṭasa(s=aa)na=atha yauvva-
rājyō ||[26*] Sat[1*]v-ōttaras=ś-
43 anaya-bhūmipālas=suvarṇa-pakṣh-ōdīharan-āikayōgyah | vadarān-āpākṛita-lōka-bādhas=
sūlakṣād=ī-
44 v=ālakaḥyata Chakrapāṇiḥ||[27*] Tasy=ātha patat¹ chaturō(c=Ā)nyam-ākhyā prāśāṣṭa
putrān=Anavōta-bhūpan(pam) | śrī-
45 Mammaḍin Māchaya-bhūmipālām vīr-Ānnavēma-kehitipani kramēya ||[28*] Madhyā
chaturuppām=atha Vēma-

*Second Plate, Second Side**

- 46 bhūpaś=śāhām eva-patnīkṛitavān=abhūd=īrau | agādīa=an[1*]vāv=Anavōta-bhūpan vīr-
Ānnavēma-kehitipālakan
47 cha ||[29*] Śa bhṛātribhīr=Māchaya-pārthivēna śrī-Mallayōn-Ānnaya-bhūbhūjā cha |
śārtham tribhīr=sambhṛita-dharma-ki-
48 ritīḥ kāmām=ārjita-ārśa-chīram=anvabhuṅkta ||[30*] Tasy=ātha Vēma-kehitipālakeny
putrō bhūyyā(ṣī)n=Anavōta-bhū-
49 paḥ | akhaṣṭīta=śrī=atula-pratāpaś=suhāśanam paitṛikam=adhyatishṭa(śhṭha)t ||[31*]
Amūdra-kṣham=ābhū-
50 d=Anavōta-bhūpō tasmin=vinētaryya=katō-bhayatvāḥ | dhānyair-dhanāś=ch-ātitarān
sampridīhāt=ā-
51 m²blādīt-āśāha-janāntitaratigā ||[32*] Kany=ōdabbhūn=Nārpa-bhūpatār=yyā Lakṣmīr-
vīśūdhāś=īva du
52 gāha=śūdhōḥ | tām=Anyam-ākhyām=udavōḍha Vichpur=Lakṣmīm=īv=ādhyām=Anavōta-
bhūpaḥ ||[33*]
53 Kāmāragiri-sambhākaś tanayam=Anyam-ākhyātā satām=asūta kula-pālī-
54 kā tad=ann s=Ānyamāśbhā yaman | tayā cha kula-bhūshayā kuia-varēpa⁴ tō-
55 n=āpīcha pratishṭī(śhṭī)ta-taram mahat-kulam=īti pratīḥ pītā ||[34*] Śa Kāmāragīdūś
bhūvī rājadhūm=aka-
56 lpayat-kalpavitavya-lakṣah | Tvashṭ=āpi drīshṭv=ā-pratimam yadīya(ya)m nirmmūṣa-
vaichītryam=a-
57 bhūd=vilakṣah ||[35*] Abhramākaśah paritasat-kapīśraha-paṅktir=evapitō vibhātī paritō-
drima-
58 yah purīm yām(yām) | viārāntavān=īva bhuvō bharam=Annavōtō samethāpya bhōga-
valayantha-pā-
59 gaḥ Phagubdrāḥ ||[36*] Samūhais=sudh-śābhāśābhīr=īndu-kalpair=anivātyyamāgō tīmra-
prachārō |
60 na kṛakṇa-pakṣhasya bhavaty=abhijūḥ yasyām janō jātv=apī varttamānaḥ ||[37*] Nāgair=
naga-bhām-

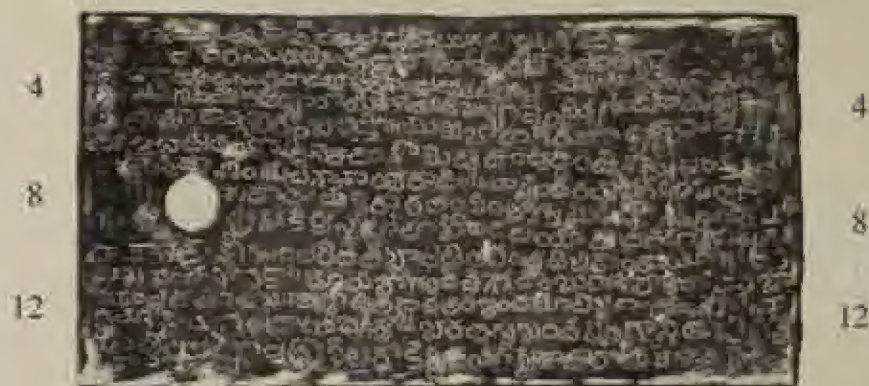
¹ The letter is written above the line.

² The plate is marked 2 on the left margin.

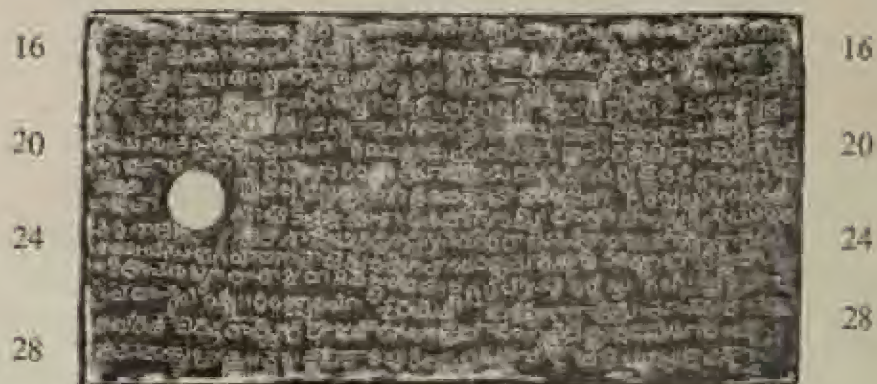
³ Sameśra is redundant.

⁴ The letter is written below the line.

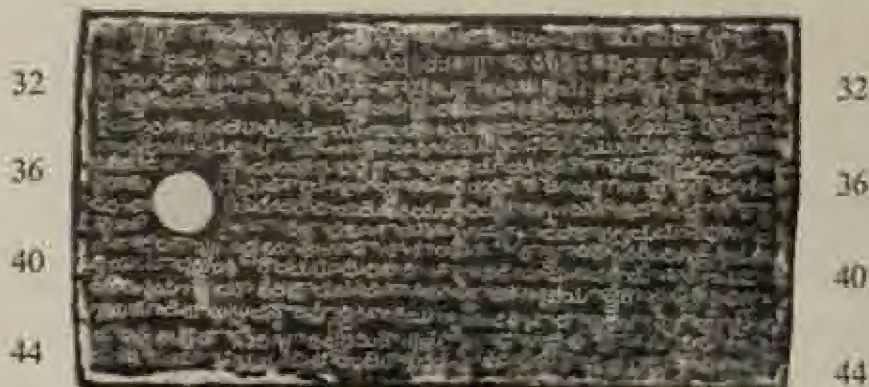
i, a



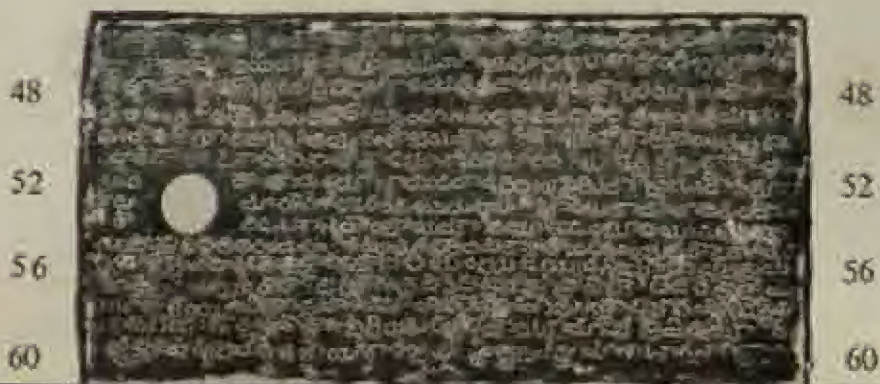
i, b



ii, a



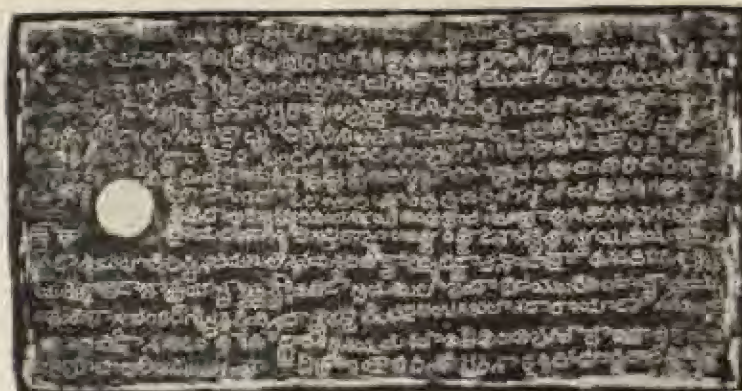
ii, b



64

68

72



64

68

72

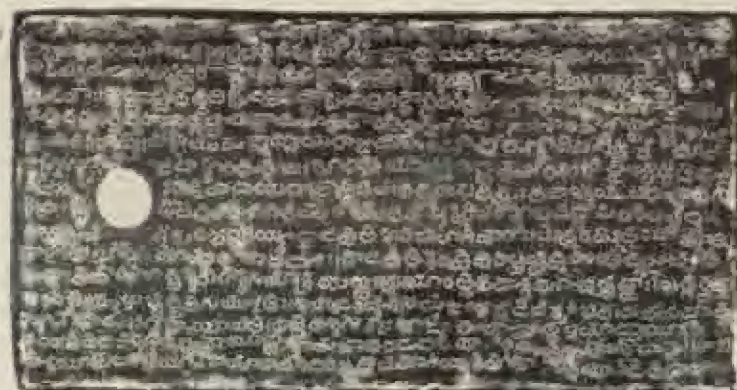
iii, b

76

80

84

88



76

80

84

8

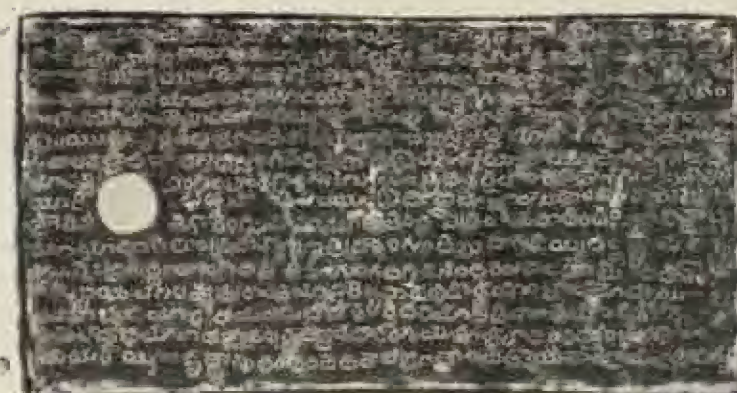
iv, a

92

96

100

104



92

96

100

104

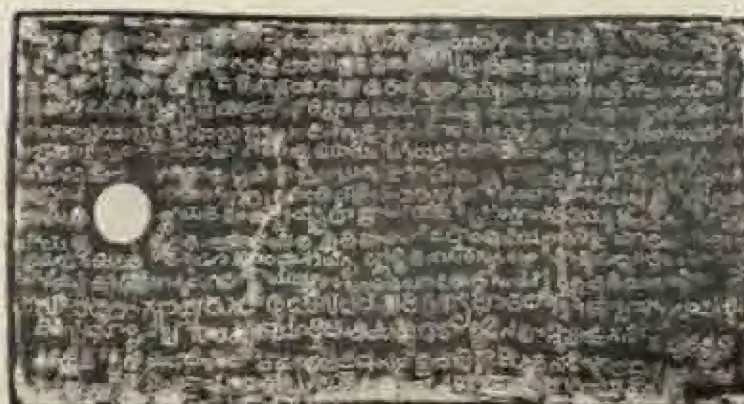
iv, b

108

112

116

120



108

112

116

120

- 78 ti divas=samayē svvishṭa=śhṭā | kshiti=ākṣhīla-phala-prasāya-sasyā vigata-bhayās=
sukhinaś=cha-bhū
- 79 mudōvāḥ ||[49] Bahvīr=vidhātō vībudha-pratishṭā(śhṭā) budha-pratishṭā(śhṭā)ś-cha paras-
sahasrāḥ | kiṁ bhūyas=śaktāna ya-
- 80 d=astī dharmyam kṛtyaṁ sa tat-sarvva=ath=ātanta ||[50*] Kālā=eti tasmāi khala Patīya-
nāmān sārthāḥ(rthā-ā)kvayō Da-
- 81 kshipadāśa-madhyā | Palāmudu||śhvaya-rājedhāt sampūrṇa-paṇyā vipaṇī-athalōchu ||
[51*] Va-
- 82 rṇas=asayāḥ rājedhāyām turyaḥ sūra-[52*] śrīmān=astī śuddh-ānvatāyaḥ | drashtuṁ
śrīshṭas=ad-guṇā-
- 83 n=ēva sarvva=śhakti=aiiv=ādāya Dhāt=śchabhat=ēva ||[52*] Tat-pūḥ-patitvāna tad-ākhy-
ay=niva prakhyāta-gō-
- 84 traḥ prithivītaś=amin | sa kēvalam khēlati Vallāśrī-vadōśy-ōpama-śrī-kula-śīla-vṛttāḥ
||[53*]
- 85 Tasmāt=tu¹ varṇad=udakhāt=turyyā(yā)it-Kāṣa-kshītāḥ Kamalā-nivāśaḥ | nūtrair=
anūtrair=apī bhūmi-
- 86 pālāḥ prasūyamāna-prathan-āpadānāḥ || [54*] Kāśakshītāṁ kshiti-kalpa-vrikakam sam-
kṛitya jīvamti
- 87 janāḥ kshītan yā | sarvvaśya lōkasya samāśrayatvanī prayāntī tō dhānya-dhāna-śbhīr-
ddhāḥ || [55*] Khaḍga-kṛit-ā-
- 88 khil-āmītra-bhūbbhit-pakṣa-samunnatīḥ | sa Namdanavana-grāmō Jadbhabhōd=iva
jimbhātā ||[56] Kālō mahati
- 89 halyāḥ prādurbhūtā prabhāvati | patat tasya guṇāḥ pūjyaḥ tuly-śbhūt Tallam-śhvayā
||[57*] Śrī-Kā-
- 90 taya-kshītipatār=atha Tallamāyā dvābhyām=avātarad=udāharagaṁ nripānām(pām) |
śauryya-pratāpa-
- 91 vinay-śāli-guṇāśrayāḥ Mār-āvanparibṛ(vī)dhō mahāśya-kṛitīḥ ||[58*] Śūras=sa Māra-
kshītipāla-śāli-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 92 haś=śuddh-ānvay-śtthām=atha Mācham-ākhyām(khyām) | kanyām kaśātrī-kṛitavān=parā-
rthyāḥ Pulōna-putrīm Maratā-
- 93 m=iv=śāś ||[59*] Māchambikāyā aha Māra-bhūpād-bhūdāvātā-rakṣaṇa-lakṣhīṇa-śrīḥ
| Kāṣa-kshītāśa=tanayō
- 94 Jayantāḥ Śachyāś=Śachī-bharttū=iv=śvatīrpaḥ ||[60*] Vittasra viśāṇana-samgṛihītyaī
śakṣāt=sa Yakeśāvara ēva jātaḥ |

¹ The letter is written below the line.

- 95 kñ cha prapañchikṛitayōḥ pratāpa-prasādayōḥ=ch=Ārka-Śaśāṃkka-kālpah || [61*] Śa
Bhāṭma-Duryōdhana-pūrvvakāṇām
- 96 saṃgrāma-bhūmāv=ari-bhūpatinām(nām) | vīrya-vyudāsena sa Kāṭa-bhūpō viśhātī saṃ-
grāma-Dhanamjaya-
- 97 kñ || [62*] Yuddhō saṃpiddhō rūpa-bhūpatinām yv=at=āhatibhyas=sa vīratitamānān |
rakshanti tōshān hi
- 98 sa pālakatvāt khyātas=tatas=samgaḍi-rakshapālāḥ || [63*] Śrīmān=Annaya-bhūpatie=tadanu-
tām Kāṭa-kaha-
- 99 mādhlavarām saṃchinty=āma-samāham=amchchitatarair=varśa-pradhānair-gayāḥ | bhū-
- 100 y=ādhlad=uttamām=avyayāḥ śrī-Deḍḍam-ākhyāḥ=utām=taṃśai Kāṭya-bhūbhū-
- 101 | Ś Giripatir=Gaunrū yathā Śambhavō || [64*] Patirū bhavitrū mahatirū viditvā Deḍḍ-āhva-
- 102 yāyā(m=āḥa pit=Ārhdhra-vāpyā | iti prāśamsatī budhā=tadityas dṛiṣṭvā mahatī|va-
- 103 m su(gu*)pāḥ prasiddham(dham) || [65*] Anvṛta-kṣitīpāsa=adigata=tad=anahatam-
(ram) | Kāṭa-bhūmipatīr(=āḥ)mā-
- 104 a v'ach-chāy=āva=sa lakshyāt || [66*] Kāṭa-kṣamāpatir(vi)ḍhōd=atā Deḍḍamānukā
Vām-āhvayām bahu-
- 105 mukh=ābhayad=āhūrātman(mam) | dardhara=āktidharam=Āśadhinātho=maulē=Gaunr
Kunt-
- 106 ram=iva putram=asūta jaitram(tram) || [67*] Kṛtv=āvatāram=uman=ābhilāṣam kartum
Mahātman=a-
- 107 mēya=āurayām(ryam) | dṛiṣṭvā=utām=taṃ putrā=abhūtām pitau yathā Haimavatī-
Mahān || [68*]

Fourth Plate. Second Side

- 108 Rakshanti bhūpā=sukṛitō jagad-yā dharm-ōpadōśāna sa pālāyama=ān | Vōma-kṣitīpō-
ndhra-janaaya
- 109 vāpyā prakhyāpātō=bhūj=Jagarakṣapālāḥ || [69*] Bhōr-bhūmkaruṇāḥ | ācūti-pratibhayaḥ
prōddhūta-yu-
- 110 ddh=ōdyamā=samprāpt=ōchcha=il=ōchchayāḥ prati-ravale=tat=āpi vītrōtāḥ | kham=tair-
gām=tum=atā=ā-
- 111 dyatā=tad=agat=rvitā=cha Vōmaprabhōr=rairi=kṣmā=patayō=āri-pakṣatī-bhīdā= nūh-
dām(dadi)ti Śaṅkrahādanam(nam) || [70*] Bh-
- 112 tātāḥ bhaya-bhāmjanam bhūja-balaḥ dīnaya dīny āpahan vīttam vīttam=udāhṛitū
sacharatā-
- 113 m bhōgam=va=baṇdhō=saman(mam) | vāpā satya-parāyagāḥ cha dadhatā śrī-Vōma-
prithvībhūjā tādṛig-lakṣa-
- 114 mukha kṣ kṣititāt sūkshā=sadṛikabḥ prabhūḥ || [71*] Buddhyā jāgrati yē Brihaspati-
mukhā=sūksham=āriha=sa-

* The symbol has not been observed here.

* The plate bears the numeral 4 on the left margin.

- 115 ubōdhan² chāturyyēṇa charamitī vakra-matayaś-Śukr-Śulayō yē nayō | arthibhhyō vita-
 116 raditti yēttiham-adhikam tad-vānchobhittād-dhārmikāḥ azyvātus-tān-atihayya khēlati
 gugalai-
 117 r-Vēma-pāthivijayit | [72*] Ath-Ānavōta-khittipālakōṇa dattām tadīyyām nija-mātulēna |
 tām
 118 Vēma-lhūmipatir-Anyam-ākhyām pāpā-agrihpad-vidhūś sa kanyāṁ | [73*] Anyānyam-
 atyamāta-yath-ānurū-
 119 pau Vēma-khittīas-sa eba s-Ānyamā eba | dēva yōgya-mūlambhūmatayā dadhātō svavara-
 ratna-vyatishahga-lakṣmīm(nim) | [74*]
 120 'S3 Padmahastā Purnahōttamēna Vēma-khittīṣēna grāhita-pāpāḥ | sūbhāgya-mūlambhū(ni)
 121 dhīr-Anyamāmbō mātulakhyatō mūrtimat-iva Lakṣmōḥ | [75*] Śākāpde-dri-nabhō-
 gni-chaṇdra-gaṇitō Chaitrē- tṛiti-
 122 yē tithau Krishnā Jiva-dinō Ravāv-Aja-gatō tirthōha sarvavēshv-¹api | Viśvātaita-
 nadim gatōhv-anumutā bhā-
 123 rās-platā taj-jalō grāmam sō Palupartti samjham-akatōl-bhātr-ūpitaṁ viprasā || [76*]

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 124 Yād-āiv-Ānyamāyō grāmāḥ sa tayā vipra-sātkṛitāḥ | tadā prabhṛiti ten-nāmaḥ bhuri rā-
 125 dho-nyamāvarāḥ || [77*] Vraihōya-śālīya-yavarya-yavya-lhūmī-samōt-annavar-āgrā-
 126 hārāḥ | grāmān-āśāśān bhuri n-āśāśā kathāsi tath-ārāma-ghal-ābhīrāmāḥ || [78*] Makha-
 prayō-
 127 gale-sūritibhīḥ purāṇāḥ sūddham-mamastōru(s-ēra)lay-śkhilān | kētrāḥ et-āptv-ōva
 mīthō-bhyu-
 128 āyān viddhīm bhajātū-Annarara-dvijōha || [79*] Aya grāmasya pūrgalātārāḥ || * * *
 129 dvī-bhāḡ Lakṣmāṇa-sūmayāji | dvī-bhāḡ Paddi-bhāḡṭaḥ | śka-bhāḡ Kāmragīry-āryaḥ |
 130 dvī-bhāḡ Appan-āryaḥ | 50 Kaulika-gōtrīṇaḥ | dvī-bhāḡ Ahōbalanātha-bhāḡṭaḥ | dvī-bhāḡ
 Nā-
 131 rāyana-bhāḡṭaḥ | tri-pāda-bhāḡ Paddan-āryaḥ | tri-pāda-bhāḡ Vallalib-āryaḥ | śka-bhāḡ
 Ananttanatamūli-
 132 k-āryaḥ | śka-bhāḡ Ellan-āryaḥ | dvī-bhāḡ Annam-āryaḥ | ardha-bhāḡ Kāman-āryaḥ |
 pādū-ēddha-bhāḡ Rāi-
 133 may-āryaḥ | śka-bhāḡ Sīrugay-āryaḥ | 50 Bhāradvāja-gōtrīṇaḥ || chatur-bhāḡ Mallinātha-
 sūma-
 134 yāji | śka-bhāḡ Rāmay-āryaḥ | śka-bhāḡ Narahary-āryaḥ | śka-bhāḡ Kōmman-āryaḥ |
 sūddhaika-
 135 bhāḡ Anant-āryaḥ | ardha-bhāḡ Maṇir-āryaḥ | ardha-bhāḡ Abhū-āryaḥ | ardha-bhāḡ
 Mallan-āryaḥ |
 136 ardha-bhāḡ Sūri-bhāḡṭaḥ | śka-bhāḡ Padday-āryaḥ | 30 Kāśyapa-gōtrīṇaḥ | ardha-bhāḡ
 Allāja-bhāḡṭaḥ |

¹ From here the engraving appears to have been done by a different scribe.

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 137 ēka-bhāgi Anant-āryah | pāda-bhāgi Sūṅgay-āryah | ^{śrī} Ātrīya-gōtrīyah || dvi-bhāgi Pema-
ār-yah |
138 śeṣa Yādūhā-gōtri || śhaḍ-bhāgi Mādhar-āryah | dvi-bhāgi Māri-bhattah | ēka-bhāgi
Sunggaya-
139 bhattah | ēka-bhāgi Sūray-āryah | ēka-bhāgi Gaṇapaty-āryah | ^{śrī} Śrīvatsa-gōtrīyah | ēka-
bhāgi
140 Peddan-āryah | ēka-bhāgi Appan-āryah | ^{śtau} Gautama-gōtrīyah || dvi-bhāgi Sūngan-āryah |
141 dvi-bhāgi Appalā-bhattah | dvi-bhāgi Kāman-āryah | ēka-bhāgi Katakani-Mallan-āryah |
ardha-bhāgi Malla-
142 n-āryah | arddha-bhāgi Vīśan-āryah | ēka-bhāgi Anipedd-āryah | ēka-bhāgi Erray-āryah |
pāda-bhā-
143 gi Erray-āryah | ^{śrī} Kaṇḍīmya-gōtrīyah || pād-ārdha-bhāgi Anant-āryah | ēka-bhāgi Si-
144 nggay-āryah | pād-ārdha-bhāgi Peddāy-āryah | ^{śtau} (tē) Yāka-gōtrīyah (pal) | tri-bhāgi
Malla-
145 bhattah | śeṣa Kāmakīyana-Viśvāmītra-gōtri || ardha-bhāgi Gōpāla-sūmayāji | ēka-
146 bhāgi Tippay-āryah | dvi-bhāgi Kāchan-āryah | ēka-bhāgi Chaihdray-āryah | ^{śrī} Harita-gō-
trīyah |
147 ēka-bhāgi Mallay-āryah | pāda-bhāgi Lakhay-āryah | ardha-bhāgi Tippay-āryah | ^{śtau} (tē)
148 Pārīkariya-gōtrīyah (pal) || dvi-bhāgi Vīṇarājū-Pragādan-āryah | śeṣa Kālābhava-gōtri ||
149 ēka-bhāgi Gōpay-āryah | śeṣa Maṇḍalya-gōtri || sa-tri-pāda-chatur-bhāgi Dōray-āryah |
150 śeṣa Śūṇḍīya-gōtri || dvi-bhāgi Sūh[ga]y-āryah | śeṣa Lohita-gōtri || tri-pāda-bhāgi Vi-
151 śaya-bhattah | śeṣa Śālāvata-gōtri || ēka-bhāgi Sagarśevana-mahādēval | ēka-bhāgi Śrī-
Kōśavādēval |

Sixth Plate, First Side

- 152 Śāśanamun-artulūn[du] gōtīamūla vargūchechi vrāś appoḍu chēruvalūl vīttimā[ṇ*]ttu
lu vaṇaka va-
153 chechināna vrāyīmochehina gōtra-nāmmūla | pāda-bhāgi Ātrīya-gōtri Sūran-āryah ||
154 ēka-bhāgi Peddan-ārya[h*] | ēka-bhāgi Pemman-āryah | ^{śtau} dvan Kāśyapa-gōtrīyah | ēka-
bhāgi
155 Sūngan-āryah* | ēka-bhāgi Chivaja-Lūngan-āryah | Harita-gōtri || Kartā śāśana-kāryanya
Vāsudēva-an-
156 dhi-antah | Perunāgi-sūhūr-ēka-bhāgi gōtrīyah Kāśīkah || (80*)
157 Pañch-gōtarābhūh khārībhīś-triśatā Kaḍami-śūhūtā | ^{śtau} śaś-śaya śmānū[ai] lūkhyantā
sarvva-
158 dīk-śhūtā || (81*) Annavaripūh-bōlamēm-śmāna [] Tārppanaka Gōdāvarinūh[ai]
śūhūh-
159 napu mukhamai vachēhina Gorami-gaṭṭu ā Uṇamīnūh[ai] Kapila-Mahāśvara-śhāna-
160 modūhūhūh vachēhina Pōtu-gaṭṭu marinnī Tārppanaka śma [] adita-nūh[ai] mōḍi-ramppu-
161 gān Kaḍami-paḍumai | śrīka-nūh[ai]-tūm[ai] paḍumajūgānu vachēhī Vāma-

* The plate bears the numeral 5 on the left margin.

* Written above the line.

* No gōtra is mentioned for this line.

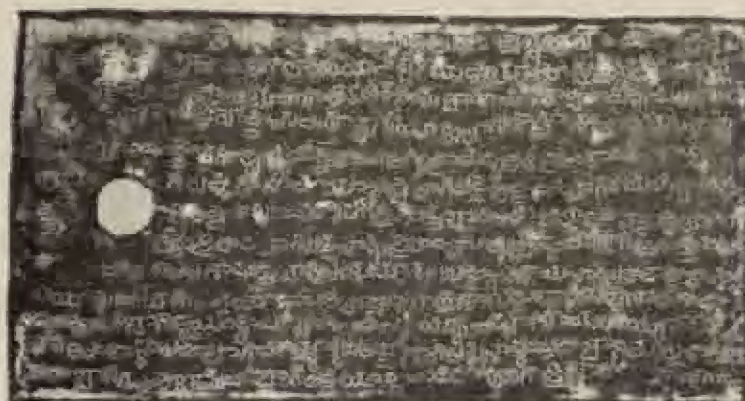
v, a

124

128

132

136



124

128

132

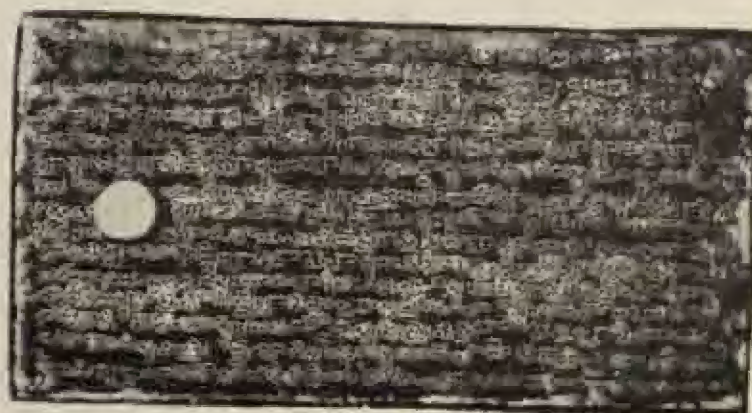
136

v, b

140

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144

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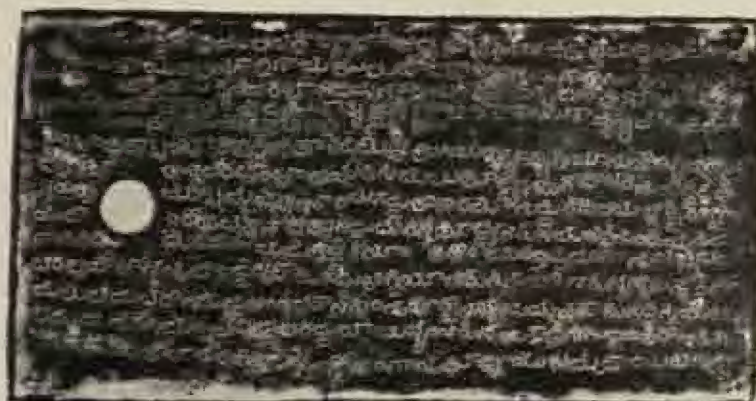
vi, a

152

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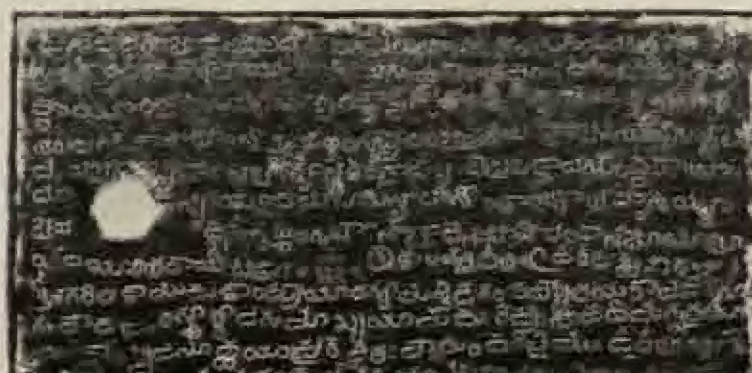
164

vi, b

168

172

176

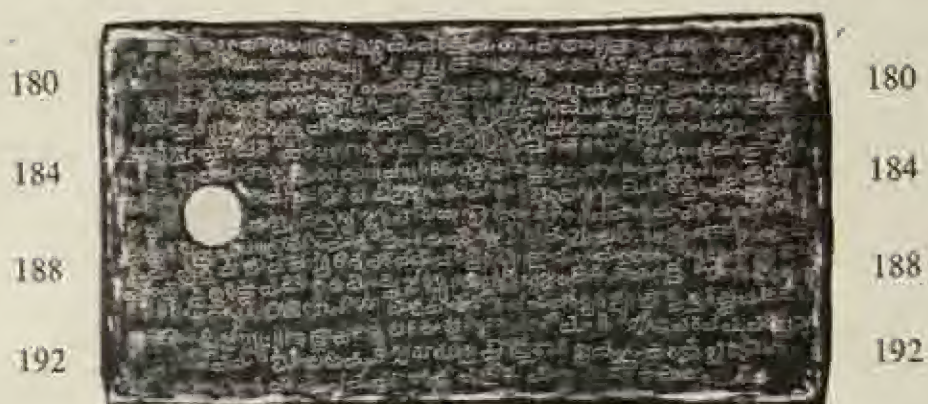


168

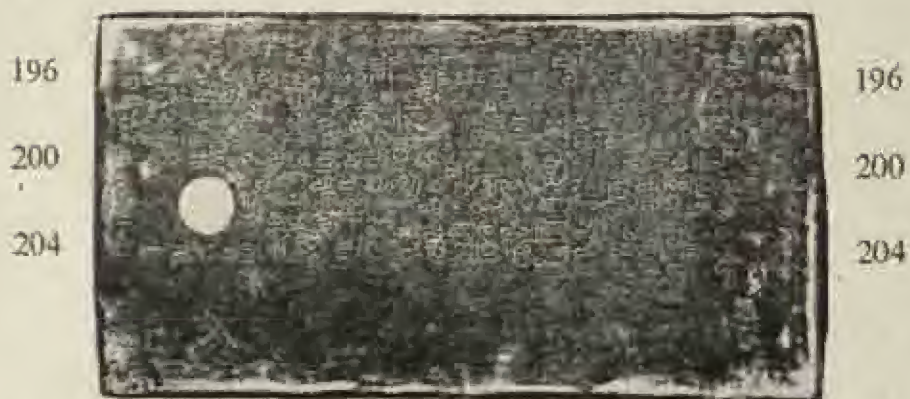
172

176

vii, a



vii, b



Scale : Two-fifths

S E A L



(from Photograph)

- 162 vāṣṭu pōḷāṇaṁ-pōḷōdina Pōtu-gaṭṭu Āgnōyānakunnu Dakahyānakunnu Nairu (ṛi)ṭikini ā-
 163 mālu [1*] Vēṁavārānakunnu Amṁavārānakunnu pūrvāna nīśchayamaina Pōtu-gaṭṭa
 āmālu [1*]
 164 Paḍumaṭiki sīma Belipuṭṭala-gaṭṭu [1*] Vāyavyānoḱu sīma Kāṭrēni-guṭṭa [1*] Uṭṭarānaku ei-
 165 ma Tallāya-tōṁṭa daggagina Dakahina¹qāṇaṁ-gānu Tārpu mukhamai pōyi Vasahṭha-

*Sixth Plate, Second Side**

- 166 Gōḍāvarimiboriddina phalavṛikshālō-gaṭṭu [1*] Yṭṭāna-dikkunaku sīma Vasahṭha-
 Gōḍāvur [1]
 167 Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ yā yō harṭa vasmūdharaṁ(rām) śhaṣṭi²-varāha-sahasrāṇi vi-
 168 śhīhāyāṁ jāyāt kṛmih [182*] sva-dattā[ḍ*]-dvi-guṇaṁ paṇyaṁ para-datt-ānupāla-
 169 nam [1 para-datt-āpahāḱṇa sva-dattāṁ śishphulam bhavōt [183*] ōk-siva bhagmī lōkē
 sarvōśhā-
 170 m-ēva bhū-bhṛitām(tām) [1 na bhōgyā na kara-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasmūddha(dha)rā
 [184*] Śā-
 171 mānyō-yaṁ dharmma-sētur-nripāṇāṁ kālō lālō pāṭa)ṇyō
 172 bhavadbhīḥ [1 ittham-sarvāṁ bhāvinaḥ pōrthiv-āndrāṁ bhūyō bhū-
 173 yō yāchatō Rāmabhadraḥ [185*] Śrī Pallavatrigeṭṭa [1*] Dōḱō Dakahina-samjānā-
 174 eti nagari Pal[1*]āṁudu [ām[1]ā]bhavā aḱch-ājayāṁ-asti dig-aṁṭa-viār(ru)ta-yaśā varṇā Ha-
 175 tāḥ pōḍajah [1 tasmāt-Kāṭa-samākhyayā Madhuripul pāthōdhi-magga-tayī-
 176 trāp-ārth-āmbv-aṭan-ōthha(tha)yā prakāṭah pātum dharitāra³-ndait [186*] Tasmāt-Mā-
 177 ra-mahipatis-samudabhūd-siharm-aika-samāthāpana⁴-tasmāt-sō-jani [Kā*][a-bhūparibṛi-
 (vri)ḱhō

Seventh Plate, First Side

- 178 yaḥ prauḍha-būhā-balah [1] Kāṭ-ākhyām-ira karitam-artha-sahitāṁ Kṛishṇā-jalō
 paryatane-tan-madhya-sthi-
 179 ta-Divi-durga-nīlayaḥ varṇam vyaśhṭa dvishām(shām) [187*] Tasmāt-Kāṭa-
 dhārādhipād-alabhaṭa Śrī-Dōḱō-
 180 māmāḥ-āṁrajāṁ tāt Vēṁ-āhrayaṁ-Amulha-bhūparibṛi(vri)ḱhām bhūmanḱal-ākhaṇḱalām-
 (lām) [1 kṛtīr-yya-
 181 aya kṛipāṇa-khaṇḱita-Gajōdhis-ādi-garvōddhura-kshāmābhṛit-pakha-samunnatōr-viharatō
 rōḱō-dig-a-
 182 ut-āṇṭatō [188*] Śvānēta⁵-Āṇavōta⁵ya mātula⁵ya cha bhūpatōḥ [1 śāyva-bhōgāṁ na
 bhūmājānah(na)-

* na is redundant.

* The plate bears the numeral 6 on the left margin.

* The first record ends here.

* The letter is written above the line.

- 183 sa-tasya bhūmāḥ parikṣakāḥ || [89*] Ś=Ōṇavāma-mahīpaśa-cha' Kumārāgiri-bhūpatīśa(tīm) |
krāmāḥ-nijrē sa-
- 184 amābhūpya tapā rājya-dharmānubharāḥ || [90*] Vallāśtri-kulā jātā=ittam bhūpān amā-
dharan | svāmī-bhūṛitya
- 185 it| khyātō Vāma-bhūpā vilāhāt' asy || [91*] Kumārāgiri-bhūpasya svāmī=śmātō
samādhātāḥ |
- 186 sa Vāma-bhūpas=tasya-āṇām pāḥyan=pātī mōhantī(śm) || [92*] Vāma-Ānyamāvaran khyātān
nāmā
- 187 sa-avakūṣṭhāyāḥ | grāmaḥ samunnatīm dātum=adyuktō Vāma-bhūpatīḥ || [93*] Abhyōgat-
āroham-vidhī-
- 188 kṣāya-vyittī-kṣāya-Vāmāvar-Ōṇavara-Vāmavarāśvaśbhīyāḥ | grāmaḥ samagrātata-
sasya-phalābhīrā-
- 189 mān prāg=datta=śūltam=ādīśat-Kaḍamīn dvīpābhīyāḥ || [94*] Abdō Sakāsyā jaladh-
īkṣhapa-mārtti-chaṇdrō Māghā
- 190 dīmō Sāvi-sutasya sa Citrabhānu | Sōmagratā=annāvara-Vāma-varāśvaśbhīyāḥ prāg-
datta=śūltam=ādīśat-
- 191 t=Kaḍamīn dvīpābhīyāḥ || [95*] Iśa-ūrtha=ādīśat-paritundita-nij-āśayānām=ādīśbhīr=Annāvara-
Vāmavara-dvīpā-
- 192 nām(nām) | Śrī-Vāma-bhūpatīmaṇi=saha putra-pauttrair-āKaḍpam=astu dharmā-
bhūrapō dhu-
- 193 rīpāḥ || [96*] Annāvaram Vāmavarāleku grāma-grāmaṁ mōhān Kaḍamī pāṇchakona
[Anna]-

*Seventh Plate, Second Side**

- 194 varapa polamōra-dima-ninna(rūa)yama | pāṇmāḥ Janārdanaśvaśbhīyāḥ | dākṣa(kāśi)
nānam |
- 195 paḍumai-ādīgān Goramī-kāḥva mōvann puṇṭta | Goramī-kāḥva tārpa | Uttarān mu-
- 196 khamai pōyi peḍa-puṇṭta-gaḥenn | ā-peḍa-puṇṭta ā-Goramī ādīgān tārpa mukhamai
- 197 pōyi Gāḍāvari mōchenn | āṭṭa Uttarān mukhamai tō-lamka sahitanai nakkaviri-lakkakku
- 198 vaḷḷi Kaṇḍavellī-polam mōchenn || * * * || Śva-dattān para-dattān vā yō harita vacu-
- 199 mōtharām(rām) | śhaśhīr-varaha-sahasrāṇi viśh(bhāyā*)m jāyatō kṛmī || [97*] Śva-dattān-
dvigupam pūyān pa-
- 200 ra-datt-ānupālanai(nam) | para-datt-āpahārōpa aradattam viśhphalam bhavāt || [98*] Ek-
nāva bhagi-
- 201 nā lakkā sarvāśham āya bhābhīśān(tām) | nā bhōgyā nā ruka(kam)-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasu-
- 202 mōharā || [99*] Sāmāyō-yam dharmam-śūtar-śrīpānām kālō kālō pāṇāyā hū-
- 203 viśhbhī | ādhām(iṭham) sarvān=bhāvināḥ pāṇthivēndrān bhāyō bhōgyō yācha-
- 204 tō Rāmachandrah || [100*] Śrī-Pallavāstrīpāṇi || kī-Uṇā-Mahāśvarāśvaśbhīyān=namāḥ ||

* The letter is written below the line.

* The plate bears the number 7 in the left margin.

No. 23—ANDHRA SAHITYA PARISHAD PLATES OF SAKTIVARMAN

(I Plate)

THE LATE B. V. KRISHNA RAO, RAJAMUNDRY

(Received on 26.1.1956)

These plates seem to have been secured by the late Mr. T. Achyutarao, during the period of his official career as Assistant Inspector of Schools, Eluru, in 1913. They are noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1917-18 as C.P. No. 15 and are described by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri thus "The plates are much damaged and mutilated and the record is incomplete. The ornamental seal which bears in relief the usual Chālukyan emblems and the well-known legend *Śrī-Trībhuvaṇśāhī* in bold characters, now carries only four of these plates of the set. The remaining one or two plates are missing. Even the plates extant are so badly damaged that their contents could not be read entirely."¹ Out of the four extant plates, the upper two corners of the first plate and the lower right corners of the second and the third are broken away and lost, while the writing on the second side of the last plate is badly corroded. Consequently, on only one side of the set the writing is well-preserved. Even the seal with the legend is missing and has not been recovered.

In spite of the serious nature of the damage to the plates, the matter in the first two plates can be pieced together and re-constructed with the help of the published copper-plate inscriptions of the dynasty. But unfortunately much of the important information about the donor and the donees and their ancestors is lost. I edit this inscription with the help of the ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The characters of the inscription are of the Telugu-Kannada type of about the 10th century A.D., commonly styled as the *Vāṅḍi* script. Regarding individual letters, it may be noted that the initial *a* occurs in line 60, *ā* in lines 41, 42 and 57 and *ī* in line 49. Final *r* occurs in lines 6 and 25 and final *ṣ* in lines 41, 48 and 55.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the text is written in an admixture of prose and verse. The date portion of the record, if it existed in the original, is unfortunately lost. Nevertheless from verse 22, etc., it is obvious that the charter belonged to the reign of Saktivarmān I of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. Only two other copper plate records besides the present one are known so far to belong to this king, namely, the Pahluparṅga grant² and the Pennāra plates noticed by Sir Walter Elliot.³ Neither the originals nor good impressions of these two grants are now available.

As for the contents, after the usual preamble in prose introducing the first king of the family, Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana and then his nine successors with their periods of reign upto Viṣṇuvardhana IV, the charter describes in verse, Vijayāditya (II) also Naraṇḍra as the establisher of a hundred and eight temples of Nīlakaṭṭha (Śiva) to reckon as many victorious battles that he had fought and states that he reigned for 48 years (verse 1). The next verse praises the rule of his son and successor Kālī Viṣṇuvardhana (V) who reigned for an year and a half. Verses 3-4 describe Kālī Viṣṇuvardhana's son and successor, Vijayāditya (III) as one who avenged with

¹ A. R. Ep., 1918, Pt. II, p. 132, para. 5.

² *Andhra Sāhitya Parishad Patrika*, Vol. II, p. 402 and Plates.

³ For an attempt to correct the text of this grant, see Venkatarāmanayya, *Eastern Chālukyas of Vāṅḍi*, App. III, p. 31) G.

his glittering sharp sword, the head of Mañgi in the battlefield, chased Kannara and Śaṅkila into the impregnable country, protected Baddega from fear and ruled the kingdom along with his four brothers for 4½ years.¹ His brother was commander Vikramāditya, whose victorious son Chālukya Bhīma I, well versed in polity and generous, ruled for 30 years (verses 5 and 6). Chālukya Bhīma's son was Vijayāditya IV who, having conquered king Vāsava and set up a pillar of victory at Viraja, ruled for six months (verse 7).² His (Vijayāditya's) son Ammarāja I ruled for 7 years (verse 8). Tāla I having overthrown the boy-king Vijayāditya V, the son of Amma, ruled the earth for a month; defeating Tāla in battle, Vikramāditya II, son of Chālukya Bhīma I, ruled for eleven months; thereafter Yaddhamalla II, son of Tālapa ruled for 7 years (verses 9-11). Bhīma II, son of Kallabhoggaḍa Vijayāditya IV, protected and ruled the earth for twelve years having attacked, defeated and expelled Yaddhamalla from the country (verse 12). Bhīma's son born with an ornament-like tiasse around his neck was Ammarāja II³ who, by destroying the powerful elephant corps of the enemies earned the title *Tribhuvanaśūlaka* and ruled the earth for 25 years. Then Dānārjaya who was the son of Bhīma and the step-brother of Amma and who bore the epithet *Bijayārdyaga*, ruled the kingdom for three years (verses 13-16). On Dānārjaya's death there was anarchy for 37 years (verse 17). Dānārjaya's son by Āryakṣī was Śaktivarman who, while yet a boy exhibited his unequalled might to the entire world in his battle for the Chūḥa (*Chaulukya-roya*) and routed the haughty prince Baddega and Mahārāja. He (i.e. Chālukya-Nārjaya) laughing within himself at (god) Nārjaya who had to assume different forms to destroy his enemies, killed, in his own form the wicked Rāvaga-like Chūḍa Bhīma and seized the goddess of fortune on the very battlefield after destroying thousands of horses and the vast sea of chariots of the lord of Utkala (verses 18-23).

The prose passage following this containing the details of the grant is unfortunately badly damaged. Nevertheless from the extant portion of the writing, it can be made out that the king, the glorious Vishnuvardhana, having assembled the farmers and officials of Varanāṇḍa-śahaya made a grant in their immediate presence to the Rāhmapa Vennama. The object of the grant, whether it was a village or something else, cannot be made out.⁴ The available portion of the text, as already pointed out, has no date.

¹ Thus Mañgi and Baddega have been identified respectively with the Nolemba and Lemulavāḍa chiefs of the same name and Śaṅkila and Kannara with the Maṅgaya Śaṅkharaga and his brother-in-law Rāṣṭrakēṭṭa Rāḍha II respectively (*Vaṅkalasamantaya*, *Eastern Chālukyas of Uṇṇa*, pp. 93, 120, etc.). The impregnable country was evidently the kingdom of Baddega. [The impregnable country in which Śaṅkila and Kannara were chased appears to be Kṛṣṇapura which is mentioned side by side with Chikrakṛta or Kṛṣṇa supposed to be held by Baddega (*ibid.*, p. 126) in the Pūṭṭapure inscription of Mallapadōva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 232, verse 60). Dr. it may be Achalapura also (*A. R. Ep.*, 1123, pt. 6, para. 16). Again the word *śāṅkila* in verse 3, is actually an indeclinable particle, meaning 'together with' and not 'increased by half'. Therefore, Guṇaga Vijayāditya ruled in fact only for 44 years.—Ed.]

² Viraja may probably be identified with Viraja on the bank of the Vaitarna and the king Vātsa ally with Dāśarathasena IV (883-93 A.D.) or with Yaṅkasta I (c. 890-930 A.D.), both belonging to the Eastern Guṇga dynasty. Or, he may be identical with a king of Pūṭṭa or Mahāśāṅkila as the above Viraja is in Tūḥa. [Viraja was apparently situated in the country of 'Six thousand villages', situated on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā (*Chāṅṇy*, *The Eastern Chāṅṇy*, p. 70). Again there is no mention of any king called Vātsa. The expression *caṣṭhaśāṅkila* actually means 'the east'—Ed.]

³ [This verse has been misunderstood. In fact it describes that Amma II was declared her apparent even when he was in the womb of his mother, *śāṅkila* being an *in-gua* of royalty. Cf. *Tat-saṅgī Vijayāditya* *śāṅkila* *śāṅkila* *śāṅkila* *śāṅkila* in the Pāṇḍurama plates of Bhīma II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 214, text lines 24-26). Cf. also above, Vol. IV, p. 237.—Ed.]

⁴ After addressing the officials, the record introduces a family belonging to the Bhāradvāja-gotra. The genealogy of the family in the original must have contained at least six names of which Vennameyya, the only name that can be read in the damaged portion of the text, occurs in the second. It is difficult to say whether this family is that of the actual donor whose grant the king ratifies or that of the donee. However, the manner in which the address is recorded appears to suggest that the object of the charter was a grant of land.—Ed.]

The importance of this record lies in the fact that barring the Conjeevarnam inscription of Jayāchōḍa Bhīma,¹ it is the earliest document which gives an account of the interregnum, while the records of this dynasty of the post-restoration period are silent on this point.

Dānārṇava died in or about the beginning of 973 A.D. If Śaktivarman was just six years old in 973, he would be nearly sixteen in 983 or 984 A.D. Taila II (973-997 A.D.) was the Western Chōlukya adversary of the Chōḷas during the period and was the contemporary of Uttama-chōḷa alias Madhurāntaka (969-985 A.D.). His Nilgund inscription² clearly points to the continued hostility between Taila II and his Chōḷa adversary. The inscription, dated 20th September 982 A.D., refers in a conventional style to his victories over the Āndhra, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Utkala kings. The ruler of Āndhra may be identical with Śaktivarman, the rightful lord of the kingdom of Vēṅgi and not Jayāchōḍa Bhīma who was in all probability an ally of Taila II. The Pāṇḍya was a vassal of the Chōḷa king or perhaps his ally. The Lord of Utkala might be the Lord of Kalinga, i.e. Vajrahasta II (980-1004 A.D.). Vajrahasta II probably made a common cause with Śaktivarman who was closely related to him through his grandmother, a Kalinga princess,³ and the Chōḷa king against Āhavamalla and his ally Jayāchōḍa Bhīma, the usurper in Vēṅgi. Even for some time after 982 A.D. (i.e. the date of the Nilgund inscription) the Chōḷa king was at war with Āhavamalla in his desire to wrest Nolaḥhavāḍi and Bāpappāḍi from the Western Chōlukyas. It may be noted that in 992 A.D., Āhavamalla was ruling over the Nolaḥhavāḍi territory from his provincial capital at Roddam on the bank of the river Pinākinī (Pennār) on the western borders of the Anantapur District.⁴ It was probably during the period of protracted hostilities between the two powers that the *Chaulika-ropa* referred to in the present record (verse 21) was fought.⁵ It speaks of the signal victory which Śaktivarman obtained in the *Chaulika-ropa*. Krishna Sastri held the view "that Śaktivarman is said to have risen to fame, even in his youth (*bālye*) by his victory in a battle with the Chōḷas."⁶ This does not appear to be correct. The word *bālye* according to Sanskrit lexicons and well-known texts on *Dharma Śāstra* means the period of minority extending upto the age of sixteen. The event referred to, therefore, seems to have taken place when Śaktivarman had not completed his sixteen years. The Pabhuparra grant speaks of this battle as '*Draṁḍi-āhava*' or 'the battle of the Draṁḍas or Tamils'. The *Chaulika-ropa* or *Draṁḍi-āhava* must be taken to mean 'a battle for the Chōḷas or Draṁḍas', rather than 'with the Chōḷas'.

This battle must have taken place sometime after 982 A.D. and before the death of Uttama-chōḷa in 985 A.D. If the event is placed in 983 or 984 A.D. Śaktivarman would still be under sixteen years. It was in this battle that Śaktivarman participated and won a signal victory after a sanguinary fight in which he was severely wounded.⁷ The Pabhuparra plates describe Śaktivarman

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 20-II. This record has been wrongly attributed to Rājasiṃha Chōḷa I.

² Above, Vol. IV, p. 204, lines 7-8.

³ *JAHKS*, Vol. XI, pp. 84 ff.; *A. R. Ep.*, 1037-38, C. P. No. 26.

⁴ *SH*, Vol. LX, No. 77.

⁵ (It is not possible to explain the term *chaulika-ropa* and to fix its date as easily as the author proposes to. The Nagal inscription of Taila II dated as early as 980 A.D. (above, Vol. XVI, pp. 1 ff.) suggests that there had already been a battle between the Chōlukyas and the Chōḷas.—Ed.)

⁶ (Dr. Venkatarmanayya is of the view that Śaktivarman must have taken part in the rival wars between the descendants of Gaṇḍarbhitya and Ariṣṭaya. The *Draṁḍi-āhava* or *Chaulika-ropa* must have formed part of these dissensions. *The Eastern Chōlukyas of Vēṅgi*, p. 303 ff., App. II.—Ed.)

as having killed a certain *Ēḍirra* who was sent against him by his enemy Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma and to have made the haughty princes Baddema, Mahārāja and others flee for protection. The identity of these princes is uncertain. The record (verse 22) further states that king Jaṭā-Bhīma who resembled Hāvaṃ, met with his death in a fierce battle at the hands of Śaktivarman. If this statement in the present record and in the Pabhapurra grant¹ is to be believed, it would appear that Śaktivarman re-established himself on the throne of Vēṅgi and the circumstances that led to this were probably as follows: Jaṭā-Bhīma or Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma and Āhavamalla Talla II were allied and it was almost impossible for Rājārāja I to oppose them in his campaign against Gangapāṣi. The death of Āhavamalla Talla gave Rājārāja an occasion to march against the Western Chālukyan dominions. Satyāśraya might probably have sought the assistance of his father's old ally, Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma who set out with a large army to join him and oppose Rājārāja, who meanwhile despatched a large contingent of army to the Āndhra country with a view to divert the attention of Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma. This compelled the latter to return to his own country without proceeding to the succour of Satyāśraya. The Chōla general pursued him in hot haste. But, in the meanwhile Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma was met by his great adversary Śaktivarman I and dragged to a pitched battle. In the sanguinary fight that followed with the Chōla army in the rear Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma was slain and Śaktivarman gained the Vēṅgi throne, thus putting an end to the so-called interregnum.² There is nothing to support³ the view that Rājārāja placed Śaktivarman on the throne of Vēṅgi after putting an end to the interregnum there, as is hitherto held by scholars like Venkayya and S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar. A shrewd politician that he was, Rājārāja lost no opportunity of concluding a marital alliance with Vēṅgi by giving his daughter Kundavā in marriage to Vimalāditya, the heir-apparent who was the younger brother of Śaktivarman I. Rājārāja's claim to have conquered Vēṅgi and Kālīṅga seems to be an empty boast invented by the Chōla panegyrists to glorify their sovereign.

The only geographical division referred to in the record, viz. Varanāṣṭa-vishaya, may be identified with the region lying between Ēḍru and Vijayavāḍa, forming part of the former Nurvid Zamindari. An epigraph⁴ from Ghagtasāla in the Divi taluk of the Masulipatnam District mentions Varanāṣṭa-dēla, which is probably the same as the Varanāṣṭa-vishaya of the record under review.

¹ *Āndhra Sahitya Parishat Patra*, Vol. II, pp. 403 &.

² There is a fragmentary inscription in Tamil verse, on a pillar in the dilapidated *mandapa* in the courtyard of the Vēṅgopāśaśvāmī temple in Madakūra, Anantapur District (*A.S. Ep.*, 1917, No. 781), which records that the king of Vēṅgi ran away on hearing that the Chōla king had ordered his general Sōḷiyavaraiyan to conquer that country. Unfortunately the inscription is undated and does not contain the name of the Chōla king. It is not unlikely that the king of Vēṅgi mentioned in the record is no other than Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma, who was occupying Vēṅgi temporarily. The Chōla general is obviously the same as Araiyan Rājārājaṇ alias Vikrama-chōḷa Sōḷiyavaraiyan figuring in a record of Rājendra Chōla I, dated in his 10th regnal year, from Kotlaśrīrāman which is not far away from Madakūra (*A.S. Ep.*, 1917, No. 23). It is likely that the general started his career during the reign of Rājārāja and continued in service during Rājendra's reign, till at least the latter's 10th regnal year (1015 A.D.). There were no hostilities between Rājendra and his brother-in-law Vimalāditya giving an occasion for Sōḷiyavaraiyan to pursue the king of Vēṅgi during Rājendra's reign. Hence the Chōla king, who is referred to in the Madakūra inscription seems to be Rājārāja I. [But, according to Dr. N. Venkataswamy, the king referred to therein is Rājendra Chōla I. See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 82 and note. The inscription states that the Chola (king) gave up Vēṅgi, when pursued by Sōḷiyavaraiyan, the Chōla general. It is impossible to identify the Chola (king) with Jaṭāchōḍa — Ed.]

³ [Śaktivarman's accession is circa 998 A.D., 12 years prior to A.D. 1011 when his brother Vimalāditya assumed the throne, coincident with the conquest of Vēṅgi claimed by Rājārāja. See Dr. N. Venkataswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 299.—Ed.]

⁴ *SIU*, Vol. X, No. 123.

16. pātayat-Ka[mār-ā]mka[m] [1*] [nīkānā]ka[m] Śarhā[lēna] prathita-jana-padā[d-durgga-
mān-a]jirga[mayya] [drāg-dhāvan-ya]¹
17. t=pravā[āya] [prabhu]r=abhaya-manā[h] pratyapād=Saddeg-āhka[m]kam || [3 1*] Śa-
śrīmān=Vijayā[ditya]||ē=chaturbhā¹
18. [r=bhrātṛi]bhā=sāha[1*]||ē[ha]tvārimeat-samāg[=a]jē[reddhaś] chaturbhā=abhaya-g-bhuvan-
(vam) || [4 1*] Tad-bhrāto[r-Vi] [kramāditya]¹

Second Plate, Second Side

19. bhūpatēs=sach-chamū-patē | vilasat-kaṇṭhik-ōd[d]āma-kaṇṭhasya tanayō sayi || [5 1*]
Dīn-ānāth-ō[turānām]¹
20. dvijavara-samitēr=yyāchakānāś yatināś nānā-ōs-āgatānām paṭu-vaṭu-naṭa-sad-gāya-
[kānāś ka]¹
21. vīnām(nām) [1*] bandhūnām=sandhakānām=abhilashita-phala-ārāganād-rakṣapād-yō
māto=śva trah[śad-ābdān sama]¹
22. m=abhunag=asan chāre Chālukya-Bhīma || [6 1*] Tat-putraḥ sva-bhuj-āsi-khaṇḍita ~ —
— — —
23. d-bālād=Vāsa[1m] jitr=ānāth(ānā) Virājā pratiśṭhita-[1a*]ya-stambha[h*] patiśōdhōh²
raṇ[ā] | svaṇṇy-ā[rū]dha¹
24. talō=tra bhā(bā)dhām=a-tulō dhātē-talē-kshatriyō mitr-ābhā(bhāh) pari[ra*]kshati sma
Vijā[yā]¹
25. ditya[h*] sam-ārdhām dharām || [7 1*] Tasy-ātma[ś] pragata-vairi-śirō-vilagna-ratna-
dvirōpha-parichunn[bi]¹
26. [ka-pā]da-padmaḥ | Māruḥ kasabha-tulita-bhāka-rādi-bhāś varahāṇi sapta sas(sa)ma-
p[ā] [debhava]¹m=A-
27. mmarājā || [8*] Tat-sutam Vijayādityam bhālam=uchchātya Haya | Tal-ādhipati-
ākramya mā-

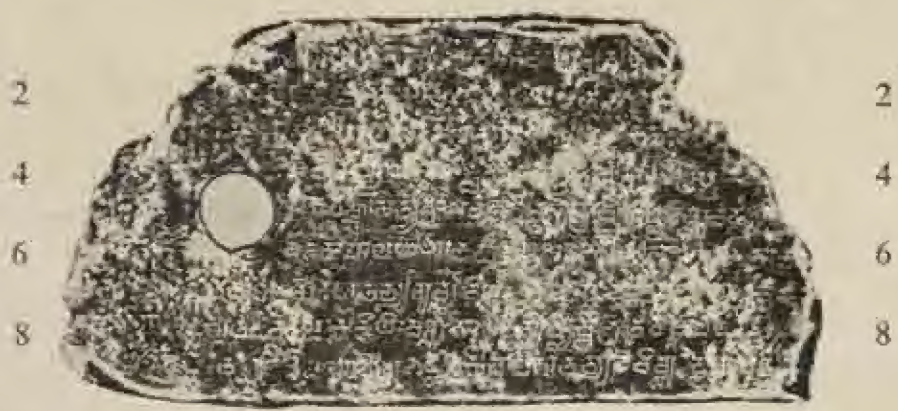
Third Plate, First Side

28. [sa]m-ākam=pad-bhuvan(vam) | [9 1*] Tasm jitrā yudhi Chālukya-Bhīma-bhūmipatēs-
sutaḥ | Vikramāditya-
29. [bhūpō]pān=māśāp-ākādātā kahitīm(tim) || [10 1*] Tatas-Tāpa-rājaya kūnus=śāṇita-
vāk-prabhū | Yuddha-
30. malla-dharādhitās=sapta varahāṇy=apād-bhuvan(vam) || [11 1*] Saunaddhām yudhi
Yuddhāmālam=avō[iva]nēr=unirdhātya dhātṛ-āha-
31. rat-krītā bh[īn]na-[ra]thāu=apī parānī(ā-ā)shjānā=cha āśh-ōtarā | śrīmat-Kollabhi-
gaṇḍa-nāma-Vija-

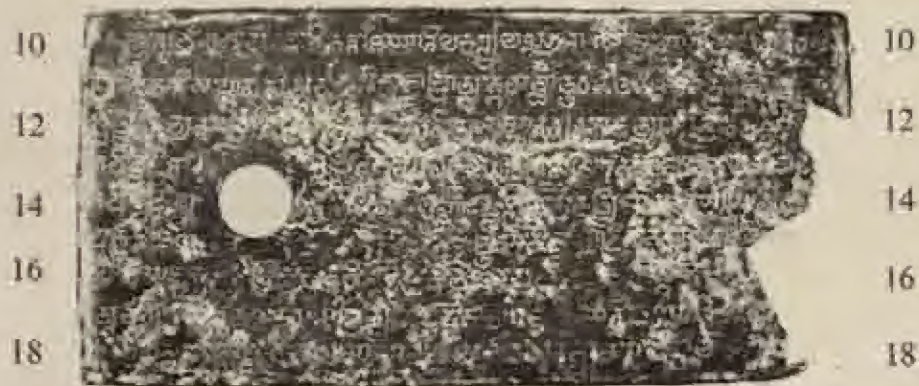
¹ See footnote 2 on page 245.

² Read *prasiṣṭhā*

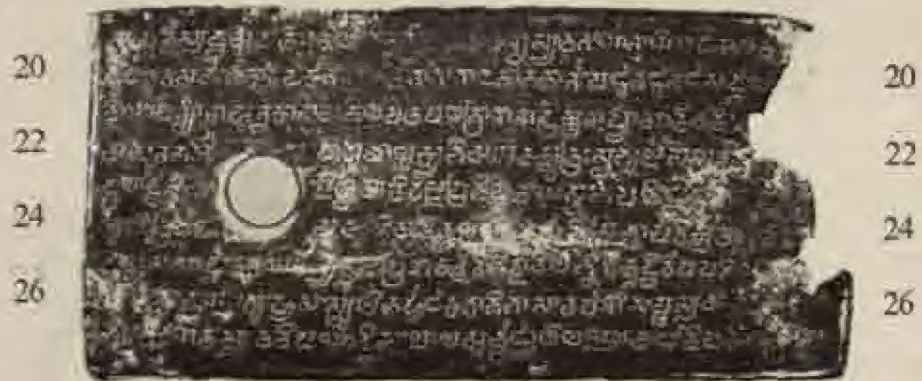
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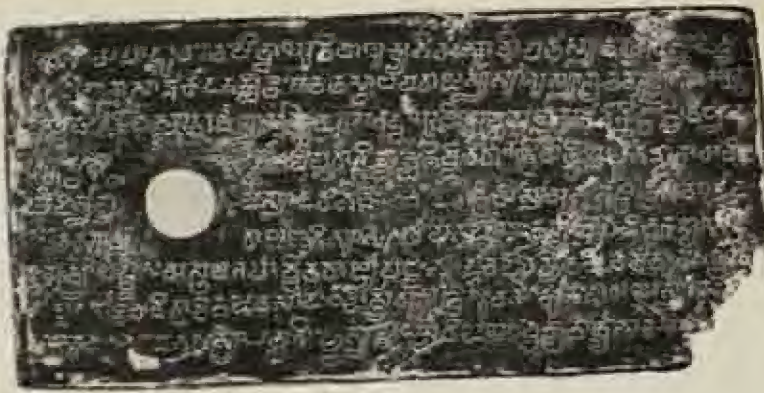
ii, a



ii, b



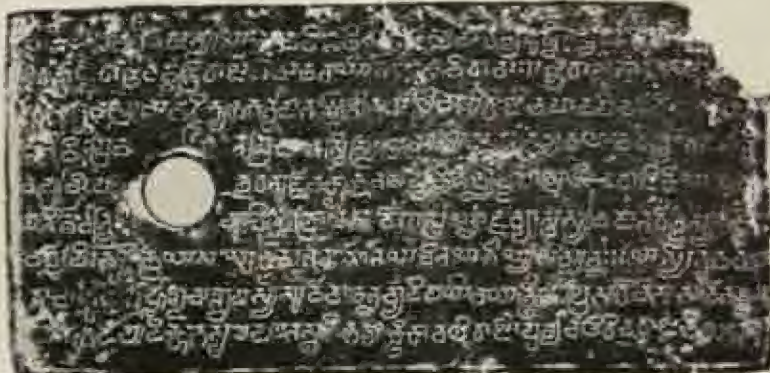
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iii, b

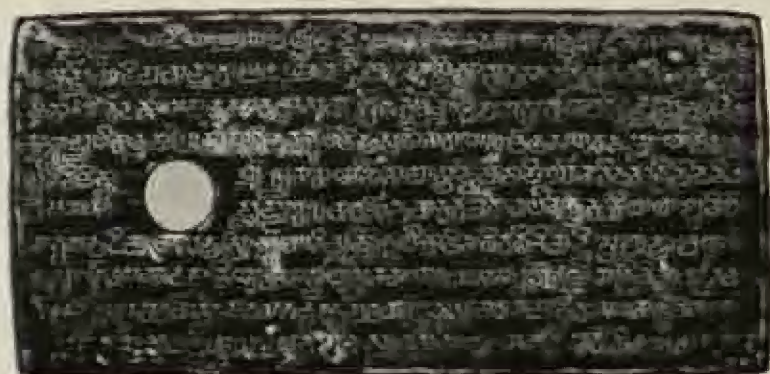
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iv, a

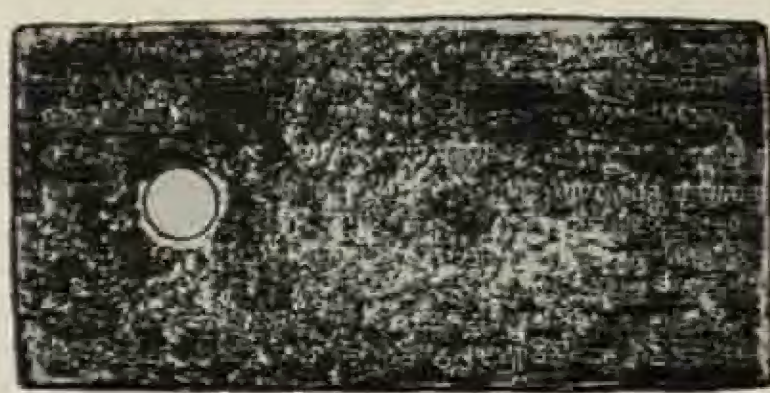
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iv, b

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64



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64

- 49 a=matey-ādy-alk-āmatānū prāpya prāg-ṛitavāp=kiṭ-ēti hamatē Śrītyaṣaṁ chātaś || (|)
Iśa=saṁhyati Rāvaṇa-
- 50 pratīnidhi=Chālukya-Nārāyaṇa=śāhā(pā)sta-dvi(cha)t=āpi yāna nidhanan śrī-Chōḍa-
Bhīm-ā-
- 51 dhipaḥ || [22*] Mūdyad-dārūpa-vāraṇ-śīha-makarāḥ vīr-śyali-nakrakāḥ kṣāl-śāmbu-
vilāla-
- 52 m=śva-laḥarī-mālā-saḥaś-ākulaṁ(lam) | nirmuṇṭhy=Ōṭkalik-ādhiṇāta(tha)-rathinā(n)-
vārdhhiṁ sva-bāhū-balāi ta-
- 53 tratyāḥ śrī(śrī)yaṁ=ādādati yudhi yaś=Chālukya-Nārāyaṇa || [23*] Śa Sarvaśākā[śra]ya-
śrī-Vaṅguvārdhanamahā-
- 54 rāja(jā)dhirāja-paramāśvara-paramahha[ī]raka-paramahraṁṇya-paramamūḥ[śva*]rah
Varanāpdu-vishaya-ni-
- 55 vāsinō rāshṭraku(kū)ta-pramuḥhāṁ kuṇḍa(tuṁ)hinas=carvān=samāha(hā)ya mantri-
purōhita-sānāpati-yu-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 56 [rikāddhyakshā] py-a. yō variyāḥ
[Bhāra]dvāj-ābhi-
- 57 r=ap[ā]ra kala-kūtrō jātaḥ ||
[24*] Āsi-
- 58 tatasya antas=Satyakā[ma-vā] chāryy-ā[hvayah |] sa[tya] karmma-
niratō yō-
- 59 [r]tib[air=liṇa]-chōḍitaḥ || [25*] litas=nayavatānā sārddham=
āśravaṇa-pratyā-
- 60 acava[ṇa]y-śāhā mahāya[ṇ]yaḥ | [| 26*] Atha Veṇamāyya-
nāmga-
- 61 [a=ta]ya sū m-ādityō-jani dvīja-kulō-
- 62 k[ta]ma[h] || 27 || * [Jāta] ma [ta]tra(ttvā)s=cha va
 Vyākaraṇa prakāśana-vāriṅ=āti-
- 63 prakāśā[ta]-pā[pa]ma[h] || [28*] Yaś=śaśrad=śudha-baṇḍhu-śīma-[vitatō]=pṇati-
(tyā) hit-āśtha-pradō yue=sāhāyyā-
- 64 patē patāḥ kārṇyaśya kha[ḍ]gaśya cha [| Bhāra]dvāja-muṇḍar-muṇḍa=to[ta*]matāḥ
 ma mātel(tī)ṇā[m] hīra-
- 65 gōtra-parivartamāna-ma[mānō] yudhā śhira-śhūḥ || [29*] Tasmād=abhyadhikō-
bhavaṇ=guṇa-vīryya-vasa-[ka]p

* The rest of the text is lost.

No. 24 —KALESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF DEVARAYA I, SAKA 1319

(1 Plate)

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, HYDERABAD

(Received on 8-1-1962)

The inscription, the impression of which was supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is inscribed on a pillar in the 16 pillared *manapa* of the Muktesvara temple at Kāṣṭhāvaram in the Maunthani Taluk, Katinnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. It consists of a little over five lines of writing in Telugu characters prevalent in the coastal districts of the Andhra country in the early part of the 15th century A.D. It appears to be slightly damaged on the right hand corner at the top, and embodies a single Sanskrit verse in the *Śārdūlakīṛīṭa* metre. The first line begins with a cypher, which perhaps is the auspicious symbol for *vaidham* or *Om*. It has few mistakes. Excepting the omission of a single letter 'dra' after 'chga' in the chronogram 'nidhi-chani-citra' there is nothing else in it which calls for notice. From a grammatical point of view, the inscription may be considered imperfect as the verse lacks a finite verb, *śūrasa* (1, 3), the only verb in it being infinitive. The finite verb has to be supplied to complete the sense of the sentence.¹ It records that king Dēvarāya, son of Harihara, while celebrating the festival of the conquest of the quarters (*dig-vijaya*) at Kāṣṭhāvaram on the bank of the Gautami (i.e. Gōdāvari) made the gift of the *talāpūruṣa* on *Saunvatsara*, the first day of the year *Īṣara*, corresponding to the Śaka years *nūṭi* (9), *chandra* (1), and *Vīra* (13), that is the Śaka year 1319. The date is quite regular. It corresponds to Wednesday, 28th February 1397 A.D.

This inscription is of considerable historical importance, as it brings to light for the first time a hitherto-unknown expedition of Dēvarāya, which appears to have sped victoriously through Teliṅgāna to Kāṣṭhāvaram on the banks of the Gōdāvari. King Dēvarāya, son of Harihara, mentioned in this inscription is obviously Dēvarāya I, son of Harihara II of Vijayanagara. At the time of the expedition recorded in it, Harihara II was still ruling the empire and Dēvarāya was governing the eastern province of the *Udayagiri rājya*.² Kāṣṭhāvaram where Dēvarāya celebrated the festival of his *digvijaya*, was situated at the time in the territories of the Velama kings of Teliṅgāna. The cause of the expedition must be sought in the enmity that existed between them and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, an account of the former's alliance with the Bahmani Sultāns of Gulbarga, the hereditary foes of the Rāyas. Lakshmana Paṇḍita, the *Prāpāchārya* of Bukka II, son and heir-apparent of Harihara II, attributes, as a matter of fact, the cause of the hostility to the defiant attitude and the pride of the Āndhra ruler, on account of the accession of strength by his alliance with the Yavanas (Muhammadans).³ This alliance was extremely distasteful to Harihara II, as it gave an advantage to the Bahmani Sultān in his wars with Vijayanagara. The Velamas on their part cherished their friendship with the Sultān. The poet Viśvāvara, who flourished in the court of Siṅga II of Rājakoṇḍa refers with pride in the introduction of his *Chamatkāra-chandrikā*, to the amity that prevailed between his patron and the Pācāṣka-nripati (the Bahmani Sultān).⁴ Harihara II made persistent attempts to break this alliance.

¹ [There is nothing grammatically imperfect in the verse, the finite verb *śūrasa* is understood.—Ed.]

² See Sewell, *Hist. Ind.*, p. 205.

³ *Faizgarājavallabham*, Intro. V. 49. See *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Vol. II, p. 43; Vol. III, p. 36.

⁴ *Adhyakṣaṇa-māhātmya-śloka-śaṅkṣa* *Haridharāyasa-śaṅkṣa-śloka-śaṅkṣa* *Agamāṇa-śaṅkṣa-śloka-śaṅkṣa* *Yama-śaṅkṣa-śloka-śaṅkṣa*.

⁵ *Iti* (845 t-5) *Śaṅkṣa-śloka-śaṅkṣa-śloka-śaṅkṣa* (pāṇḍita). Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Triennial Catalogue, R. No. 2679, p. 114.

He sent no less than three expeditions including the one referred to in the present inscription against the Velamas to achieve this object. The expedition described in the present record is, as far as it is known, the second of the series. The first expedition was sent some time before Śaka 1306, Raktākṣi, 1384 A.D. from Vijayanagara under the command of Bukka II. It penetrated into the heart of Telīṅgāṇa, and reached Kottakonḍa, a place in the north-west of Warangal. Singa II Sarvaśila and his cousin Vēdagiri I of Dēvarakonḍa with the help of the military force obtained from the Bahmanī Sultān opposed the invasion. In an engagement which took place at Kottakonḍa between the Bahmanī forces and the Vijayanagara army, the latter appears to have sustained defeat. Śāluva Rāmaya-dēva, son of Śāluva Kāyadēva Mahārāja, one of the officers in charge of the expedition, perished in the fight.¹ It was probably on this occasion that Vēdagiri I had, as stated in the *Velugṣṭicūricamāvali*, slain the enemies in the neighbourhood of Warangal.²

The defeat at Kottakonḍa appears to have been decisive, for, Harihara II did not renew for several years subsequent to the failure of the expedition, his attack on the Velamas of Telīṅgāṇa. A favourable opportunity, however, offered itself during the last years of his reign. The Bahmanī kingdom was torn by internal dissensions. During the last year (1396-97 A.D.) of the reign of Muhammad II, a rebellion broke out at Śāgar, and the rebels defeated the Sultān's army thrice; the fortress, however, fell at last into the hands of the Sultān not by force, but by treachery. Soon after this victory, the Sultān died of fever on 21st Rajab, A.H. 799 (30th April, A.D. 1397). He was succeeded by his two sons Qhiyās-ud-dīn and Shams-ud-dīn, who reigned for a few months each; one after the other and were dethroned as a result of palace revolutions.³ It was the time when Harihara II could launch an attack on the Velamas, with every chance of success, as the latter would not be able to get much help from their ally, the Bahmanī Sultān. To accomplish his object, he sent two expeditions, more or less simultaneously⁴—one from the south under his son Dēvarāya, the Governor of Udayagiri, and the other from the west under his heir apparent, Bukka II—against the Velama territories. Of the two expeditions, the former, whose triumphant culmination at Kāṣṭhavarāṃ on the banks of the Gōḍāvari is described in the record under consideration, is earlier in point of time. Nothing is known about the events that happened during the expedition except that it penetrated successfully through the Velama territories and reached the Gōḍāvari at Kāṣṭhavarāṃ. Dēvarāya must have started from Udayagiri, the headquarters of his viceroyalty in the Nellore district, and passed through the kingdom of the Redḍis of Kongavīṭṭu, which lay between the Velama and Vijayanagara territories, before he reached the target of his attack. How Dēvarāya effected the passage of his troops through foreign territory, whether it was by force or by peaceful agreement, cannot be ascertained in the present state of knowledge.

More information is available about the other expedition which set out from Vijayanagara under the command of Immaji Bukka or Bukka II. Lakṣmāya Paṇḍita, in the introduction to his *Vaidyārājavalībhāṣa* cited above, describes Bukka II's expedition at some length:

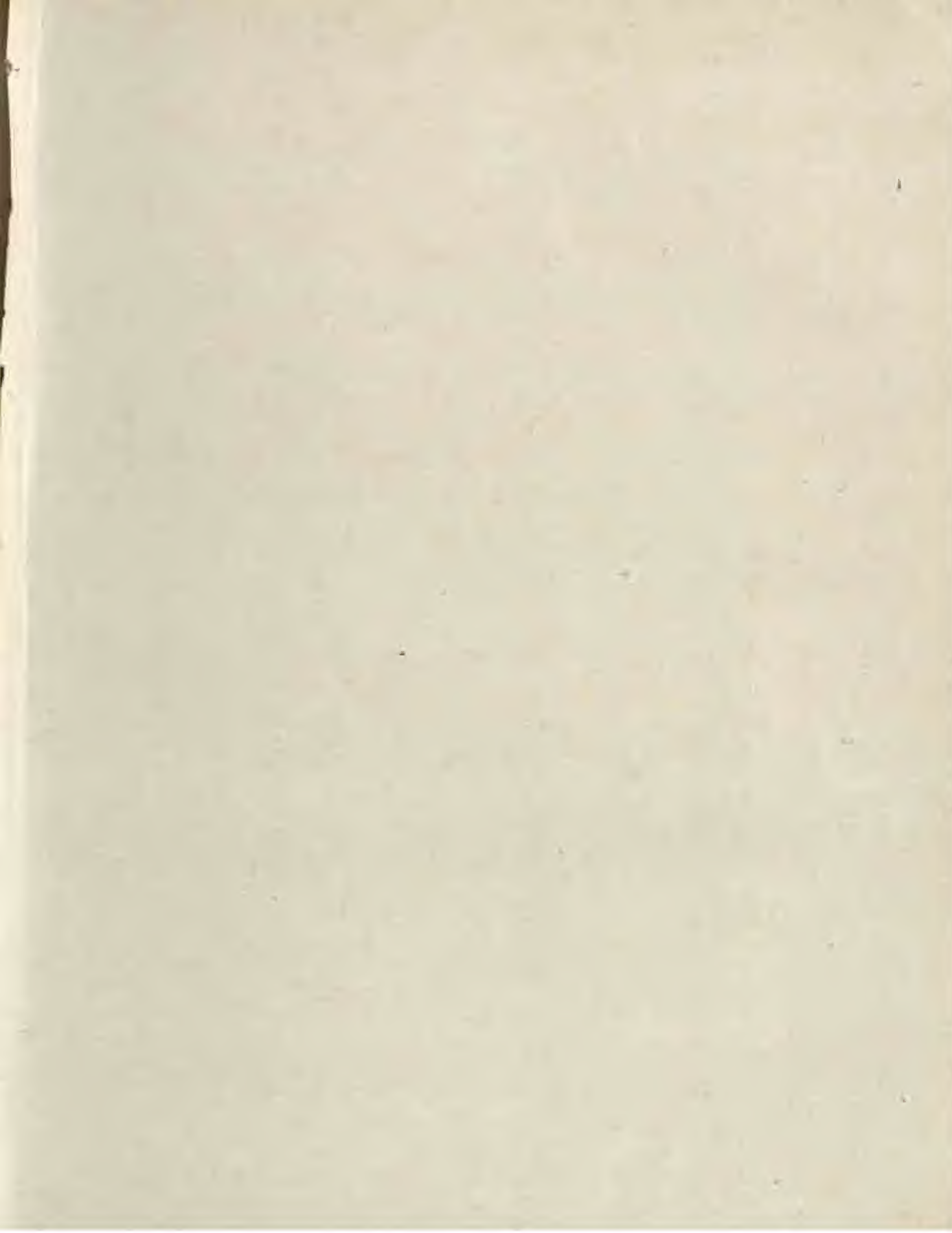
"The army with its flags hoisted, swords flourished, and the paucers of drums and conches accompanied by a medley of neighbours, and trampetings quickly and completely surrounded the city of the Andhra King.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XII, (2), 15.

² *Velugṣṭicūricamāvali*, verse 27.

³ Briggs: *Pratihāra*, Vol. II, pp. 356-62.

See *l.c.* 2 *no.* p. 201.



KALESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF DEVARAYA I, SAKA 1319



Size : One-half

2

4

6

- 3 Saunmyasya vāśā kriti | kurvvan dīg-vijay-ś-
 - 4 tsavath Harihara-śri-Dāvatāyō nīpāh śri-[Kā-]
 - 5 jōvare-dhānini dhānya-mahimā dānam tulāpā-
 - 6 ruaham(śham)[]
-

No. 25—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SRIIRANGAM

1874

K. G. KRISHNAN, Ooty, Madras

[Received on 12.6.1968]

The two inscriptions published below are marked A and B for convenience of reference. Both come from Srirangam, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras. Inscription A¹ which is in Kannada language and Kannada characters of about the 12th century is engraved on the right side of the entrance into the *Nārāyaṇādēśa* of the Raṅgaṇātheśvaram temple at the place. It is damaged and worn out in places. Inscription B² engraved on the wall (outside) of the store-room (*Antikūṭa*) facing the Gāṇḍamāyalepa in the same temple is a fragmentary record in Tamil language and Tamil and Grantha characters of about the 12th century.

Inscription A dated in the 29th year (A.D. 1098-99) of the reign of Kulāstanaśa Chōla. It records a provision made for burning two lamps in the temple of the god Śrī-Ranga deva by the *Kannapa-Saṁdhirigrahi* and *Dupplunūpaka* of Mahārājādhirāja Paramaśīvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka Śaṭṭāraya-koṭa-tilaka (Tribhuvanamalla). It records the names of seven shepherds (*kōṅ*) of which the following are clearly decipherable: *Aḷagivanuvāla-kōṅ*, *Karnāḷam-kōṅ*, *Narasiṅga-kōṅ*, *Tirumālirūjōlai-kōṅ*, and *Aḷasiṅga-kōṅ*. These shepherds undertook to supply the required quantity of ghee for burning two lamps in the temple. The inscription also refers to the application of lime-mortar to the shrine of Śenāpati (Vishvakarma) caused to be done probably by the same donor. Due to its damaged condition, the other details in the record are lost. Considering the royal titles prefixed to the name and the date of the epigraph there is no doubt that Tribhuvanamalla is identical with Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya king.

Inscription B consists of three unconnected lines. The first line contains the passage which mentions that the 15th year, obviously of some important king or chief, fell in the cyclic year Khara. The second line mentions Vishnuvardhana Pratāpachakravartti Pōśala and the third line mentions a *pradhāna* whose name is not clear, and the *śaikhāḍḍar*. It may be noted that the regnal year 15 and the cyclic year Khara do not coincide in the reign of any Hoysala king. That the record belongs to about the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th century is borne out by its palaeography, the Tamil letters *r* in *Vīśaiḥḍār* and *k* in *Mālar-Tāle* in line 2 being typical only of the alphabet as obtained during the above mentioned period.¹ If the year 15 equated with Khara is taken to belong to the reign of Vishnuvardhana, the first Hoysala king of that name, it will point to the year 1111-12 A.D. which corresponded with Khara. It will follow then that Vishnuvardhana should have commenced to reckon his reign sometime from 1096 A.D. This, if true, pushes his date of accession back by four years from A.D. 1100, which was hitherto held² as the initial year of the king's reign:

³ *A. R. Rev.*, 1941-42, No. 294.

^a Ellis, 1964, p. 55, No. 440.

* It may, however, be mentioned here that the 16th regnal year of Chōja Rōjōrō III (c. 1216-1246 A.D.) fell in the cyclic year Khara, and one may be tempted to attribute the record to this king's time. But in the light of the definite palaeographic evidence, this attribution is ruled out.

² *The Canon*, second edition, p. 320 and n. 113.

Though both these records may appear to be simple donative ones, if they are examined carefully against the background of the political conditions of the Tamil country of the period they seem to be invested with a special political significance. It will be presently shown how the Chālukya and the Hoysala happened to be interested in the affairs of the Tamil country.

Both the dates of inscriptions *A* and *B*, i.e. A.D. 1098-99 and A.D. 1111-12 point to the reign of Kulōttuṅga I when all was not well on the northern and western fronts of the Chōḷa dominions. Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya king and his quondam subordinate the Hoysala Viśṅguvardhana had initiated aggressive campaigns on the frontiers of the Chōḷa territory. The trend of the campaigns has been discussed in this journal in detail.¹ It may be observed here that if the transactions recorded in the present epigraphs were made in the presence of the Chālukya and the Hoysala dignitaries mentioned in them, the campaigns with which their presence at Śrīraṅgam could not be entirely unrelated, will have to be placed in 1098 A.D. as indicated by the earlier of the two inscriptions edited here.²

It may not be out of place to restate here some of the facts pertaining to the conquest of the territories in the western frontiers of the Chōḷa territory. Several inscriptions of the Hoysala king describe graphically how his general Gaṅgarāja took the territory comprising Talakāḍa, Kōḷala (Kolar) and the whole of Gaṅgarāḍi Ninety-six-thousand as far as Kōṅṅu.³ The income was so complete that Viśṅguvardhana assumed the title *Talakāḍa-konda* and also issued coins bearing the legend *Śrī-Talakāḍa-gaṇṇa*.⁴ Pannarāja, another Hoysala general is stated to have swept across the country as far south as the Nilgiri and Kīraṅūr in Palani Taluk of the Madurai District. The authenticity of these campaigns is attested to by the evidence of two inscriptions. One of them⁵ in Tamil characters of the 14th century from Aḍuturai in the Perambalur Taluk, Tiruchirappalli District, dated in the 4th year of the reign of Parākramapāṇḍya, quotes an old charter issued in the 4th year (1121-22 A.D.) of the reign of Vikrama-chōḷa to certain *paṇṇi* residents having lease-rights in some villages in Moḍiḷoḍaḍōḷavarāṇāḍu and Magedai-maṇḍalam according to an oral order of Perumāḷ Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa. The charter relates to the privileges granted to the *paṇṇi* in recognition of their services in restoring the images of the deities and in providing for their worship. It is stated that the images were carried away by looters to Dūtissamudīraṁ (i.e. Dūtissamudra, the capital of the Hoysalas) in the wake of the disturbances caused by the *Periya-Vaḍayan* (*Periya-Vaḍayan-kulaḥam*) and that the said *paṇṇi* residents rescued the images after paying a ransom, apparently to the looters. It is also stated that the privileges such as the heralding of *Paṇṇi* (i.e. *Paṇṇi*) before announcing the deity on the occasions of the procession and the honour of donning of silk-cloth on their head (*paṇṇi-paricayam*) were granted according to the oral order of Perumāḷ Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa. Since this oral order of Kulōttuṅga is recorded in the 4th year of the reign of Vikramaśōḷa, it is clear that this Kulōttuṅga must be identified with Kulōttuṅga I, the father and the predecessor of Vikrama-chōḷa. After quoting the inscription of Vikramaśōḷa, this inscription of Parākramapāṇḍya records the renewal of the charter in respect of the descendants of the *paṇṇi* of the time of Vikramaśōḷa. Thus, although the reign periods of

¹ Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 191 ff.

² Ibid. If this date is accepted, the campaigns - not be directly related to the dispute between Parāntaka and Vikrama for the Chōḷa throne, for Parāntaka - 'and their apparent only in 1111-12 A.D. Should it yet be related to the campaigns, it may be construed as - the Chālukya was campaigning in the Chōḷa country because of the traditional enmity between the Chālukya - the Chōḷa and that the Hoysala invaded later, i.e. sometime after 1107 A.D. on behalf of Vikrama-chōḷa. The relationship between Vikrama-chōḷa and Hoysala Viśṅguvardhana is discussed on the basis of a passage in the *Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa*. See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 225-26.

³ Ep. Carn., Vol. IV, Ch. 84; VI, Cm. 169.

⁴ *Coin of Southern India*, p. 187 D, plate No. 90.

⁵ A. R. Ep., 1913, No. 35; Part II, paragraphs 46-47.

⁶ *Contra*, *ibid.*, where Kulōttuṅga has been wrongly identified with Kulōttuṅga II.

Vikramāditya and Parākrāmapādya are separated by an interval of about two centuries,¹ the record affords a clear proof of the troublous conditions that prevailed in the area during the period. The other inscription² from Karūr in Tiruchirappalli District, dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Vikrama-chōja, refers to the restoration of an image of Natarāja (Kārttanār) lost in the midst of a riot by paying a ransom. Though this inscription does not indicate the cause of the riot, it is obvious that it refers to a raid connected with the one recorded in the Ādutaṅṅai epigraph, due to the fact that the events which are recorded in both the inscriptions, and which formed part of the incursions by the Hoysalas might have happened in or before the 3rd year of the reign of Vikrama-chōja. The names *Periya-Vaḍugay* and *Dōrasamudram* prove beyond doubt that both the Western Chālukya and his quondam subordinate the Hoysala Viśṇuvardhana were involved in these raids. They must have happened before the close of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, as is evident from the Ādutaṅṅai inscription.³ Therefore *Periya-Vaḍugay*, the Great Northerner may be safely identified with Vikramāditya VI with whose connivance the Hoysala should have started his military adventures in the western frontiers of the Chōla territories.

The fact of the Hoysala's incursions into the Tamil country, having now been conclusively proved to have occurred before the close of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, an attempt may be made to find out the date of his invasion. The claim made in some inscriptions⁴ of Viśṇuvardhana about the conquest of Koṅga, as far south as the Ānamalai Hills, indicates the date of these incursions to be circa 1117 A.D. The present inscriptions from Śrīrāṅgam would point to a still earlier date (1100-1111 A.D.) when the Western Chālukya and the Hoysala forces might have begun to penetrate towards the south as far as Śrīrāṅgam. The Hoysala's victorious march upto Rāmēsvaram⁵ in the east rings now with a high degree of probability, though it remains to be confirmed by future discoveries of epigraphs in the area between Śrīrāṅgam and Rāmēsvaram on the east coast of the Tamil country. The probability that these campaigns had started only during the years after 1107 A.D., is strengthened by a Kannada inscription⁶ from Hirehadugalli in Bellary District. This record lists the endowments made for a temple in Śaka 978 (A.D. 1037) followed by several such endowments created in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 31 (A.D. 1107) and after, by many feudatories, prominent among whom was Vira-Viśṇu Tribhuvana-Poyasādēva, who is no doubt identical with Hoysala Viśṇuvardhana. The record at this stage lists all the known conquests of this king upto Koṅga in the south. Hence, it may be surmised that the presence of the [*mahā*]pradhāna of the Hoysala in Śrīrāṅgam in 1111-12 A.D. cannot be entirely unrelated to the campaigns of his master and that the Hoysala invasion occurred sometime between 1107 and 1112 A.D.

Another piece of information which is likely to be of some interest in this connection may be recorded here. A Tamil inscription⁷ from Brahmādēsam in Villuppuram Taluk of South Arcot District records the gift of 100 *kāṣu* for a *śundī* lamp to be burnt in the temple of Brahmēsvaram by Vāchhaladēvi, the daughter of Chāpakkō Tribhuvanamalladēva of Rājya-rājya. The inscription

¹ Dr. Dutt in his book *The Hoysalas* (p. 59, note) assigns the events narrated in this record to the period from 1218 to 1236 A.D. on the basis of this long interval. The full details of this record given here by us point conclusively that this inscription does refer to the Hoysala incursions into the Tamil country during the reign of Viśṇuvardhana. Dutt's identification of the *Periya-Vaḍugay* with Kikāṭiya Gopapatalēva is untenable. Further the relationship between the Hoysala and the Kikāṭiya was never as close during the thirteenth century as suggested by him.

² *SIU*, Vol. IV, No. 357.

³ It may be noted here that the two inscriptions which suffered from the raids were Śiva temples.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Ch. 52, VI, Ch. 100.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, part II, para. 47.

⁶ *S.I.I.*, Vol. 15, Part I, No. 118.

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1918, No. 177.

is dated in the 14th year of the reign of Trilohuvamachakravartiga Kulōttungaśūla. The Chāṭṭkki Trilohuvamamalla is no doubt identical with Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chāḷukya king and therefore, Kulōttunga in whose reign the record is dated may be identified with Kulōttunga I. The date of the record would then be 1033-34 A.D. Palaeography also supports this date for the record. It may be noted here that the date of this inscription is earlier by more than a decade to that of the Chōḷa inscription from Śrīraṅgam. Thus the totality of the evidence relating to the movements of the Chāḷukya and the Hoysala in this region and during this period seems to make the presence of Viśṇuśaḍṛi¹ pregnant with some political significance.

Inscription B of Viśṇuvardhana at Śrīraṅgam brings to our mind the traditional story of the conversion of the Hoysala king Viśṇuvardhana by the great Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmāṇja-chārya and of the latter's exile in Mālkōḷ. It may be observed, however, that this inscription, fragmentary as it is, does not throw any light on this traditional account.²

TEXT

A

- 1 bhā³ mahārājā[dhī]rāja-patamōvata-patama-bhattāraṇi Satyāśaya-kū[a]-
tīkhaṇi
- 2 bhuvanamalla[bhattāraṇi] Ka[ṇa]da-sandhi[gra]hī dappanāyakaṇi
- 3 [Kulōttunga][mahā]dēvargge yāṇḍu ippa[ito]rbbhatt-āgala
- 4 kākōtrada Śc[ī]raṅga[dēvara] veḷak-erakkaṇi kōṭṭa
- 5 [va]-kōṇ [| *] [A]a[giyamanava]a-kōṇ | Tiru
- 6 a | Karuṇāgara-kōṇ | Śrī [A]a[siṅga]-kōṇ | ⁴ Tirumān[ji]n⁵
- 7 aṇṭi-eṇṭu mānasada {va}ṇḍal-oppisida[r |] Avam diva[sam]
- 8 ppavam dēvara veḷakiṅge taṇḍ=ṇavar ā-chāṭṭṭr-ārkka-śthāyi=āgi
- 9 idharṇmaṇi Śrīraṅga[dēvara] Śrīvaiṣṇavata rakaṇe ||
- 10 vaaṇāpatiya kōḷileyam unṇada eṭe
- 11 ḍa[r] ||

B³

- 1 ¹dinañjāvad-āga Khara-samvatsarat[tu]....
- 2 śhṇuvarddhana-pratāpach-chakravatti Pōsala....
- 3 [hā]pradhān-[ṣā]lamanya yā[ak]ṣar² Mūla-Tūta³

¹ This Vā(Bā)śhāhaleṭṭe is not known to us from any other source.

² The indirect bearing that some inscriptions copied in former Mysore State have on this question, is discussed in the Mysore Archaeological Reports. See *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1911-12, pp. 30-41.

³ From impressions.

⁴ The beginnings of all the lines are lost. Since there is unimpaired space after the ends of each line it appears that the original stone was broken and the fragments were built into the wall.

⁵ This is apparently the same as Aḷagīraṅga-kōṇ in Tamil.

⁶ This should be Tirumāṇjōḷai which is the name of Aḷagīraṅga near Madurai.

⁷ The beginning or end of each of these three lines is lost.

⁸ The letter ya is introduced in the narrow space between lo and r.

⁹ There is a sign for the medial 's' after this letter.

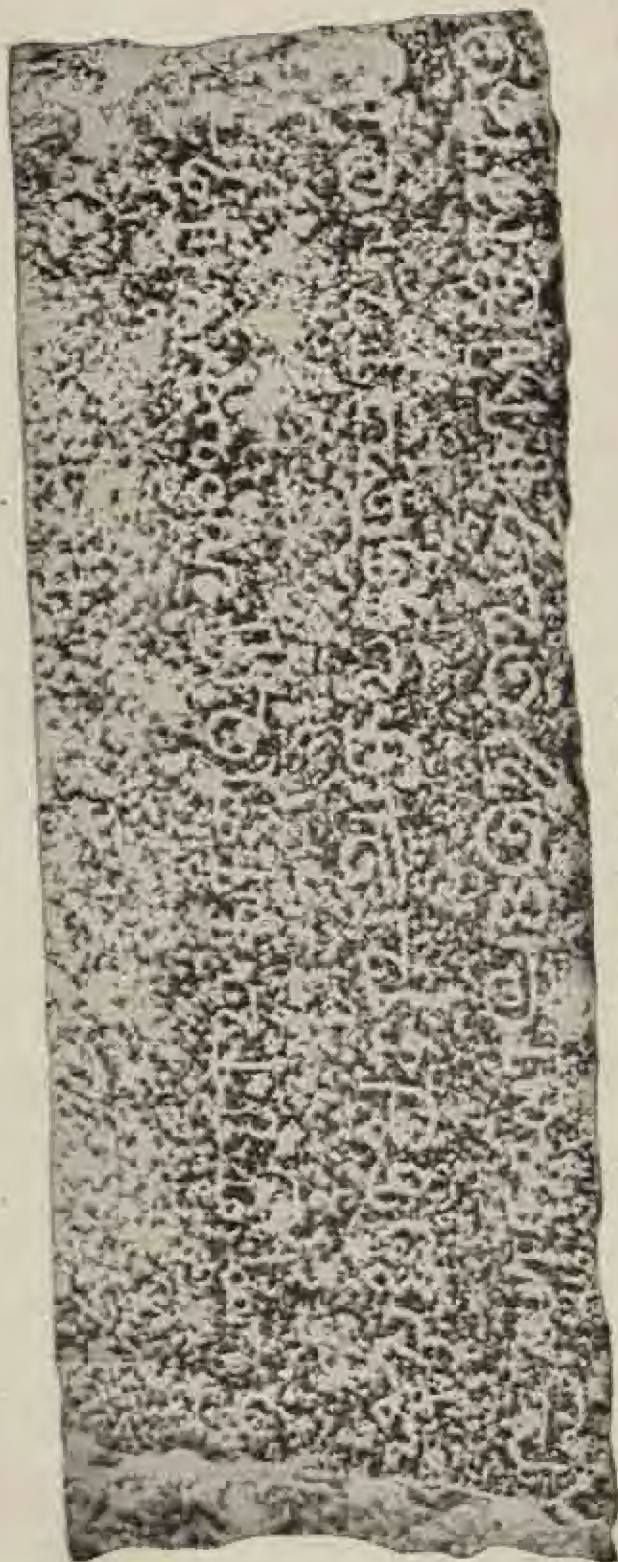
TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SRIRANGAM

A



Scale : One-sixth

B



Scale : One-fourth

No. 26—A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM GANGAPERURU

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, ODTUAMUND

(Received on 16.3.1962)

The inscription edited here is engraved on a broken part of an octagonal stone pillar. It was found in the ancient habitation site in the village of Gangaperuru in the Siddhavattam Taluk of the Cuddalore District in 1939.¹ Subsequently it was removed to the local Śiva temple for safety. There are only three lines of writing on it covering an area of 21.5 cm in height and 33.5 cm in breadth.

The inscription is written in the beautiful Brāhmī alphabet which was in vogue in those parts during the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Individual letters, excluding the flourishes, are well-formed and measure each about 2.2 cm in height and 2.6 cm in breadth. The language is Pāli. Of the initial vowels only *a* occurs in this epigraph. There is no mention of any king in it, nor is any date given.

The contents of the epigraph disclose that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhāyā-thumbha* (*chhāyā-thumbha*) or a memorial pillar of Gona² who is stated to have died during a cattle raid by Śivādīva. He is called the *putra* (son) of an *āchārya* whose name is unfortunately lost. The filial relationship expressed between the *chhāyā* and Gona cannot obviously be taken literally. All that is meant here by mentioning the latter as the son of the former, is that Gona was a devout pupil of the *āchārya*. It is possible that he received from the latter the *śikṣā* (initiation) so as to enable him to succeed to the spiritual preceptorship. Gona is given the epithet *andasa* which may be taken to mean 'handsome' (=Sanskrit *andakṣa*) although to be the equivalent of the Sanskrit word its spelling should be *andasaṇḍa*.

The reason for the erection of this pillar in memory of Gona is given in lines 2-3. It is stated there that he died (*aga-gaṭṭha*=Sanskrit *agata-gatya*, literally meaning one who has gone to the heavens) in a fight (*agāṇa*=Sanskrit *agāṇa*) in a cattle-raid (*ga-gabha*=Sanskrit *go-graha*). It is this passage which makes the epigraph a very interesting one. A number of inscriptions recording the erection of memorial pillars called in them variously³ as *chhāyā-thumbha*, *chhāyā-kumbha*, *chhāyā-thumba*, *chhāyā-thubha*, *chhāyā-thumbha*, *chhāyā-kumbha* and *chhāyā-kabha* have in recent times been discovered during the intensive excavations conducted at the famous ancient Buddhist site of Nāgārjunikonda in Andhra Pradesh. Several of them have been edited in this journal, above Vol. XXXV, pp. 10-17. One of them⁴ was in memory of a prince of the Hahvāku family, who was in the service of king Khuvula Chāntamāla. But here no reason is stated for the erection of the pillar in memory of the prince although it is reasonable that he died fighting for his lord and hence the king, out of gratitude, arranged for the setting up of the pillar. Another⁵ was set up for the memory of a religious personage who seems to have been, according to the inscription, a highly respected person. Even here no reason is given for the erection of the

¹ A. R. Ep., 1939-40, No. 117.

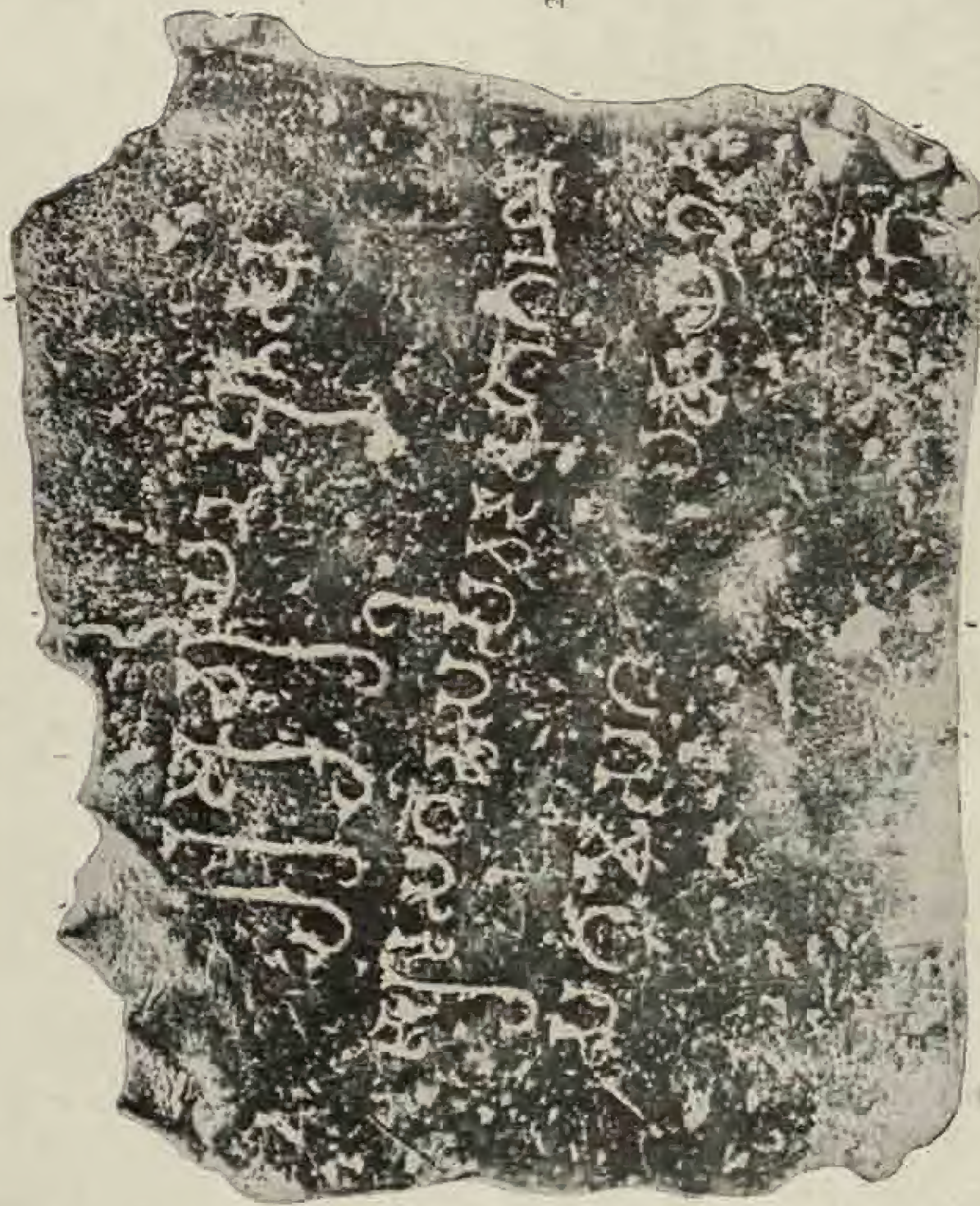
² Macdon uses *c* and *a* is not used in this article.

³ Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 10, 13, 14, 15, 16.

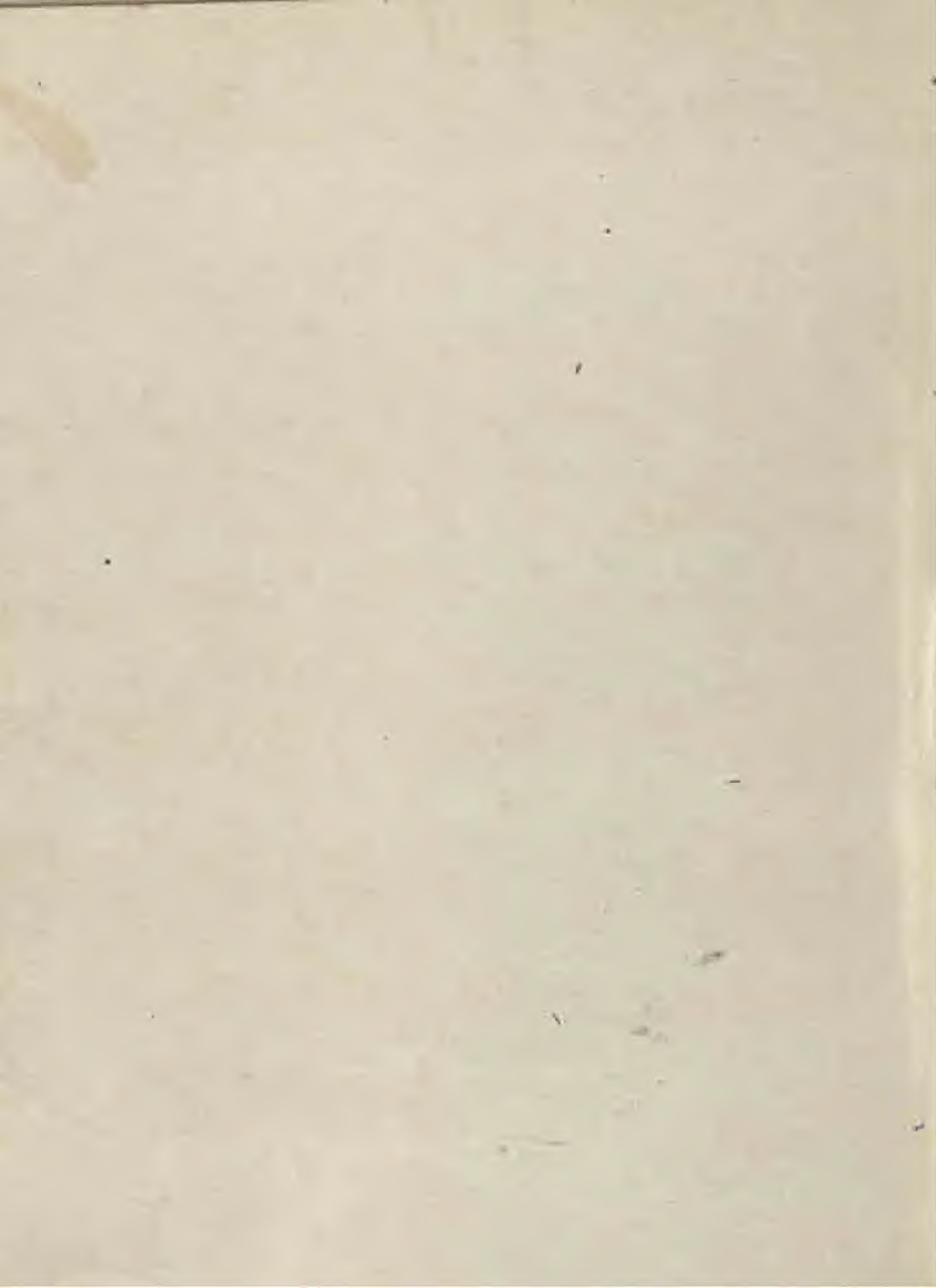
⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM GANGAPERURU



Scale : One-half



No. 27—HANUMAKONDA NIROSHTHYA KAVYA INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN AND V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 24.3.1962)

The inscription¹ edited below is incised on a rock at the top of the hillock called Siddhāśvaruni-gutta standing about a mile and a half to the south of Hanumakonda near Warangal in the district of the same name in Andhra Pradesh. The hillock is a precipitous one and the inscription is engraved on the vertical wall-like part of the rock at its top. On the rock-wall opposite the inscribed one is a sculpture of a standing Jaina Tirthaṅkara carved in bas-relief. In between these two rock-walls is a slightly damaged four pillared *maṇḍapa*. Owing to the steep climb of the rock, the existence of the inscription is not easily known and it is with considerable difficulty that it could be copied. It is edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The manner in which the inscription is engraved is interesting. The engraver had prepared the surface of the rock into a large rectangular panel of about 20 feet by 3½ feet size, of which only one-third, i.e. about 6'8" by 3'6" portion has been used for engraving the inscription. In view of the fact that the inscription is incomplete, it is obvious that originally the engraver wanted to utilise the remaining two thirds portion also for inscribing the rest of the composition which may have been long enough to have occupied this space. Unfortunately, for reasons not known, the engraver could not accomplish his work. Despite the fact that the inscription is incomplete, it is of interest from literary and palaeographical points of view. A text² of the inscription has been published by M. Ramakrishna Kavi in the Telugu periodical *Bādrat*, Vol. I, No. 9, pp. 130-32. There he has stated that it was originally noticed by Col. Colin Mackenzie. The published text is, however, full of errors not only in the reading of the last seven lines which, the author says, he could not check up with the impressions owing to their inaccessibility, but in the reading of the first nineteen lines also. Consequently he could neither make the real purport of the epigraph clear nor bring out its significance satisfactorily.

The inscription consists of twenty-six lines of writing. The characters are Telugu and on palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be assigned to about the 13th century A.D. The letters are neatly engraved and they have been preserved well, owing mainly to the fact that the inscription is found engraved at an inaccessible place. The language is Sanskrit throughout. There are altogether thirty-seven and a quarter verses, all in the simple *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

It is a specimen of *prasthā* type of inscriptions, the extant portion stopping with the descriptions of the Andhradhā in general and of Śākhilīnagara (the then capital of Andhradhā) in particular. Unfortunately, due to the incomplete nature of the epigraph, it does not contain any historical information; nor does it contain any date. But we may not be far from truth if we attribute it to the second half of the famous Kākātīya period (1000-1326 A.D.) of the Andhra history for the following reasons, as well as on grounds of palaeography. The *līṅga* style of the record indicates the fact that the composition is of a poet steeped in the high poetic traditions for

¹ *A. S. Ep.*, 1967-68, No. B 36.

² This has been reproduced in *Śat Siddhānta-śāstram*, edited by K. Lakshminarasimha, vi Appendix I.

which the period is well known, as exemplified by such works as the *Pratāparudrīya* of Vidyānātha. The elaborate description of Elakāṣṭhānagari, the chief city of the country, which may have formed the prelude to the subsequent description of the king and his kingdom over which he ruled, also shows that the inscription was composed during this period when the power of the Kākatiya had reached its zenith.

The object of the inscription is not known owing to the fact that the full text of the composition has not come down to us. But the extant portion, as has already been stated above, describes the Andhra-dēśa in general and the Elakāṣṭhānagari in particular. The most interesting feature of this inscription is that the poet has successfully attempted, here in this *kāvya*-like composition, to show his capacity to compose a work not using the *śloka* of the *śāhī* class. Compositions of this kind are called *śīrṣāḥ*, and there are examples in Sanskrit literature illustrating this class of works. For instance the entire chapter VII of the famous *Daśakumār-charita* of the great poet Daṇḍin, is composed in this style; and the work called the *Narāyaṇa-Rāmāyaṇa** attributable to about the same period as that of the inscription under study, is another instance of this kind of *kāvya*. The uniqueness of this inscription lies in the fact, that among the numerous Sanskrit *kāvya*, known from inscriptions, this is the only example of this class of compositions. Besides, this piece of composition contains quite a few *śloka*s noted for their *śabda*- and *artha*-śīkṣā. Especially noteworthy is the verse 28 (in lines 19-20) which is an excellent example of *śabda*-śīkṣā.

It is also unfortunate that the inscription does not contain any information about its author. If, however, we are permitted to have recourse to a strong circumstantial evidence, it is possible to say that the poet of this epigraph was identical with one called Naraśimha six of whose interesting inscriptions mentioning his name specifically, have been copied from Warangal proper† and from Utna‡ in its neighbourhood. An important point in favour of the attribution is that it has the support of an internal evidence from at least two inscriptions. No. B 108 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1950-51, has the passage *ahn-aiśvra hi Kākatiya-charit* which shows clearly the fact that the author of the inscription had written, in a single day, about a Kākatiya king or the Kākatiya dynasty. The present record, as has been said above, being in the form of a prelude to an elaborate narrative possibly dealing with the Kākatiya of the time, it is probable that it formed the beginning portion of the *Kākatiya-charita* referred to in the passage. That the poet was actually a contemporary of the Kākatiya king Vira-Rudra is mentioned in the other inscription (No. B 57 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58) from Warangal and the verse containing the reference reads as follows :

*Aryāḍ-arnavaḥ-udadhi-ratanām-agraśih Kākatiśam
vidyā-śālī vidita-vīraḥ Vira-Rudr-ābhishānat |
yātā-kālā vīta-haritaḥ paśya sām-gaṇānam
madhyāḥ Imahin-Malaya-likhārī Mālyavān Māndarā cā ||*

At the end of the epigraph the word Nṛsiṃha is also engraved. This Vira-Rudra may be identified, as has been done already in *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58, p. 7, with Pratāparudra II (1291-1330 A.D.). This identification is also based on palaeographic grounds. It may, therefore, be said that the period of the author of the present record is also the same.

* *History of Sanskrit Literature* by M. Krishnamachariar, p. 784, note 2. The author of this work is said to be one Mallikārjuna. But particulars regarding his date, etc. are not available.

† *A.R.Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108; *Ibid.*, 1952-53, No. B 117; *Ibid.*, 1957-58, Nos. B 56-57.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1958-59, Nos. B 128-29.

§ *Ibid.*, 1957-58, p. 7.

Six out of the seven inscriptions, as has been referred to above, mention the name of the poet Narasimha and at least from five of them including the one under examination it is easy to judge the high calibre of the poet. In fact the two records from the Warangal Fort (*A.R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108 and *ibid.*, 1957-58, No. B 56) are specific in this regard as will be seen from the following passages from the inscriptions. No. B 108 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1950-51 reads :

aham=nikēsa hi Kākatiya-charitā tē=[ā]h[ā]-śiś[ā]-ā[drī]yāh

kāshik-āghāṭa-nisarga-niryata-yāśah-sargāna sargāh kṛitāh ||

In No. B 56 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1957-58 the poet draws a comparison between himself and the incarnation of the god Narasimha in double entendre. The stanza runs as follows :

A-prāpta-saḥā-śambhā-py-a-vipanna-

Hiranyakaśipu=api |

a-vikṛita-mukhā-pi datāsu pragalbhāt

*rūpakēśu Narasimhah **

That the credit to which the poet has laid claim to has not been done without any basis may be said to be proved by the two actual *kāvyas*, though unfortunately incomplete, recorded in the two inscriptions from Uruu mentioned above. In one of them (No. B 128 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1958-59) he calls himself a *kavi* and in the other (No. B 129 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1958-59) he styles himself as a *Maharshi* at the end of what appears to be the [first] chapter of a *kāvya* he had composed (*Narasimha-maharshi-kṛitau Yōga* *ma=sargah* |). Interestingly, in both the records he is stated to be the son of one Viśvāvara who according to the latter inscription is said to be the royal preceptor (*rāja-guru*). That the poet Narasimha was the author of other works also is known from the two other records (*A.R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108; and *ibid.*, 1952-53, No. B 117) which refer to the poet's commentary on the *Rigveda*, called the *Rikabhāṣā*, and his other work entitled the *Kākatiya-charita* as well as the *gāṇas* referred to as *Narasimhāktā gāyāh*.³

TEXT⁴

1 ओं॥[१*] अंध्राः सन्ति गरीमांसः कांचनच्छायशालयः । यथा हाटकशैलस्य
कटका रत्नशालिनः ॥[१*] केदारा यत्र

2 शालीनां तरंगितजलांतराः । कृष्णामच्छाग्रहरिता यथा जलनिघेस्तटाः ॥[२*]
शालिसंक(र)लिणीहस्तताळैः कंकणनादि-

3 तैः । प्रासिताः किल गच्छन्ति मत्कीरास्तद्गिरा जिताः ॥[३*] रसालसालहि-
तालतालकेतककेतने । कांतारे यत्र कांतानां जा-

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108, *ibid.*, 1952-53, No. B 117, *ibid.*, 1957-58, Nos. B 56-57 and *ibid.*, 1958-59, No. B 128-29.

² *Ibid.*, 1958-59, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, 1957-58, p. 6.

⁴ From inscriptions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol which is, however, not clear.

4 तः शृंगारसंगरः ॥[४*] रसालहालागन्धेन धनेर्वाभीकृता दृशः । अलीनां यत्र
हा हृत लक्षयति न मेहिनीः ॥[५*]

5 संतानकांतादलतामंघ्रप्रचिलचेततः । मवालयः कर्णिकारे निर्मथे च^१ निस्तराः ॥[६*]
हालिकस्त्रीकटाक्षाणां कांत्या

6 गिलितचेतनाः । न जानन्ति कुत्रि यत्र केचित्कर्षकमंदताः ॥[७*] गतानि
हालिकस्त्रीणां शिक्षयति निर्जंगतैः । नेत्राणि नेत्रेहृत्स्वश्च हरिण्यश्च य-

7 दंतरे ॥[८*] केदारसस्यकांतोनां संकांतानां ततस्ततः । च्छ(छ)लेन नीलसिचवा
यदीया जायते धरा ॥[९*] शालकंकणजालस्य लल-

8 नाकरसगिनः । कलेन यत्र नादेन कलहंताः सतं जिताः ॥[१०*] लक्ष्यते
यत्र निचिता लक्षशः शालिराशयः । मेहंकिणे यथाकाशे सटि(डि)त्कां^२-

9 तिचरा घनाः ॥[११*] खिलाः शालीनतां याति यत्र कं(ट)करक्षिताः ।
कटं(डं)करोयनिकटनिराषाटकटिस्वलाः ॥[१२*] कदलीकानने यत्र हरितच्छ-

10 दहारिणि । कीरा निस्तरे याति निजजातीयशंकया ॥[१३*] हाजाः[*]
कलंत्यः सततं यद्यत्यात्तहकारतः । निर्दिशति निरातकं नर्तनाये शिखंडि-

11 नः ॥[१४*] यत्र कांचनसंकाशा रसान्तानां रजःकणाः । टंकचुष्टस्य तरणयंभा
लेशाश्चकासति ॥[१५*] कर्षकस्त्रीकेणहस्तैर्हस्तगालीकसंयतैः । न हतात्तां

12 यत्र घस्यशेकातंकं शिखंडिनि ॥[१६*] नगराणि गरीवांसि नाकिरव्याणि
लक्षशः । स्वामीयानां सहस्राणि यत्रस्थान्यतिशेस्ते ॥[१७*] न नंदनं
चैषरथं न

* Cf. चण्डप्रकर्षे सति कर्णिकारं दूनोति निर्गम्यतया स्म येतः, Kamikasanobhara, 3, 28.

^२ The number is suggested at the beginning of line 9.

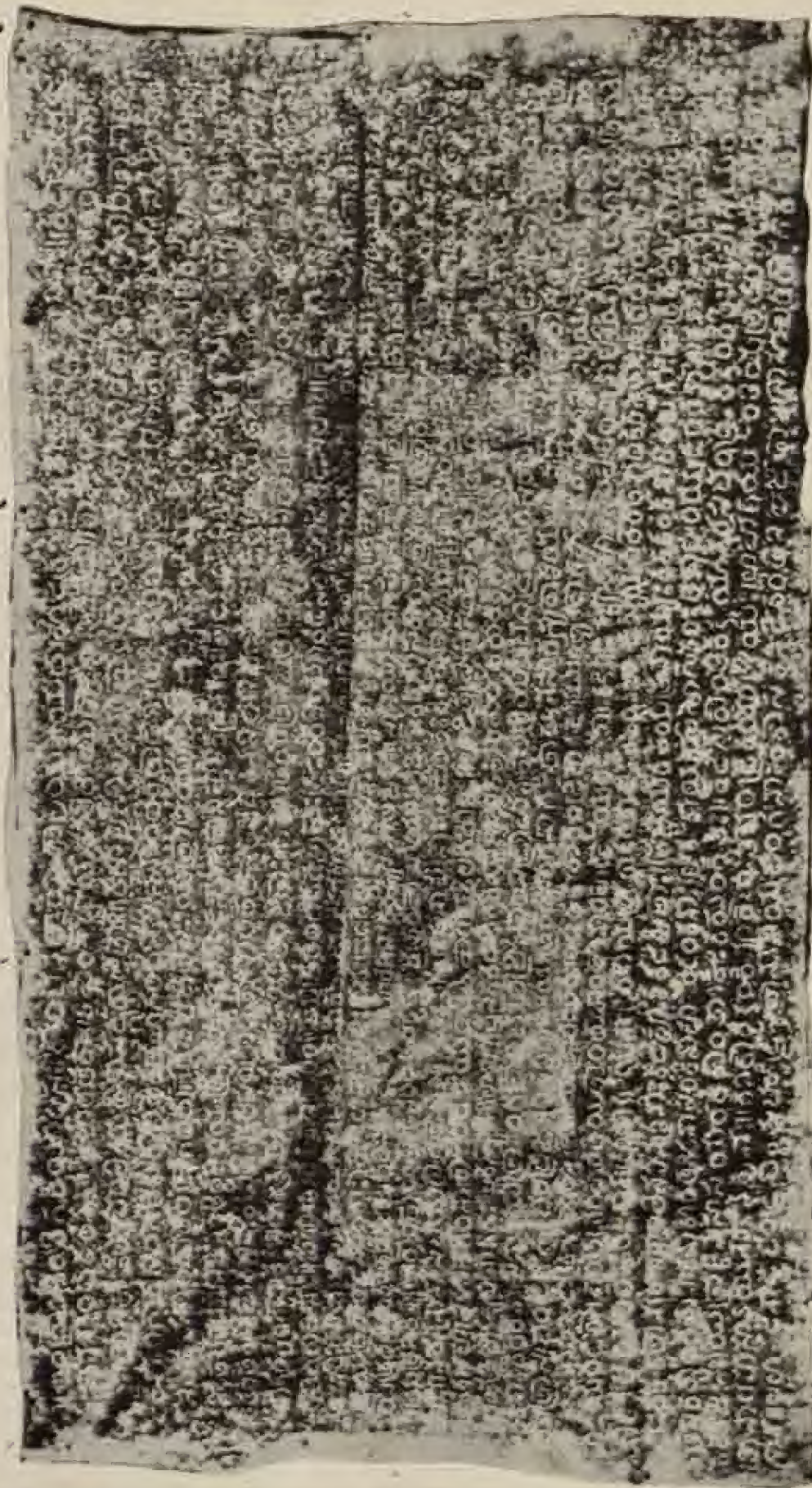
- 13 न यत्र निरीक्ष्यते । कातारं नंदनं कुत्सन कुत्सताः चैत्रबाह्वयाः ॥[१८*]
करिणः करिणोसक्ता यत्र संश्रिततारकाः । सकळवान् शक्यंते गात्रा-
- 14 होतान् गजाननान् ॥[१९*] सित्रयैरास्तुता सीतैश्चतुशः स्पंदना घनाः । यवतः
किकिणीजालैर्यथा कर्तैस्तदि(दि)द्युग्धैः ॥[२०*] तट[?]का यत्र वातसः सा-
- 15 [र]ण्यस्तु सहस्रसः । सरिणाथा^१ दर्शयति तेषां च किल मेहिनीः ॥[२१*]
आदित्यघृष्टिसंकाशा दृश्यंते यत्र गृष्टयः । क्षीरं ददत्यः कुत्सना-
- 16 नां त्रिजगत्प्रघनाशिकाः ॥[२२*] एकास्त्येवशिलास्वात्र नगरो वा गरीयसी ।
सागरातां घरां कुत्सनां [त्रि]ता कांत्या निरीक्ष्यते ॥[२३*] कळा गिरः
कृशा(शां)गीणां
- 17 रक्षनाः किकिणीघनाः । यत्रोमदानि चाघ्रीणां निद्राहान्यं किल श्रियः ॥[२४*]
चंद्रशास्तासंश्रितानां चंद्रास्पानां निरंतरैः ।
- 18 यत्रास्त्यचंद्रांगने चंद्रजानं न शक्यते ॥[२५*] यत्र रव्यांगणगता धनसारस्य
राशयः । दृश्यंते चंद्रिकासंघा यथावर्का जा-
- 19 . . . ^२र्णः ॥[२६*] इन्द्रनौवंश्चंद्रकांतैस्तथा यत्र निरंतरैः । अंधकाराश्चंद्रिकाश्च
दर्शयंत्येकवां गृहाः ॥[२७*] कांतमा ज्ञतिं यत्कांताः कांतानां
- 20 हृदयं दृशा । कांतया ज्ञतिं यत्कांताः कांतानां हृदयं दृशा ॥[२८*]
कल्लिदकन्यालहरीसंघर्षिखणहारिणः । कटाक्षा यत्र नारी-
- 21 नां कृष्णयंति न किं जनान् ॥[२९*] हान्ताख्येण तरळा यत्राराळदृशा(शां)
दृशः । खड्गलेखा दर्शयंति रत्तिनाभकरत्नि(त्रि)ताः ॥[३०*] अघरा यत्र
नारीणां सक-

* This symbol has not been observed here.

^१ Read सरिनाथान् ।

^२ There is space here for three letters which seem to have been erased.

HANUMAKONDA NIROSHTHYA KAVYA INSCRIPTION



Size : One-ninth

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26



- 22 छानधरीकुलम् । आरुयाति नलिनधेनीः कटासाश्च कटाक्षिताः ॥३१*॥
तर्जयति यन् नार्यः करकणरिखणैः । आफीडद्रीधिकाहंसीमंति-
- 23 तस्करतां गताः ॥३२*॥ कर्णिकारस्नकिरणसंकीर्णहरिदंकनाः । आकर्णयति [स]गीत
कुतश्लघं मदंगनाः ॥३३*॥ कर्णकल्हारकलिकाहालाशोक-
- 24 रलेहितः । यथाळिनस्त्रासयते कांताः कटकजंकृतैः ॥३४*॥ कटाक्षकान्तिकळपा
हासचंद्रैः कळंकितैः । न हासयति ता-
- 25 धानां हस्ता(हासा)म् यन्(य)ल्लिनेक्षणाः ॥३५*॥ कनोनि'काकळंकन्या कांतिचंद्रिकया
स्थिराः । बाहारयति यत्रत्याश्चद्रिकाहारिणाः स-
- 26 गान् ॥३६*॥ ललाटेनार्द्धचंद्रेण कुत्स्नचंद्रैस्तदाननैः । मदंगनाः कळासक्तिभि(क्तीभि)दिशंति
निजाविताः ॥३७*॥ नासात्काररत्नानि नक्ष[त्र]²

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) There is the great Andhradida full of rice (fields) of golden hue, resembling the lakes of the golden mountain (i.e. Māra) with gems.

(Verse 2) There, the rice-fields, containing waving waters inside, resemble the shores of the sea with dark-tinged verdant.

(Verse 3) The parrots (that come to eat the grains) fly away being frightened by the sounds produced from the bangles due to the clapping of the hands by the women-guards of the rice-fields and also being overcome by their utterances.

(Verse 4) In the groves of trees like rasāla (the mango), cāla, laṁtāla (the marshy date), idā (the palmyra) and lātaka (Pondanus odoratissimus), youthful couples are engaged in amorous activities.

(Verse 5) There, the bees, being blind-folded due to (intoxication) of the strong smell emanating from the honey of mango trees, could not see even their consorts.

¹ नि and क्त are written below the line.

² Stops here abruptly.

(Verse 6) The bees, there, are not only attracted by the smell of the creepers of the Santēna forest but also by the odourless *Karpikāra* trees (due to their attractive colours).

(Verse 7) Some of the peasant youths of the place, having been attracted by the bewitching glances of the peasant maidens, forget (their work of) ploughing.

(Verse 8) The galts of the peasant maidens of the place seem to serve as lumps to the swans while their glances serve as models for the female deer.

(Verse 9) The entire country (seems to be) covered by a blue raiment because of the spreading of the sheen of the crops in the fields.

(Verse 10) The sound produced by the group of conch-shell bangles (seen) in the hands of the damsels of the country has outstepped (that of) the innumerable swans.

(Verse 11) The multitudinous heaps of paddy seen in the courtyard of the houses, there, look like the clouds in the sky, possessing lightning.

(Verse 12) Where the fallow lands protected by thorns (i.e. full of thorns) and containing undisturbed intergrowth with cattle huddle them, become harkful (i.e. become objects of play).

(Verse 13) There the parrots, thinking that they belong to their own group, resort always to the groves of plantain trees with attractive green leaves.

(Verse 14) The honey that flows always from the innumerable mango trees, there, seems to suggest that it is intended for the peacocks to dance without pain.

(Verse 15) The golden-hued pollen of the mango trees, there, resemble the dusts of the sun, produced by chiselling.

(Verse 16) The hair of the peasant women in the act of being dressed by their dart-like braids give the appearance of the spread-out plume of the peacock.

(Verses 17 and 18) The countless big cities of the country outshine the numerous divine cities, because, instead of the Nandana, (the pleasure garden of Indra) and the Chaitraratha, (the sporting park of Kubāra), its entire forests constitute the Nāndana and the whole (of the wooded land) constitutes the Chaitraratha here.

(Verse 19) The male elephants of the country, with their half-closed eyes caused by their being with their mates look like the couples of elephant-headed (gods) possessing also elephant's body.

(Verse 20) The heavy chariots covered with numerous blue clothes and resounding with the [jingling sounds] of the small bells (attached to them), resemble the clouds with groups of shining lightnings (accompanied by thunder).

(Verse 21) In the country are hundreds of tanks and thousands of rivulets, and they indeed appear to be the ocean and his consorts respectively.

(Verse 22) The rooting cows of the country resemble the rays of the sun; the former by giving milk become the removers of suffering (of the people) of the three worlds, while the latter, (by causing the rains,) become the purifiers of the three worlds.

(Verse 23) Here is the great city called Ēkaśīlī which by its splendour seems to spread over the entire region upto the shores of the ocean.

(Verse 24) The melodious speech, the deep sound of the small bells of the waist-band, and the anklets,¹ of the tender-limbed damsels of the place are responsible for the deep-ness of the goddess of Prosperity.

(Verse 25) The assemblage of numerous damsels with moonlike faces, on the topmost roof of the houses of the city, makes it difficult to know about the existence of the real moon in the sky.

(Verse 26) The heaps of camphor seen in the shops of the bazaar look like a collection of moon-beams.....²

(Verse 27) The houses of the city with never-diminishing (heaps of) supplies and ornaments appear to show simultaneously the darkness and moonlight together.

(Verse 28) In this city, the beloved, by their bewitching glances, cause affliction to their lovers; (similarly) the lovers, by their beautiful sights, cause affliction to their beloved.

(Verse 29) Whom do not the glances of the women of the place, (like those of the gopis on the bank of the Yamunā), which excel (in beauty) the collection of crawling waves of the daughter of Kāśhā (i.e. the Yamunā) attract (or make into a Krishna)?

(Verse 30) The glances of the women with curved eyes, made ferocious by the power of liquor, look like the rows of swords held in the hands of Rati-nāth (i.e. Cupid).

(Verse 31) The lips of the women of the city have rendered everything else inferior to them; and their side-glances (appear to) suggest that they have blessed the groups of lotuses (i.e. excelled them in beauty).

(Verse 32) By the gestures of their hands (adorned with bangles, the women of the city frighten the swans in the sporting ponds for having stolen their gait).

(Verse 33) The damsels of the city, the rays of whose ear-rings become merged into the spaces of the quarters, listen to music appreciatively.

(Verse 34) The bees that are attracted by the driplets of honey in the water-lilies serving as ear-rings of the ladies of the city, are frightened away by the sounds of the bangles in their hands (produced by the gesture of waving).

¹ The word *śṛṅgā* together with *śṛṅgī* is used here in the sense of an anklet, which is peculiar.

² A simile is given here by the author but owing to the loss of a few characters, it cannot be made out.

(Verse 35) Do not the lotus-eyed damsels of the city by their (enchanting) smiles resembling the moon marked by the (dark) sheen of their plaques mock at the daughter of their lords !

(Verse 36) By the rays of their moon-like faces the pupil of their eyes serving as the dark patch of the moon, the women of the city seem to feed the birds which feed upon the moonlight (i.e. Chakōrav).

(Verse 37) The women, with their faces resembling the full moon and their forehead resembling the half-moon, demonstrate that all the arts are acquired by themselves (i. e. by looking at their faces it is easy to know that they are *byidentis*).

(Verse 38) The gems in the nose-ornaments (of the damsels) resembling the stars.

No. 28—CHIKKERUR INSCRIPTION OF SOMESVARA I, SAKA 970

(1 Plate)

SHRINIVAS RITTI AND B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 29.7.1959)

The inscription¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was discovered at Chikkerur, in the Hirikerur Taluk of Dharmar District in the Mysore State. The stone bearing the inscription, which was set up in the field opposite the Hanumanthadēva temple appeared at first sight to be quite small with only five lines visible on its exposed face. On digging up, however, it was found that the major portion of the stone containing the record lay buried underground. The epigraph which contains twentynine lines in all, was copied by Shri B. R. Gopal in December 1957. The writing on the portion that was underground is better preserved than that on the portion that was exposed. The corners of the top portion are broken off resulting in the loss of some letters on both the sides including some details of the date. But, fortunately, details enough to assess the importance of the record are preserved.

The record is written in Kannada alphabet, usual to the period to which it belongs. However, a few orthographical and palaeographical points may be noted. The usual reduplication of the consonant which follows *r* as in 'pōravallam and 'chomdr-ārkkam (line 16) is not as a rule followed, cf. 'chomdr-ārka (line 5). Attention may be drawn to the medial *w* sign written in three different types, e.g. *see* *ru* in *śāstramuru* and *pyu* in *entappudakke* in line 17; *Gu* in *Gopajaganu* and *ju* in *parbhū* in line 22. Also compare the first letter *ru* in line 19 with *ru* in *śāstramuru* in the same line.

The language of the record is also Kannada and the composition is in prose, excepting the imprecatory verse which is in Sanskrit.

The inscription is dated in Saka 970 [Savardhātri, Śrāvaṇa cū. 13, Monday, Śukla-samīkṛā]-nā. The details regularly correspond to 1048 A.D., July 25, I.D.I. 62.

The inscription registers a grant of land and a house-site made to a *śāstra* at the *modal-agrahāra* Kiriya-Kereyūr by *paṇḍita* Rāvakabharasi, by purchasing the land from the Thousand *maḥajanas* of that place. Witnesses to this deed were the Thousand (*maḥajanas*) respectively of Kiriya-Kereyūr, Iṇavura and Tiruvalli, the Thirtytwo (*maḥajanas*) of Thoogundiūr, *Kannada-saṁsthāgama*, *Mahāprachanda-dandadāyaka* Kālidāsaṃ, *Pradhāna-dandadāyaka* Naranayya, *Pāthale-ṣaṇṇa* Bhōgavārayya, *Gaṇḍayya*, the *paṇḍita* of Madadenē and *Parāṣita* Dāvaga-gaṇiśāsa. The document was written by *Śāstrabha* Kṛṣṇayya. It is stated that Rāvakabharasi paid 30 *gaḍyāgas* as the price of the five *maṭṭa* of cultivable land and a house-site and 100 *gaḍyāgas* towards *śiddhāga*. The latter amount is stated to be utilized on the basis of *gaḍa-śiddhā* which apparently means (for investment to fetch) interest at the rate of one *paṇa*, i.e. *hūga* which is equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ *paṇa* (per *gaḍyāga* per year). Thus this sum of 100 *gaḍyāgas* evidently represented the lump sum paid in order to guarantee the income on account of *śiddhāga* to the *maḥajanas* of Kiriya-Kereyūr.

¹ A.R. Ep., 1937-38, Introduction p. 4 and App. B. No. 263.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it contains an early reference to Kalyāṇa as the capital city of the Chālukyas.¹

Kalyāṇa in the Bidar District of the Mysore State, was a city of great importance in the history of the mediæval period having been the headquarters of the later Chālukyas and after them their successors, the Kalachuryas. As the centre of activity of Basavēśvara, the famous protagonist of the Viśiṣṭa religion, Kalyāṇa acquired special significance in the religious history of Karpātaka also.

On the basis of the material then at his disposal, Fleet remarked that the earliest mention of Kalyāṇa as the capital of the Chālukyas was found in an inscription of 1033 A.D.* But our record which refers to Kalyāṇa already as the *mahādīpa* furnishes a date six years earlier than the above.

It is to be noted, however, that two records, both supposed to be dated in 1033 A.D., mention Kalyāṇa as the capital. But both of them are of doubtful authenticity since they contain a wrong date and are written in characters much later than the period to which their contents pertain. They are from Rājūr² and Bījapur.³ The former quotes the Śaka year as 45860, Śaismukha, Vaiśākha su, Pūrṇimā, Monday, Uttaraśyāma-saṅkramaṇa. Ignoring the Śaka and the *saṅkramaṇa*, the details may be equated to 1033 A.D., April 18. The second one is dated in Śaka 958, the other details, barring the weekday, being identical with the former. The weekday is here given as Śunīday. These details are irregular. Again, as remarked above, the palaeography of the records does not conform to that of the period.

The question then arises as to when precisely the city was chosen to be the seat of the government. A study of the Western Chālukyan capitals, from the day the Chālukyas regained power to the date of the present record would help us to find out an answer to this question.

It is well known that Taila II of the Western Chālukya family overthrew the Rāshtrakūṭas in 975 A.D. and re-established the Chālukya suzerainty. The capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas was Malkhōd, and Taila, on assuming power, continued to have this city as his head-quarters.⁴ This city seems to have remained the capital till the time of Jayasīma II. The Kanyākumārī⁵ inscription of Vira Rājendra and the Karandai plates of Rājendra Chōla⁶ dated in his 8th year (1020 A.D.) testify to the fact that Mānyakhōdja, the city of their adversaries, as the target of the attack of Rājendrachōla.

By 1019 A.D. Jayasīma changed his capital to Rāgūr⁷ and this must have taken place soon after the destruction of Malkhōd at the hands of the Chōlas. An inscription from Rāgūr⁸ dated 1031 A.D. shows that this place continued to be the capital at least till then. Soon after, i.e. by 1033-34 A.D. the headquarters appear to have been shifted from Rāgūr to Kolliṇṇake, as could

* The stone is broken off here and, of the word Kalyāṇa, only parts of *lyā* and *na* are visible. But in corroboration with the statement of this record is another from Mudgal in the Kingsagar Taluk of the Raichur District, which refers to the same king and states that he was ruling from the *mahādīpa* of Kalyāṇa. It is also dated in Śaka 970 (current), the cyclic year quoted being Sarvajit. Other details of the date are lost. *A.R. Ep.*, 1937-38, App. B. No. 385.

¹ *Bom. Gov.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 353, foot-note 1.

² *SII*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, No. 69.

³ *A.R. Ep.*, 1933-34, App. E. No. 128.

⁴ An inscription from Kākhodgi dated 993 A.D. refers to him as ruling from Mānyakhōdja, which is the modern Malkhōd (*A.R. Ep.*, 1933-34, App. E. No. 170).

⁵ *Travancore Arch. Series*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 119, verse 70.

⁶ *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, p. 151.

⁷ *A.R. Ep.*, 1937-38, App. E. No. 58. It mentions Rāgūr as the capital.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 20.



be seen from two inscriptions bearing that date from Haljār and Bhairanmatti.¹ But this change was just temporary, for a number of records ranging in date from 1033 A.D. to 1044 A.D. mention Pottalākere or Hottalākere as the Chālukya capital.² A Kannada work, *Basavapurāṇa* also associates Jayasīma II with this place.³ In the absence of any dated record after 1044 A.D., the latest date mentioning Pottalākere and a record earlier than 1048 A.D., the date of our record, mentioning Kalyāṇa as the *śeleṭṭi* of the Chālukyas, we may safely surmise that the latter city must have become the capital sometime between these two dates.⁴ It is interesting to note that all the places mentioned above, viz. Śtagiri (modern Yādgiṛi), Kollipāka (modern Kulpāk or Kolanupāka), and Pottalākere (modern Paṭanoḥara)⁵ are situated in the same area, i.e. in the former Hyderabad State.

Incidentally we may notice here that the donor Rōvakabbarasi is called the *Paśyita*. The term *Paśyita* or *Mahāpaśyita* (also *Paśyita*) quite commonly occurs in Kannada records, and it denotes an office, the precise nature of which is difficult to determine. This Rōvakabbarasi is in all probability identical with her namesake who figures in a record from Hoṣūr⁶ as the wife of Vāṇapurasa who was a subordinate of Somaśvara I. The record furnishes an instance of ladies holding responsible offices in the administrative set-up of the country.⁷

The following geographical names occur in the record. Banavāsi-nādu, Nāgarakhanda-70, Kiriya-Kereyūr, Tāṭagundūr, Piriya-kereyūr, Tiṭivalli and Iṣavura. The first one is the well-known division comprising parts of the present Dharwar, North Kanara and Shimoga Districts. Nāgarakhanda-70 was a subdivision of the Banavāsi-nādu. Kiriya-Kereyūr and Piriya-Kereyūr are identical with the modern Chikkerūr (the findspot of the record) and Hirekerūr respectively, in the Hirekerūr Taluk, Dharwar District. Tiṭivalli is another village of the same name in the Bangal Taluk of the same district. Tāṭagundūr and Iṣavura are Tāṭgund and Iṣūr in Shikar-pur Taluk of the Shimoga District.

TEXT⁸

- 1 [Svasi] [*] Samanta-bha]vanākaya āṇ Prithvīralla]-
- 2 [bha-Mahārā] jādhirāja-Paramāśvara-Pa[ra]mabha[ṭṭa]-
- 3 [ra]ka-Satyāśraya[ku]lati[ka]-Chālukya-ā[ś]haraṇa]-
- 4 [śrīmat-Tra]ṇḍ[ī]kyamalladēvara vijaya-cāyā[ra]-uttarā]-
- 5 [bhivpādhi]-pravarddhāmānam-ācharād-ārka-tīraṇa sa[ntam]-
- 6 [re Kalyā]ṇada śeleṭṭi[ṇa] Sa[ṣa]ha-varaha 970 ne[ya Sa]-
- 7 [rvadhā]ri mahavatsara Śrāvaya su[ā]n 13 Somaśvararā Si[mha-sa]-

¹ *SIH*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, No. 71 and above; Vol. III, p. 231 respectively.

² For instance the Sonvāḍe plates (*Journal, R. L. S. M.*, Vol. X, p. 88); *SIH*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, Nos. 88, 74, 92; *A.R. Ep.*, 1925-33, App. D, No. 122; *ibid.*, 1936-37, App. E, No. 35; *ibid.*, 1952-54, App. B, No. 242; *ibid.*, 1957-58, App. B, No. 376; *Ep. Carr.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 74 and 133. The last one spells the name of the place as Chhattāḍa-hera which apparently is a mistake for Pottalākere.

³ *Sandhi* 51.

⁴ See *Journal of the Karnataka University*, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 45 ff., where it is suggested that 'Jayasīma II was making experiments as to which of the towns would be most suitable for the permanent capital of the Chālukya empire and the choice in favour of Kalyāṇa was decided probably by its northernmost position'.

⁵ I have identified this place with Deṇḍiyakankere in the Bellary District (*Jal. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 185). But Sri B. Shivanurūti Shastri has rightly suggested this identification. (Cf. P. B. Desai, *Jayasīma in South India*, pp. 111-12.)

⁶ *SIH*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, No. 65.

⁷ For many more instances, see *QJMS*, Karnataka Number, pp. 43 ff.

⁸ Form impressions.

- 8 [rā]ṇṭiyan[do] Chatu-mameya-samudharapa gupa-ga-ābha[rapeṭi-]
 9 mā-Pasāyite Rēvakabharasiyar Banavāsa-[nāḍu Nā-]
 10 gati[ra]khaḍḍav-eputtata modai-agrahārān Kiriya-ko[reyū]-
 11 ra śaśhājana-sāśirvara kayyol satrake vṛṭṭiyāge-
 12 ya ga[leya]-sydu matta¹ gaddeynm-ōṇu kay-manaya [ai]-
 13 vāṇakkam krayakke kotta pom-galyā² 30 ā vṛ[ṭṭi]-
 14 ya eiddhiyakke pāga-vṛ[ṭṭi]ddhiyoḥ kotta pom-ga[dyā]-
 15 nam 100 anta galyāṇa 130 hiranya-sahitaḥ dīd[ī]-
 16 pūrvavaruḥ koṇḍu sarvānamasyamāgi yā[ḍi]-chaṭṭi-ārkkā-tāramba[ra]-
 17 m-ā dharmamānāśāśirvaruḥ rakasivar-ut-appudakke [ā]-
 18 kaḥ Tāyagudhita mūvattirbha[rūn] Piriyaḥeyūm sāśirva-
 19 ruḥ Isavuradu sāśirvaruḥ Tā[va]ḥiḥya sāśirvaruḥ Kauna[ḍa]-
 20 sandhi-vigraha mahā-prachanḍa-dandānāyakam³ Kā[ḍi]ḍayyanu[ḍi*] pra-
 21 dhānā³ dandānāyaka Nārayyanu[ḍi*] patthā[ḍi] verggaḍa Bhōgavārayyanu[ḍi*]
 22 Mudrāvagaḍa pergaḍa Guḍḍayyanuḥ purūḥita Dāvaḥa-gahisā-
 23 ru[ḍi*] Uḥaya-sammataḍiḍu baredam Sānabōvan Ketimayyan-ā dha-
 24 mmamāśāśirva-ōvvaḥ-ā[ḍi]vavān Bāparāsi(Vāraṇāsi)yoḍā sāśi-
 25 ra kāvileymā sāśira lōganimmam-ā[ḍi]da mahā-
 26 pātakam[an]-akkuṇ || Kava(vra)datṭam(tāḍi) paradatṭam(tāḍi) bā(vā) yō harātu(tta) vasa-
 27 adhar(tāḍi) [i*] āśaṣṭi(vamha-saṣṭiāṇi(stāṇi) vāḥ[ā](hā)yūm jāyatē kṛi-
 28 m[ḥ*] || Kayyode yekkeya Kapurāḥ mane tokkapa Kāri-
 29 ya Lōkayōjāra neramam || Kaṇḍarāśidam Dāśō[ḍi] ||

¹ Read *matte* though this form also occurs in inscriptions.

² *i.e. gadyā*.

³ The expression is redundant.

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No 29.—JAMBGAON PLATES OF INDRA III, SAKA 836

(2 Plates)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 18.8.1962)

These plates were discovered at Jambgaon in the Gangapur Tahsil of the Aurangabad District in the Marathwada Division of the Maharashtra State. They were first noticed by Mr. N. S. Pohnerkar in the *Marathwada University Journal*, Vol. I, No. I, pp. 7-14. He discussed their contents further in the same Journal, Vol. II, No. II, pp. 49 *et seq.*, correcting some of his previous readings. As Mr. Pohnerkar's transcript shows many lacunae, I wished to edit the plates with good facsimiles. At my request, Mr. P. J. Chinnaiyand, I.C.S., Secretary, Education and Social Welfare Department, Maharashtra State, arranged to have the plates sent to me by the Deputy Director of Archaeology, Aurangabad. Dr. G. S. Gai, Government Epigraphist for India, kindly supplied their excellent facsimiles from which and from the original plates the record is edited here. I am thankful to Dr. Gai for the help he rendered in this connection.

This is a set of **three copper plates**, each measuring about 38 cm. by 25 cm. Each plate has a ring-hole, about 2.5 cm. in diameter, for the ring which holds the plates together. The ends of this ring are soldered under the bottom of a seal. The ring is about 9 cm. in diameter and about 1 cm. in thickness. The **seal** is square in shape, each side of which measures 6 cm. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. The record consists of 67 lines, of which seventeen are inscribed on the first plate, seventeen and sixteen on the first and the second side respectively of the second plate and the remaining seventeen on the third plate. The last line consists of only two words viz. *Mangalan mahā-śrīḥ*, inscribed in the lower right corner. The writing is generally in a good state of preservation except in a few lines on the left near ring-hole on both the sides of the second plate, where it is damaged by some cracks. The scribe and the engraver have done their work very well. A few letters were omitted by haplography in line 7 on the first plate, but they have been supplied in the margin at the bottom of the same plate.

The seal, which, as stated before, is square in shape, bears in relief on a countersunk face, the figure of **Garuda**, squatting on a lotus seat and facing full front. Each of his two hands is holding a hooded serpent which appears to entwine his waist. On his proper right, in the upper corner, is the figure of Gaṇapati, with a *chauri* lower down and below it a lamp. On his proper left, in the upper corner, is the figure of Durgā riding a lion with a *śaśika* mark below. On each side of the head of Garuda, there is a small circle which may represent the sun and the moon. Below the figure of Garuda, there is an indistinct legend which may have been *Śrīman-Nityavaradhāya*. Of this legend, only the letters *manitya* are more or less clear. Nityavaraha, as is well-known was a *herald* of Indra III, who issued the present plates as shown below. The plates weigh 5 kg. and 70 g., and the ring and the seal together weigh 2 kg. and 250 g.

The **characters** belong to the northern alphabet. The following peculiarities may be noticed:— In initial ā, the length is denoted by a slanting stroke added to the vertical of a (see ā *śālā*, line 14); ḷ has a loop on the left except when it appears as the superscript letter of a conjunct (see *śālā*, line 7 and *śālā*, line 38); the left limb of ḷḷ has not yet developed a tail (see *śālā*, line 2); ḥ is still without a dot (see *śālā*, line 5); ṭṭ has no vertical stroke

at the top (see *luphey-jāward*, line 9); the subscript *u* is laid on its side (see *śaṅkharishāṇa*, line 11); *ā* has not yet developed a hook on its left limb so as to be distinguished from *e*; still, there is no horizontal stroke connecting the two verticals of *ā* as is generally noticed in other records of the age (see *dhāma*, line 1); *ph* has a curve near the top of its vertical (see *śaṅkharishāṇa*, line 27); *bh* and *h* are almost similar in form (see *Śrī-Ragavirgāṇa* and *śaṅkharishāṇa* both in line 25); the form of *bh* in *Kailāśād-Bharṇai* (line 8) is noteworthy; *r* has two forms, one of which shows a tail (see *śaṅkharishāṇa* line 12); the left limb of palatal *ṣ* is not yet separated from the right vertical (see *śaṅkharishāṇa*, line 3).

The language is Sanskrit. The record is partly in verse and partly in prose. The verses, of which there are thirty-nine, are not numbered. As regards orthography, the following peculiarities are noteworthy:— The medial vowel *r* is wrongly used for *ri* coming after *i* (see *śaṅkharishāṇa*, line 36 and *śaṅkharishāṇa*, line 53); the consonant after *r* is doubled (see *Śrī-Damodaragā*, line 5); *e* is used for *h* (see *śaṅkharishāṇa*, line 1). Finally, *u* is used for *anuvāda* in *śaṅkharishāṇa*, line 20.

The record opens with *śaṅkharishāṇa*. This is followed by two verses, the first being the usual one in praise of Hari and Hara and the second in that of Kṛṣṇa (the destroyer of Kāṣa). Then comes a verse (3) in glorification of the reigning king Hultarījadēva (i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III).¹ This is followed by the *prastāva* of the ancestors of the king in eighteen verses (4-21). To the description of the reigning king himself which follows, ten verses are devoted (22-31). The initial metrical portion of the grant thus contains 31 verses, most of which occur in the two sets of the Bagumra plates of this very king already published.² Only seven verses, viz. 12, 17, 25, 26, 28-30 are new. They contain more conventional praise and therefore do not add to our historical information. This metrical portion is followed by the formal portion of the grant in prose, a considerable part of which is also common to the two grants mentioned above. The portion in lines 41-44, however, is new, but it contains conventional praise of the donor. Again the portion *lath-āgāṁśha*, etc. in lines 57-58, appealing to future kings to preserve the present grant is new. The record has, finally, seven benedictive and imprecatory verses (32-38) and one verse (39) mentioning the name of the composer. It ends with the auspicious formula *Maṅgalam mahārāja* in the last line.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Khaṭrāṇḍhī** situated near Pūṭhāṇa by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, *Paramabhūṭa Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara Nityavarshaṇarēndra* (i.e. Indra III), who meditated on the feet of *Paramabhūṭa Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara Akṣavarsha* (i.e. Kṛṣṇa II). In the description of the donor occur some other *śrīṅḍa* of his viz. *Kīrtiśrīṅḍa*, *Ratnakundarpa*, *Bāṇārāṇḍa* and *Vijayaloka*. The king had gone to **Kurundaka** from his capital **Mānyakbēṭa** for the performance of his *pūṭhāṇa* or coronation ceremony. He made this grant while he was being weighed for the *Pūṭhāṇa* *Mahādāna*. He donated Kurundaka, and other villages together with five lakhs of *drummas* and also restored to their rightful owners *dēvādāya* *agrahāra* villages,³ which had been confiscated by earlier kings. The donated village **Khaṭrāṇḍhī** had the following boundaries— **Pippalagrāma** on the east, **Sirisikā** on the south, **Sāṅgāṇī** on the west and **Nandaauraka** on the north. The **donee** was the Brāhmaṇa **Dāmodara-bhaṭṭa** of the Bhāradvāja *gṛha* and **Vājasaneyā śākha**,⁴ the son of **Himāṇḍa-bhaṭṭa**. He was proficient in the four Vēdas and had hailed from the district of **Vāṅgī**. The grant was made in the expired Śaka year eight

¹ For a similar instance of the reigning king being described in the beginning of a record, see the *Śaṅkharishāṇa* plates of Śrīdhara Śiṅḍa, dated K. 443, CII, Vol. IV, pp. 122 f.

² Edited first by R. G. Bhandarkar in *JBBRS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 263 ff. with an English translation by S. R. Bhandarkar; re-edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, above, Vol. IX, pp. 24 ff.

³ The Bagumra plates tell us that the number of such restored villages was four hundred. They were granted together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drummas*, above, Vol. IX, pp. 27 and 36.

⁴ [See below, p. 236, note 2.—Ed.]

hundred and thirty-six, the cyclic year being Yuvan. The *tithi* was the seventh of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, the week-day Friday and the *nakṣatra* Mrigashiras. The last verse states that this excellent *prastāva* was composed by Śrī-Trivikramabhaṭṭa, who was the son of Nānādhitya, and who was serving Indrarāja. He was also the composer of the two sets of the Bagumra grants mentioned above.

It will be noticed that the present grant was made on the same occasion as the two previously published Bagumra grants viz. the coronation ceremony of Indra III. The present grant mentions, however, two additional details of the date viz. the week-day Friday and the *nakṣatra* Mrigashiras, which were not known before. This date corresponds, for the expired Saka year 836, to the 24th February, A.D. 915. On that day the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna ended at 9 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. The week-day was Friday as required and the *nakṣatra* was Mrigashiras throughout that day. The cyclic year was Yuvan according to the northern luni-solar system, which, as Kādhorn has shown,¹ was current in South India down to Saka 855. The date can thus be completely verified.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, we shall next turn to the historical information furnished by it. This has indeed been previously discussed by the editors of the Bagumra plates. Still, there are some particulars on which it is possible now to shed some more light.

As stated before, the present record contains, after two *maṅgala śloka*s, a verse in praise of the reigning king Indra III, which runs as follows :—

न जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयधीः समरसमुद्धतदुर्द्धारिचक्रः ।

अपहृतबलिमण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुनेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥

While editing the Bagumra plates, D. R. Bhandarkar translated this verse as follows :—

"Ever victorious is the king Indrarāja (III), whose long arms (were made his) refuge by the goddess of wealth, who has routed out in battles the circle of his enemies difficult to withstand, who has seized the territories of the mighty, (and who is) the lion (i.e. the best) among men, just as Upendra (Vishnu) is ever victorious, whose long arms (were made his support) by (the goddess) Lakṣmī, who held up in battles (his) discus bearing spokes and difficult to resist, who carried off Bali and (his) legions (to Pātālā) (and who was) a man-lion (in his fourth incarnation)."

This translation misses an important historical reference, of which D. R. Bhandarkar had then no idea. Trivikramabhaṭṭa, who drafted this *prastāva*, was fond of *śloka* (double entendre) as seen in several verses of this grant. He has compared Indra III with Vishnu in his Vāmana or Dwarf incarnation. He has used the several adjectives in this verse in such a way that they can be construed with both Indrarāja and Upendra (Vāmana). One of these is *apahṛta-bali-maṇḍala*, which, like the other adjectives, has to be understood in two ways. Bhandarkar took *bali-maṇḍala* to mean (i) the territories of the mighty and (ii) Bali and his legions. We can as well take the second sense to be 'the dominion of Bali'; for we know that Vāmana deprived him of it and thrust him to Pātālā. But apart from this, there is another covert reference in this adjective which Bhandarkar failed to notice. As shown below, Indra exterminated the contemporary Bāga king Vijayāditya II alias Prabhūmūra. The Bāgas called themselves Māvall or Mahābali and traced their descent from the mighty demon king Bali.² So the sense here seems to be that just as Vāmana had formerly deprived the demon king Bali of his dominion, even so Indra III annexed the kingdom

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, pp. 258-69.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 38.

³ Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 324 f.

of the Bali king Vijayāditya Prabhumāra. As we shall see, there is again a reference to this event further in verse 27, which also has not yet been properly understood. In fact this comparison of Indra III with Vāmana was suggested to the poet's mind by Indra's victory over the Bāga king, who claimed descent from Bali. The annexation of the kingdom of the Bāga king was the most noteworthy event in the early part of the political career of Indra III as the devastation of Kanauj was in its later part. The latter outshone the former and so it is generally the only achievement of Indra III mentioned in later records.¹

Verse 4 describes the race of the Yajñus descended from the Moon. The next three verses (5-7) eulogise **Dantidurga**, the founder of the Rashtrakūṭa dynasty. D. H. Bhandarkar took the description in verse 6 as stating the chronological order of Dantidurga's conquests. "Dantidurga first reduced", says he, "the lowermost, i.e. the southern country, then turned his arms against the Madhyakṣa and finally conquered the city of Kāñchi." The wording of the verse seems, however, to have been suggested rather by the double *ekadāsa* or *malhya-dāsa* and *Kāñchi* than by any sequence of Dantidurga's conquests. Such descriptions are by no means rare in Sanskrit *śāhīnāmas* and inscriptions.²

Verse 8 mentions **Kṛṣṇa I**, the uncle of Dantidurga, who succeeded him. His praise in the next verse is merely conventional. He was followed by his son **Nirupama** (Dhruva). The name of Gōvinda II, the elder son of Kṛṣṇa I, whom Dhruva deposed, is here omitted. The only events mentioned in the description of Dhruva-Nirupama are that he wrested white umbrellas from the trembling hand of the lord of Kōśala and a king of North India. Kōśala is evidently Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, roughly corresponding to modern Chhattisgaḍh. The ruler of this country defeated by Dhruva probably belonged to the Nala dynasty. In this period the Nalas, who originally held the former State of Bastar and the adjoining country, ousted the Śōṇavarmāns from Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. An inscription³ of the Nalas referable to the eighth century A.D. still exists in the temple of Rājīvalābhana at Rajim in the Raipur District of Chhattisgaḍh. It mentions three kings of the Nala family, viz. Prithvirāja, Virūparāja and Villastuṅga, who flourished towards the close of the seventh and in the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Dhruva seems to have defeated a successor of Villastuṅga. The king of North India may be either Vates of the Pratihāra or Dharmapāla of the Pila dynasty, both of whom were defeated by Dhruva.

Verse 11 mentions Dhruva's son and successor **Jagattuṅga**, who is none other than the mighty Rashtrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda III. He made several brilliant conquests both in North and South India, but, strange as it might appear, the present inscription dismisses him with half a verse. His successor was his son **Śrīvallabha**, better known to historians as Amoghavarsha I. He was engaged in a long and protracted war with the Eastern Chālukyas of Vāṅgi, in the course of which the Rashtrakūṭa empire was shaken to its very foundations. The Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya II is said to have fought, during twelve years by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Rattas (i.e. the Rashtrakūṭas) and their feudatories, the Gaḍgas. Amoghavarsha I ultimately rescued his kingdom from the grip of the Chālukyas and was thereby known as Viranārāyaṇa as his exploit resembled that of the god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), who, in his Varāha incarnation, uplifted the earth submerged in the ocean. Amoghavarsha wreaked a terrible vengeance on the Chālukyas, which is graphically described in verse 14. By his forces he captured all trouble-makers and uprooting the enemies, the fierce Chālukyas, he exterminated them as

¹ See the Sangli and Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV, above, Vol. VII, pp. 27 f.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 349 f.

² See e.g. *II*, Vol. IV, p. 170, verse 25; *Saśālikāraṇaśāstra*, p. 197.

³ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 f.

one burns the uprooted sheafs of chickpeas, gathering thorny shrubs by means of a stick. The poet has used the word *śamā* here in the two senses of (i) a multitude and (ii) a sheaf. D. R. Bhandarkar's suggestion that we have here a reference to the devastation of Sāmbojura, modern Tāmralipti or Tamluk,¹ is far-fetched; for Amoghavarsha I is not known to have ruled and devastated Tamuk in the Midnapur District of Bengal.

With verse 15 begins the description of **Krishṇa II**, the son and successor of Amoghavarsha I. Verse 16 gives a graphic description of his fight with the Gurjara or the Pratihāras of Kanauj, which old men are said to remember still at the advent of the rainy season. The next verse (17), which occurs here for the first time, gives an interesting description based on double entendre of how his enemies spent their days, whether in mansions or in forest-resorts, by his favour.

Verse 18 describes **Jagattunga**, the son of Krishṇa II. The next three verses introduce a digression to state the pedigree of his wife, **Lakṣmī**. She was the daughter of **Raṇavīra**, the son of **Kōṭkalla**, born in the family of Haihaya Sahasrārjuna, who was the lord of the Chēdi country. As D. R. Bhandarkar has already shown, Raṇavīra was the friend of the Kala-churi king Mugdhātunga-Prasiddhadevadeva described as the son and successor of Kōṭkalla in the Benares copper-plate inscription. His personal name was Śaṅkaragupta which is noticed in the records of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Eastern Chālukyas when they refer to him as an associate of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Krishṇa II. Jagattunga married the Chēdi princess Lakṣmī and from her had a son named Indra, who is the donor of the present plates. Jagattunga seems to have predeceased his father; for in the formal part of this grant, Indra III is described as meditating not on his feet but on the feet of his grandfather Akṣhavarsha (Krishṇa II).

Verses 22 to 31 describe the reigning king **Indra III**. They mention his demarcations *Hastakandarpa* and *Kūṭicāyana*. Five of these verses are new,² but they contain mere conventional praise and so do not add to our historical information. Verse 27, however, though already known from the Bagumra plates, deserves careful study. It runs as follows:

कुतमोचद्वन्दोदारं हेलोन्मूलितमेरुम् ।

उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा देन न विस्मितम् ॥

S. R. Bhandarkar, who supplied the translation to B. G. Bhandarkar's edition of the Bagumra (then called Navasari) plates, rendered this verse as follows:— "Who, the Indrarāja rooting out Mēru with ease, was not surprised at his (Vishnu) surpassing Upendra (Vishnu who lifted Gōvardhana)." This translation is incorrect in one respect. *Vismita* means here not 'surprised' but 'puffed up'.³ B. G. Bhandarkar did not attempt to elucidate the historical allusion in this verse. D. R. Bhandarkar, who next edited the Bagumra plates, gave the following translation:— "This Indrarāja, having uprooted Mēru (Mahōdaya ?) with ease, was not puffed up with pride at his debasing (king) Upendra, who had saved Gōvardhana, just as the god Indra, who uprooted (Mount) Mēru with ease, was not puffed up with pride at

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 27.

² Viz. verses 25, 26, 28, 29 and 30.

³ *SABHAR*, Vol. XVII, pp. 267-68.

⁴ Cf. *आनन्दमर्त्यं स विदुषा महामात्रविस्मितो हतः* in the Sanskrit play *Ānandadvaya* ascribed to Bhāsa, Act I (*Bhandarkar-chakravart*, p. 146).

⁵ Above, Vol. IX, p. 40.

(his) vanquishing (the god) Upendra (Krishṇa), who had uplifted the Gōvardhana (mountain)". D. R. Bhandarkar rightly translated *vijantam* as 'puffed up', but he supposed that there was here a reference to Indra's devastation of some place called Mēra and his defeat of a prince named Upendra who had saved Gōvardhana. Trivikramabhaṭṭa, who composed this *prastuti*, is well known as the author of the *Nalakhampā*, which abounds in puns. He says in that work that he knows that his work has become obscure on account of *bhāṣya-śīkṣa*.¹ Bhandarkar therefore, thought that the adjective *keti-sambhita-Mēra* was intended to be understood both with (i) Indra III and (ii) the god Indra. Similarly, *kṛta-Gōvardhan-oddhāra* is to be construed with (i) the king Upendra and (ii) the god Upendra (Krishṇa). Bhandarkar did not, however, explain the mythological reference implied in the god Indra's uprooting (Mount) Mēra; nor have I come across any legendary story to that effect. But while discussing the historical allusions in this verse, Bhandarkar observed as follows:—"The historical sense of this verse is by no means clear. This much is certain that it records the defeat of a king of the name Upendra by the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Indrarāja III. But who this Upendra was and how the epithets *kṛta-Gōvardhan-oddhāra* and *keti-sambhita-Mēra* used in connection with the kings Upendra and Indrarāja respectively, are to be interpreted, is far from clear. At one time I thought that Upendra referred to Mahipāla of the Pratihāra dynasty of Mahōdaya, for whom I then contended that the Bhagalpur grant of the Pāla dynasty gave the other name Chakravyūḍha. But I have stated above that beyond all doubt Dharmapāla and Chakravyūḍha whom he reinstated on the throne were contemporaries of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Gōvinda III. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, the word *Mēra* in the expression *keti-sambhita-Mēra* signifies Mēra or Mēhra, and the whole expression speaks of the defeat of some contemporary Mēhra king of North-Kathiawar by Indrarāja III. Prof. Kielhorn, on the other hand, holds that Mēra probably is Mahōdaya i.e. Kanauj, implying thereby that it records the capture of Kanauj by Indra III, specified in the Sangli charter. With regard to the other expression viz. *kṛta-Gōvardhan-oddhāra*, no interpretation has been proposed and we must wait for the publication of other inscriptions to enable us to understand perfectly the historical sense of this verse."²

Since the time of D. R. Bhandarkar, some more explanations of the two epithets under discussion have been proposed. Altekar pointed out that Mēra cannot be taken in the sense of Kanauj or even Mahipāla as suggested by Kielhorn and D. R. Bhandarkar respectively. For this exploit of Indra III must have occurred very early in his reign before his coronation in 915 A.D., but "it is almost impossible that Indra would have carried out his expedition against Kanauj during the short interval between his father's death and his own coronation."³ Altekar could not suggest any explanation of *keti-sambhita-Mēra*, but as regards *kṛta-Gōvardhan-oddhāra*, used as an epithet of Upendra, he thought that Upendra was the Paramāra chief Krishnarāja, who flourished in the period 900-926 A. D. He thus explained the cause of the conflict:—"Paramāras were in the beginning very probably feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. At their instigation Upendra seems to have attacked Gōvardhana in the Nasik District at the beginning of Indra's reign. Indra defeated him, compelling the Paramāras to transfer their allegiance to his own house. The Harvada grant attests to the fact that the Paramāras were professing allegiance to the Rāshtrakūṭas subsequent to

¹ CC. वाचः कवित्वमायानि भङ्गसंवेदिशेषतः ।

नोद्वेगस्तत्र कर्तव्यो यस्मात्प्रको रसः कवेः ॥

² *Ahore*, Vol. IX, p. 27.

³ *The Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 100. Altekar reiterated this view in his chapter on the Rāshtrakūṭas in the *Early History of the Deccan* (ed. by G. Yashwanth), Vol. I, p. 286.

Indra's conquests." There is, however, no other reference to this invasion of Gōvardhana by the Paramāra prince Upendra (or Krishna). Again, Gōvardhana was not at this time an important place as it undoubtedly was in the early centuries of the Christian era. Besides, Upendra (i.e. Paramāra Krishna) is said in this verse not to have attacked but to have rescued Gōvardhana. The Nasik district, in which it was situated, was comprised in the dominion of Indra. It is inconceivable that the Paramāra prince went to the rescue of a place in his enemy's territory. For these reasons Altekar's explanation cannot be accepted.

About the identification of Mēru also some more suggestions have been made. As far back as 1922 S. N. Majumdar identified Mēru uprooted by Indra III with Prabhūmēru, the son of Bāga-Vidyādihara who married the daughter of the Gaṅga prince Prithvipati I, a contemporary of Amoghavaraha I.¹ He showed that there was no difficulty in taking this Prabhūmēru to be a contemporary of Indra III, the successor of Amoghavaraha's son Krishna II. Dr. Mahalingam, on the other hand, would identify this Mēru with Prabhūmēru's father Vikramāditya-Jayamēru, also known as Bāga-Vidyādihara (856-895 A.D.).² He thus supports this identification:—The Bāgas are known to have fought with the Nolambas. The latter were probably the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Mahēndrādhitāja Nolumba, who claims to have destroyed the race of Bali, was evidently acting on behalf of the Rāshtrakūṭas. After their defeat by the Nolambas, the Bāgas accepted the suzerainty of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Vikramāditya-Jayamēru seems to have followed the Rāshtrakūṭa prince to his kingdom and while there, constructed a temple of Śiva at Pāli, 12 miles north of Ratnapur. An inscription³ in three parts over the architrave of the temple at Pāli records that it was built by Vikramāditya the son of Mahēndrādhitāja Malladhva. He was evidently identical with the Bāga king Vikramāditya I-Jayamēru.

The verse *Kṛta-Gōvardhan-oddhāraṇa*, etc. is thus variously interpreted. The first thing to be noted in this connection is that this verse does not signify any victory of Indra III over a king named Upendra. What the verse means is that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, who exterminated (a king named) Mēru with ease was not puffed up with pride although he surpassed Upendra (Krishna) who had uplifted the (small) hill Gōvardhana. The root *j* in this verse signifies the sense of surpassing,⁴ not of conquering. God Indra, though an elder brother of Upendra (Vishnu in the Vāmana incarnation), was always submissive to the latter and had to seek his help against the demons when they rose against him. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, on the other hand, surpassed that god Upendra (Vishnu in his incarnation as Krishna); for while the latter could lift up only a small hill named Gōvardhana, this king Indra had uprooted Mēru. (There is here a pun on the word Mēru. It means (i) the Mēru mountain and (ii) a king named Mēru.) Even so, this king Indra is not puffed up with pride. This is indeed a matter for surprise! It will thus be seen that while there is a pun on the adjective *hṛt-damūḥa*-Mēru qualifying Indra, there is none on the

¹ *Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference*, pp. 339 f.

² See his monograph *The Bāgas in South Indian History* (JIB, Vol. XXIX, p. 179 ff.).

³ I first drew attention to this inscription at the third session of the Indian History Congress held at Calcutta in 1939. See *PfHC*, III, p. 123 and f.n. Since then I have discussed this matter in *CHI*, Vol. IV, p. 418.

⁴ As all scholars maintain of the use of the root *j* in this sense, which also was long misunderstood, is the following verse which occurs in the Earliest plates of Krishna III:—

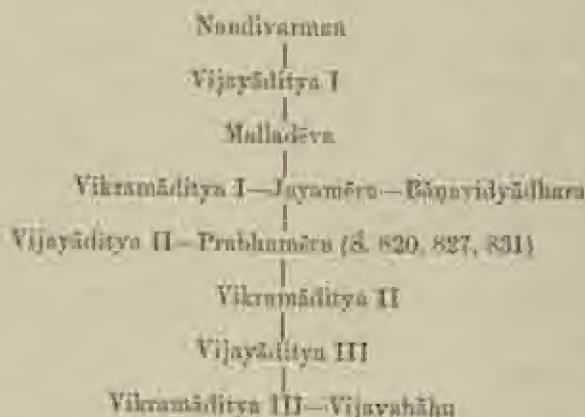
रामहतसहस्रभुको भुजद्वयकलितसमंदरादेव ।

तमनीयत्नोद्धरपि येन सहस्राब्धिनो विजितः ॥ (Above, Vol. IV, p. 284, verse 25)

It was long believed that Krishna III defeated a Sahasrarjuna (i.e. a Kalachuri king) who was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. What it really means is that Krishna III, who with both his arms unencumbered interlarded women (lamb), surpassed Sahasrarjuna, the ancestor of his mother and wife, whose thousand arms were cut off by Rāma (i.e. Parakrama). See *CHI*, Vol. IV, introd. p. lxxxi and f.n.

word *Upeśān*¹ nor on its adjective *dr̥iṭh-Gāṇḍhārā-śaddhāra*. The supposed puns on these words tacitly accepted by all scholars who have written on this matter till now have led to a veritable wild goose chase.

We shall next proceed to identify the king *Mēru* exterminated by Indra III. It is only in the Bāṇa dynasty of North Arcot District that we come across names or *hirculas* ending in *mēru*. While editing the Gudimaṣṭham plates² Hultzsch gave the following genealogy of the Bāṇa kings:—



Vikramāditya-Jayamēru was a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I. He could not therefore have been defeated by Indra III, the great-grandson of that Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, as suggested by Mahalingam. Vijayāditya-Prabhamāru, whose dates range from Śaka 820 to 831 (898 to 909 A.D.) was, however, a contemporary of Indra's grandfather Kṛṣṇa II. He was probably the king *Mēru* defeated and exterminated by Indra III in one of his campaigns as Yavārjya towards the close of his grandfather's reign. Verse 2 of the present inscription discussed above shows that Indra III not only exterminated the Bāṇa king but also annexed his territory. Where was that territory situated? Several years ago, I drew attention to an inscription³ on the architrave of the *parbhāgrikā* of a temple of Śiva at Pāl, about 12 miles north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District of Chhattisgarh, which records that it was constructed by Vikramāditya, the son of Mahābali Mahānandulāśvara Malladeva. This king, as I showed then, is identical with Vikramāditya I alias Jayamēru. Either he or his father seems to have conquered the territory round Pāl and erected a magnificent temple of Śiva there. Mahalingam's suggestion that Jayamēru, after his defeat by Indra III, followed the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king to his kingdom and while there, took occasion to construct a temple at Pāl is untenable. In the first place, Jayamēru was a contemporary of Amoghavarsha I and not of Indra III. Secondly, the construction of the temple at Pāl must have taken some years. We have no reason to suppose that the Bāṇa king lived as long as a guest of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. Thirdly, even supposing that he did so, there is no reason why he should erect a temple at Pāl which is at least 500 miles as the crow flies north-east of the then Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital Mānāsikā. It seems therefore better to suppose that the country round Pāl had previously been conquered

¹ It may be noted that there is no pun on *Upeśān* in verse 1.

² Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-4.

³ This inscription was first very briefly noticed by D. R. Bhattacharya, but he could not identify the king Vikramāditya at the time. His reading of some portion of it was also not quite correct. See my article mentioned above, now reprinted in my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 31-2.

by the Bāgas and that they were ruling there for some time. In the reign of Jayamāru's son Prabhūmāra there was a conflict with the Rāshtrakūṭas. Indra III invaded the territory, exterminated the Bāga king and annexed his kingdom. This is clearly shown by the epithets *śāl-covāṇḍa-Māra* and *apahṛita-Bāli-vanṣala* applied to Indra in verses 27 and 3 respectively of the present grant. This invasion must have taken place towards the close of the reign of his grandfather Kṛishṇa II; for it is mentioned in the charters issued by Indra on the occasion of his coronation i.e. in the very first year of his reign. His invasion and devastation of Kanauj took place much later in his reign. As it was a much more glorious exploit, it alone is mentioned in the Sengli and Cambay plates of his son Gōvinda IV.

Indra seems to have made over the conquered territory to his relatives the Kalachuris of Tripuri. His maternal uncle Śaṅkaragana alias Magdhatāga is said to have made his brothers lords of *vanṣala* while he himself ascended the throne at Tripuri. He is also credited with the conquest of Pāli, which he is said to have wrested from the lord of Kōsala.¹ Perhaps he was associated with the *Fuṣṣiṇja* Indra in this campaign against the Bāga king.² In any case, we find that the Kalachuris were established in Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala in this period and had their capital at Tummāpa, not far from Pāli. As I have shown elsewhere,³ the Kalachuris ruled in Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala for two or three generations until they were ousted therefrom by some enemy.

As stated before, the present charter was composed by Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nēmalīṭya, who was a protégé of Indra III. He has been identified with the homonymous author of the *Champū Kāvya Nalackampū*. In the introductory portion of that work, its author tells us that he was the son of Nēmalīṭya (v.l. Dēvādīṭya) and grandson of Śridhara of the *Sāṅgīliya gṛha*.⁴ The present charter does not name the grandfather and the *gṛha* of its author, but apart from this there is no chronological difficulty. The author of the *Nalackampū* mentions the Sanskrit poet Bāṇa⁵ who lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D. A verse of that *Champū* work is cited as an illustration by Bhōja (the first half of the 11th century A.D.) in his *Sarasamuktasāhāraṇa*.⁶ Its author may therefore have flourished in the beginning of the tenth century A.D. The style of the present *prāsaṅgi* which is full of *śloka* and other figures lends colour to the identification. Trivikrama seems to have hailed from Vidarbha. He has detailed knowledge of the regions, mountains, rivers, cities, temples and *śrāvanas* of Vidarbha.⁷ He mentions the district of Bhōjakata, the rivers Payūshpī (Pūrṇā), Varadā (Wardha) and Vidarbhā, the town Kuṇḍinapura situated near the confluence of the Varadā and the Vidarbhā,⁸ the temple of Mahā-Varāha near the source of the Payūshpī, the hermitages of Bhārgava, Mārkaṇḍeya and Janadagni, etc. Much of this information is no doubt traditional; but there are some details which could have been known only by personal observation. The rivulet Vidarbhā, which flows near Kuṇḍinapura is, for instance, not noticed in any work. It is still known by its ancient name near Kuṇḍinapura. Such detailed knowledge of the topography of the regions in Vidarbha suggests that the poet may have originally hailed from that country.

¹ For a full discussion of this matter, see *CII*, Vol. IV, Intro., pp. cxx #.

² He was associated with Indra's grandfather Kṛishṇa II during his campaigns against the Eastern Chālukyas.

³ *CII*, Vol. IV, Intro., p. cxvii.

⁴ *Nalackampū* (Kashi Sanskrit Series), p. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶ *Sarasamuktasāhāraṇa* (Nirayansagar ed.), p. 522.

⁷ *Nalackampū*, pp. 56, 147, etc.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 180-81.

Several writers have identified our author with the poet Trivikrama who composed the *Madhukāśhampā*. This *kāśhpa* is written in a much simpler style and has not the characteristic features of the *Nalākāśhpa*.¹ The identification cannot therefore be upheld.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, *Pañṭhāṇa* is evidently *Pañṭhau*, ancient *Pratishthāna* on the *Gōdāvari*, the well-known capital of the *Sātavāhana*. The donated village *Khairōpṇi* which was situated near *Pañṭhāṇa* may be *Khira*, which lies about 4 miles north by west of *Pañṭhau*. Of the boundary villages, only two can be traced in the vicinity of *Khira*. *Nandauraka* may be *Agar Nandur* on the south bank of the *Gōdāvari*, and *Pippalagrāma* may be *Pippalwād* on the north bank of the same river about a mile and a half east of *Agar Nandur*. The remaining two villages cannot be identified in the vicinity of *Khira*. The place *Kurundaka* where *Indra III* had gone from his capital *Mānyakhāṇa* (Modern *Malkhed*) for his coronation must have been noted for its sanctity. *R. G. Bhandarkar* identified it with *Kuṣṭhā* on the bank of the *Tāpā*. *Jackson* proposed to identify it with *Kurundwād* near the confluence of the *Krishṇā* and the *Pañṭhagauṇḡā* in the former *Kolhapur State*. This identification was accepted by *D. R. Bhandarkar* and *Altarkar*. But this place is far away from *Pañṭhau*. If *Kurundaka* was situated near *Pañṭhau* as appears from the present grant,² it may have been near the confluence of the *Pravara* and the *Gōdāvari* (*Pravara-saṅgama*), which is regarded as very holy. In that case, *Kurundaka* may be represented by *Kalgaon* near *Pravara-saṅgama*. This place is about 30 miles from *Pañṭhau* and only three miles east of *Jambgaon* where the present plates were found.

TEXT³

[*Meters* : verses 1, 11, 13-14, 25, 27, 33-37, 39-46, 38 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2, 18, 21-23, 26, 28, 31 *Mālinī* ; verses 3, 39 *Pruṣṭadāśa* ; verses 4, 7, 12 *Śraḡdhara* ; verses 5-6, 8-9, 15 *Pannatāḡḡā* ; verses 10, 16-17, 19-20, 24, 29-30 *Sāṇṭāḡḡā* ; verse 34 *Indraṇṇā* ; verse 37 *Sāṇṭā*.]

First Plate

1 ऽवस्ति [१^a] स ऽव्वादेयता धाम गङ्गाभिजगत् कृतं(तम्) । हस्वत् यस्य
कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलं(तम्) ॥[१॥^a] ऽवस्ति विवु(व)ध(व)व(व)पुत्रिन्व-
विस्तारिवदाम्-

2 लविमलविद्रोहकोस्तुभः कसकेतु । मुखसरसिजरसे यस्य नृत्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः
स्मरभरतिवाम्यतारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥[२॥^a] स ऽव-

¹ Some of them may be stated as follows :— (i) The author of the *Nalākāśhpa* used *Daru-churana-saṅgā* in the last verse of each sub-chapter as the mark of his composition, but it is not noticed in the *Madhukāśhpa*. (ii) The chapters of the former are called *udāhāra* while those of the latter are called *āḡḡā*. (iii) The author of the *Madhukāśhpa* does not state his parentage and gātra, like that of the *Nalākāśhpa*. For a fuller discussion of this matter, see my article in the *Proceedings of the 11th Indian Oriental Conference*, XXI London.

² *Kurundaka* is no doubt far away from *Baginna* where two other chapters of *Indra III* were found, but these latter were of villages confiscated by previous kings and resumed by *Indra III*.

³ From the original plates and impressions.

⁴ There is an unnecessary *top.uddā* above *the*.

- 3 ति भुजदण्डसंययश्रीः समरसमुद्भूतदुर्दं(दं)रारिचक्रः । अणहृतम(व)लिमण्डलो नृमिहः
सततमुपेन्द्र इत्येन्द्रराजदेवः॥१॥*] अस्ति श्रीनाथ-
- 4 नाभिस्फुरद्भुसुरसाम्भोजजम्भा स्वयंभूस्तस्मादधिः सुतोभूदभूतकरपरिस्पन्द इन्दुस्ततोपि ।
तस्माद्वंशो मधूना ज[म]ति स
- 5 अबुधे यव तैस्तैश्चिल्लमैः शाङ्गी सोपाङ्गनानां तयनकुवलयैरज्जोमानश्चकार
॥४॥*] तत्रान्वये विततमातृवकिंवञ्जना औदन्तिदुर्ग-
- 6 नृपतिः पुण्योत्तमोभूत् [१*] चालुक्यवधजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्षं शंखचक्रकर-
लक्षितमात्रगाम ॥ [५॥*] कृत्वास्वयं हृदयहारि ज-
- 7 प्रत्यभागे स्वीरं पुनर्न(म्)हु विमर्द्य न मध्यवेद्य(धम्) । यस्यासमस्य समरे
वसुधाङ्गनायाः काञ्चोपदे पदमकारि करेण भूय ॥६॥*] आ सेतो मा-
- 8 नुवप्रप्रव(व)लकणिकुलोत्प्लुनकुल्लल्लवङ्गात् ।^१ आ कैलसाङ्गवलीचलचरणरामधूरोडा-
दितान्तात् । पस्याताम्भुमिगालाः
- 9 करमुकुलमिलम्भौ(यो)लिमालायमानामानश्रेष्ठमाङ्गैरवनितल्लुठञ्जानवो मानयान्ति
॥७॥*] जित्वा जगधिज-
- 10 भुजेन पुनर्जिगीषोः स्वर्गं विजेतुमिष तस्य पतय्य राज्ञः । तथाभवत्परमधाम्नि
पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजपतिः
- 11 प्रथितप्रतापः ॥८॥*] दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचान्द्रकपभङ्गशीलावमानधनविस्तृतकालकीर्त्तः ।
श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिणोस्तस्मा-
- 12 इभूधिरुपमो निरवद्यशील्यः ॥९॥*] कीर्त्तः कुन्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भः
सितो लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विलासकमलं पुष्पेन्दुवि(वि)-
- 13 म्व(म्ब)श्रुति । एकं कपित्थकामलेद्वरकरवाङ्मिथमम्यत्पुनर्येनादोव्यनराधिपात् यत्
इव श्वेतातपत्रं रमे ॥१०॥*] तस्मात्लेभे जगत्पुणो ज-
- 14 न्य सन्मा(म्भार)नितद्विजः [१*] सोपि श्रीवत्सलं मृन् राजराजमजीजनत् ॥११॥*]
आ शैलान्वाक्चूडामणिलदृशलसभूत(न्)मार्त्तमद्वि(वि)म्बा(म्बा)त्^२ लङ्काङ्गा-

^१ The asterisks 'न्य सन्', which had been omitted by haplography after सस्यातनः, are written below the last line between two brackets with an indicative mark above it.

^२ This punetation mark is unnecessary.

^३ Read—वराधिपादय.

^४ Soma: has not been observed here.

- 15 वा हनूमत्करतललुलितोत्तुङ्गकूटारिकूटात् । आस्तादम्भोधिबीबीचयरचितरणकारि-
काञ्चीप्रपञ्चात् ।¹ आ कैलासाश्रयेणा-
- 16 ज्जगदिदमजयत्कोपि यस्य प्रतापः ॥[१२॥*] त्रि(नि)मग्नां दशचलुक्काण्यो(व्यो)
रट्टराज्यधियं पुनः । पृथ्वीमिवोदरन्वीरो वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥[१३॥*] समू-
- 17 लोन्मूलितस्तम्बा(म्बा)न्दण्डेनानोतकण्टकाः ।[*] योदहृद्दयिणश्चण्डचातुर्क्यांश्चण्डकानिव
॥[१४॥*] उच्चैश्चलुक्ककुलकन्दलकालकैतोस्तस्मादह-

Second Plate, First Side

- 18 ष्यचरितोऽग्निं कुण्डराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुट[कै]रसङ्गज्जनेन ।¹ कीर्तिः परिभ्रमति
यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥[१५॥*] उच्चहोषितिरत्नजाल-
- 19 जटिलं व्याकृष्टमौद्ध्यनुः कुड्मेनोपरि वैरिवीरशिरसामेव विमुक्ताः शराः ।
आरासारिणि सेन्द्रचापबलये यस्येत्यमब्दा(ब्दा)ग-
- 20 मे गज्जंद्गुज्जंरसंगरव्यतिकरं जीर्णो ज्ञनः शंस(शंस)ति ॥[१६॥*] नैत्रानन्दिति
चित्रशालिनि बहुत्यन्तः धियं हारिणोमुच्चै(च्चै)र्भद्रकम-
- 21 त्तवारणपरिस्थन्दं दधाने पुनः । मुक्ताहारविभूषिताः सह सुर्तराम्वादितथीकला
भर्तव्या भवने बने च स्थिवो यस्य स्थिति च-
- 22 क्रिरे ॥[१७॥*] भवति जनिताभंगो वैरिवृन्दस्य तस्मादधरितमदनधीः
श्रीजयस्तुङ्गदेवः । ध्वजसरसिजघोषप्रोल्लसच्चक्रपाणि-
- 23 विभवविजितविष्णुर्वल्लभो वीरलक्ष्माः ॥[१८॥*] आसीलकोप्यथ हृदयान्वयभवो
भूपः सहस्राङ्गुनो गज्जंद्गुज्जंररावणोज्जि-
- 24 तलमहोद्भङ्गकण्डूरः । विधान्तैः श्वश्रेणु नाकसदसा यत्कीर्तिनामाश्रयैः सिद्धैः
सान्द्रमुधारसेन लिखितैर्व्याप्ताः
- 25 ककुब्धि(ब्धि)तयः ॥[१९॥*] वंशे तस्य सपत्नवंशधरज्ञोः कोकलभूषात्मजो
राजा श्रीरणविग्रहः समभवच्चैदीश्वरः की-
- 26 तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरीन्द्रमण्डनमुषः सव्वोपि पृथ्वीपतिः सूर्यस्वेन्दुरिव प्रवाति
विकलः पञ्चक्षये म-

¹ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

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- 27 षडलम् ॥[२७॥*] सकलमुणगणाब्धे(ब्धे)व्विस्फुरद्वामघाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य
लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमुदेन्दुः सु-
- 28 न्दरोचित्तहर्ता हरिरिव परिणिम्बे तां जगत्तुङ्गदेवः ॥[२८॥*] जगुदधितटान्ति-
स्यातशौम्योऽथ तस्यामभवदरिषरट्टो रट्टक-
- 29 न्दणंदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सकलजनशरण्यः पुष्पलावण्य-
राणिः ॥[२९॥*] मदनममृतवि(वि)न्दुस्यन्द्रमिन्द्रोश्च वि(वि)म्बं(म्बं)
- 30 नवनलितमुणाल(लं) चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्जन्मनिर्माणशेषैरणू-
भिरिव चकार स्पष्टमानन्दि वेधाः ॥[३०॥*] देवो य-
- 31 श्वतुरम्बु(म्बु)राशिरशनाराचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाका(का)मन्निजविक्रमेण समभूत् श्रीकीर्ति-
नारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां [ज]-
- 32 म्बुः समं विद्धिषां दैन्यं वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवाजलि मौलयः
॥[३१॥*] यस्य वैरिवधूवक्त्रे वा(वा)णलेखा सकञ्जला । सान्द्र-
- 33 कस्तूरिकापंकपत्रभंगलतायते ॥[३२॥*] देवः स एष मदनो मदमत्तकान्तसीमन्तिनी-
हृदयपङ्कजराजहंसः । एवं हि यस्य परमा-
- 34 [द्रु]तकारि रूपं लोको किलोकयति विस्मयमंचरातः ॥[३३॥*] कुतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं
हेलोन्मूलितमेदया । तपेन्द्रमिन्द्रा-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 35 जेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितं(तम्) ॥[३४॥*] विजयिनि जयलक्ष्मीस्नान-
पुष्पावगाहे प्रसरति रिपुनारीनेत्रयत्रप्रणालैः । अपि तनुनिवि-
- 36 मग्ना यस्य निस्तुं(स्त्रि)शधारापयति रिपुनुपाणान्दन्तिनो वो(तो)अमन्ति ॥[३५॥*]
वेधाः कोपि किमन्य एव निपुणस्तस्यैव किं वा विधेर-
- 37 भ्यासस्य वशादयं परिणतः शिल्पातिरेककमः । लीलानिज्जितरूपमत्तमदनः श्रीभाग्य-
पूजो युवा येताव जनिताः समस्त-
- 38 जगतामेकः प्रतिच्छन्दकः ॥[३६॥*] गाम्भीर्यं जलधेः क्षमामवनितः [शौ]र्व्यं
सहस्रार्जुनात् स्वैर्यं मेढमहीभूतः शशधरात्कान्ति प्रतापं

* *Samiti* has not been observed here.

* *Shak* -तनुविनिर्माता.

- 39 रवेः । अन्येभ्योपि विनित्य सुन्दरतरानादाय तांस्तान्गुणान्वात्रा कू(भू)पमिम
विधाय कलशः सृष्टेः समारोपितः ॥[३०॥*] सकलजनन-
- 40 मस्यः सोऽथ कृत्वा तमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देव[भो]गाग्रहारान् । उपरि परशुराम-
स्यैककुभामदानस्फुरितगुण[ग]रिष्णस्त्या-
- 41 गकोत्प्रा व(व)भूव ॥[३१॥*] यच्च सकलजलनिधिवेला[वन]ान्तर[र]ममाणकिन्नर-
किपुष्यकान्तकामिनीकीर्त्यमानकीर्त्तनीयकीर्त्तिः
- 42 कीर्त्तिनारायणो निजनिष्पन्नरूपसौन्दर्यनिज्जितकमनीयकन्दर्परूपदर्पो रट्टकन्दर्पः ।
सकलदु-
- 43 ढररिपुतिमिरपटलपाटनपट्टप्रतापप्रसरेण विराजमानो राजमातृषट्शचण्डोदुण्डमण्डल-
विधा[न्त]वि-
- 44 जयधोविव्रजवावलोकः स्फुरदाकण्डवज्रपाणिविविविवु(व)भजनाधवणीयधीः श्रीमदिन्द्र-
राजदेव इत्यनेकविधधन्यनामधेयः
- 45 समभवत् । स च परमभट्टारेण महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानु-
द्धातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा[धिराज]-
- 46 परमेश्वरधीपृष्ठीवल्लभधीवल्लभः श्रीमन्नित्यवर्षम(न)रेन्द्रदेवः कुसली सख्यतिव
यथासं(व)द्वयमानकान्तराट्टपतिविषयपति[ग्राम]-
- 47 कूटायुक्तकनिवृक्तकाधिकारिकमहतरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संचिदितं यथा श्रीमान्य-
खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टव(व)न्धो-
- 48 त्सवाय कुन्दकमागतेन भवा मातागित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ।
वेङ्कविषयविनिर्गतभारद्वाजसगो-
- 49 ऋ[दा]जिपसव(व)ह्यचारिणं चतुर्वेदाय दामोदरभट्टाय भौमाशौतभट्टमुताय पड्डाण-
समीपः सहरोष्ठी नाम ग्रामः यस्य च
- 50 पूज्यंतः पिप्पलग्रामः दध्निगतः सिरिसिकाग्रामः पश्चिमतः सेडिआले ग्रामः उत्तरतः
नन्दोरकग्रामः एवमावाट-

* This permutation mark is unnecessary.

* Read -भट्टारक ।

* Read -वाजसनेप । [The reading is सगोत्रयाधिय which may be corrected to सगोत्रयाधेव.—Ed.]

JAMBGAON PLATES OF INDRA III, SAKA 836—PLATE II

I Seal of Jambgaon Plates of Indra III, Saka 836

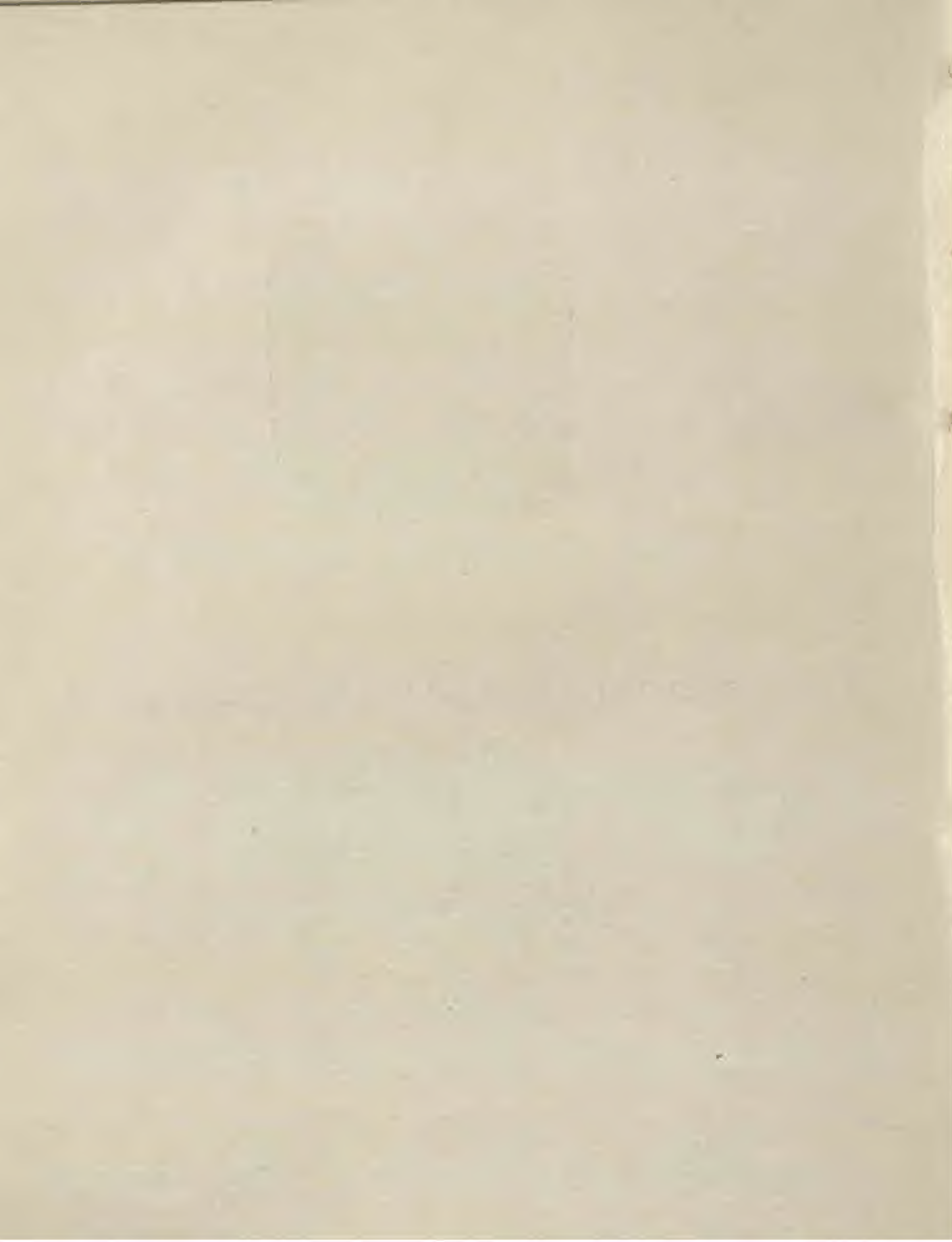


(from Photograph)

II Seal of Andura Plates of Govinda IV, Saka 851 (See page 257)



(from Photograph)



Third Plate

- 51 चतुष्टयेनोपलक्षितः सोद्वेगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशापराधः समूतोपातप्रत्य[1*]पः
सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्यादेयो-
- 52 चाटभटप्रवेद्यः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणोपः आचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितिसरित्पञ्चतसम-
कालीनः पृथपोत्रान्वयोपभो-
- 53 ग्यः पूर्व्वप्रतदेवव्र(त्र)द्वादशरहितोभ्यन्तरसिद्धया शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरस्वतेष्व[ष्टा]सु
षट्त्तुं(ट्त्रि)मदधिकेषु युवसंवत्सर[फाल्गु]-
- 54 नशुद्धसप्तम्यां मृगशिरसि नक्षत्रे वारे भृगुनन्दनस्य संपत्ते श्रीपट्टव(य)न्वोत्सवे
तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्द[का]-
- 55 दीन् ग्रामान् पञ्चभिर्दम्भलक्षैः सह प्रतिपाद्य द्विजेभ्योन्यान्पि पूर्व्वपृथ्वीपाल-
विलुप्तान्देवभोगाग्रहारान्युनर्त्त[म]स्मा'न्विदध-
- 56 ता व(व)लिवस्वैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिविशंतर्पणावाद्योदकातिसर्गोण प्रतिपादितो(तः ।)
गतोस्योचितया व(व)द्वादशस्थित्या भुञ्जतो भोजय-
- 57 तः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि परिषेधना
कार्यो । तत्रागामिभिर्भेद्रूपतिभिस्मद्वैश्वैरन्यैर्वा सामा-
- 58 न्यं भूमिदानफलन(म)वेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यैश्वर्याणि परिकलय्य तृणाग्रलग्नजलवि-
न्दुचंचलं च जीवितं समालोच्य
- 59 स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद[म्भो]मुपालनीयः [1*] यद्वत्तानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छि-
द्याद्राच्छिद्यमानकं वानु-
- 60 मोदते(देत) स पञ्चभिर्महामातकैः संयुक्तः स्वादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन
व्यासेन ॥ पष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भू-
- 61 मिदः । आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[३२*॥] विन्व्याट-
वीष्वतोयामु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णाह्वयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हर-

¹ The akshara म of नमस्यान् is incompletely incised, but there should be no doubt about this reading.

See the adjective नमस्यान् of देवभोगाग्रहारान् in verse 31 above.

- 62 न्ति ये ॥[३३*॥] स(अ)न्नेरपत्वं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूवर्णेणवी सूर्यसुतादव गावः ।
लोकप्रयं तेन भवेद्वि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च गह्वं च दद्यात् ॥[३४*॥] व(ब)हु-
- 63 भिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[३५*॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष तराधिप । गह्वं म-
- 64 हीमुतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् ॥[३६*॥] सामान्योर्यं धर्मसेतुर्नुपाणां काले
काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भावितः पाथिवे-
- 65 न्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥[३७*॥] इति कन(म)लदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि-
न्दुलौलां श्रियमनुचित्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । अतिविमलमनोभिरात्म-
- 66 नीनेतं हि पुरुषं परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[३८*॥] श्रीविविक्रमभट्टेन नेमा-
दित्यस्य सूनूना । कृता श्रुता प्रशस्तेयमिन्द्रराजाधिसेविना ॥[३९*॥]
- 67 भंगलं महाश्रीः ॥

* These asterisks are inserted in the lower right-hand corner.

No. 39—AHRAURA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 15.10.1962)

The village of Ahraurā in the Mirzapur District of Uttar Pradesh is well known in the area for the temple of the goddess Bhagīśīdevī,¹ situated on a hill. The inscription under study is engraved on a boulder about a hundred yards from the said temple which is much frequented by the people of the locality. The inscribed boulder is also close to the inhabited area of the village. It is surprising that, in spite of this, the inscription required such a long time to be brought to the notice of scholars.

According to an announcement of the Press Trust of India appearing in the newspapers including *The Leader* of Allahabad, dated the 11th November 1961, an exploration party of the Allahabad University, led by Prof. G. R. Sharma of the Department of Ancient Indian History, and Archaeology, visited the village of Ahraurā and discovered the inscription. The newspaper report contains also Sharma's views regarding the importance of the inscription, to which reference is made below.

While publishing the inscription in the *Bhāratī* (Research Bulletin of the College of Indology, Hindu University, Varanasi), Part I, No. 5, 1961-62, pp. 97-105, Prof. A. K. Narain of the College of Indology, however, states that Shri R. G. Pandey, Exploration Assistant of the Archaeological Survey of India, stationed at Varanasi, had previously discovered the inscription and sent a report on its existence to the Superintendent of the Survey, Mid-Eastern Circle, Patna. Narain is stated to have visited Ahraurā on the 27th December 1961 in the company of Pandey and Shri A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, and taken photographs of the inscription and the temple as also impressions of the former. Some of these he published as illustrations of his paper in the *Bhāratī*. The facsimile of the inscription published by Narain is, however, unsatisfactory. The same issue of the *Bhāratī*, pp. 133-40, also contains a paper on the inscription from the pen of Prof. V. V. Mirashi.

In January 1962, Shri A. N. Lahiri, while he was passing through Calcutta, was good enough to show me an impression of the inscription which, unfortunately, was not quite satisfactory. A few months later, Shri H. K. Narasimhaswami, then in charge of the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, was so kind as to send me a better stampage and a good photograph of the Ahraurā inscription for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The stampage was one of the impressions of the record taken in March 1962 by Shri S. Sankaranarayanan, one of the Assistant Superintendents for Epigraphy. I was also informed that Sankaranarayanan's paper on the record was appearing in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.²

The inscription contains eleven lines of writing, which cover an area about 62·5 cm. in height and about 112·5 cm. in breadth. A large number of letters are completely broken away

¹ Macrin over a and a has not been used in this article.

² See Vol. XXXVII, pp. 217 ff.

from lines 1-6, though the preservation of the writing in the extant part is fairly satisfactory. A line of writing contains about 26 *akṣaras*. The number of lost *akṣaras* in the damaged section is higher in an upper line than in the lower, those visible in line 1 being only four.

The characters of the inscription are Early Brāhmī as found in most other edicts of Aśoka and its *lāṅ* cage is what is usually called the Magadhī dialect. The record is a version of **Minor Rock Edict I** of the great Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.). As is well known, other versions of the edict have been discovered at (1) Sāhaetīm in the Shahabad District, Bihar; (2-3) Rūpnāth in the Jabalpur District and Gujaraṭ in the Dacia District, Madhya Pradesh; (4) Bairāt in the Jaipur District, Rajasthan; (5-10) Maski, Gavimāth and Pāṭkigundā in the Raichur District and Siddāpura, Brahmagiri and Jattāga-Rāmdevara in the Chitaldrug District, Mysore; and (11-12) Erragudi and Rājula-Mandagiri in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh. Many of these versions, discovered earlier, were re-edited by E. Hultzsch in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, 1925, pp. 166-80; but the Gavimāth and Pāṭkigundā versions were published by B. L. Turner in *Hyd. Arch. Soc.*, No. 10, and the Gujaraṭ, Rājula-Mandagiri and Erragudi versions by us in this journal, Vol. XXXI, pp. 205-18, and Vol. XXXII, pp. 6-9.

The great importance of the Alaurā version of Minor Rock Edict I is that it begins and ends differently from any of the other known versions. Unfortunately, as indicated above, the earlier part of the record is damaged, so that it is not possible to determine the correct reading of this section; but it is a matter of great satisfaction that the reading of the concluding part, which is of exceptional interest, is beyond doubt. It may, however, be pointed out that this part has not yet been correctly read or interpreted by those who are known to have so far expressed their views on the epigraph.

According to Sharma, the inscription 'was engraved in the year 236 of an era, reckoned from the death of the Buddha and it is hoped that this would settle the prolonged controversy about the word *vyākṣaṇa* and the figures 236 mentioned in the other versions, as the words *Buddhasa vāṇī aloke* (i.e. from the parinirvāṇa of Gautama Buddha) were unmistakably clear in the inscription.' He further emphasises that the record proves 'beyond doubt the currency of the Buddha era in the ancient times which has so far been inferred only from literary evidence.' Unfortunately, we are not inclined to agree with any of these views which appear to us to be based on inaccurate reading and its more incorrect interpretation.

Narain rightly regards Sharma's views as wrong. But his own transcript of the epigraph is not quite free from errors, and we find it difficult to accept his fanciful interpretation of certain well-known words such as *avaladhiyā* and *viśatṭha*. According to him, *avaladhiyā* is the locative form of *āvaladhi-āvaladhi-avaladhi* which he interprets as 'the initiative energy'. It is of course impossible to accept this derivation of the word. But what is strange is that while translating the passage *āvaladhiyā avaladhiyā vadhanti* as 'the initiative energy will grow by one and half times', the word *avaladhiyā* seems to have been taken by Narain in the nominative case and not in the locative. The same word occurs in the other versions of the edict as *avaladhiyā* (Rūpnāth), *avaladhiyā* (Sāhaetīm) and *avaladhiyā* (Brahmagiri, etc.). Thus sometimes (as in *avaladhiyā* and *avaladhiyā*) it is clearly in the instrumental case, and we do not see how both the locative and instrumental cases would suit Narain's translation. We have no doubt that *avaladhiyā-avaladhiyā* stands for Sanskrit *atav-ādhikeṇa* and *avaladhiyā-avaladhiyā* for *atav-ādhikā*, used here, on the analogy of *alpam-ālpā*, in the sense of *alp-ādhikeṇa=alp-ādhikā*, i.e. 'more or less.' It has also to be noticed that the noun *āladhi-āvalāḥ* itself is used in the inscriptions of Aśoka in the sense of 'the act of obtaining' while the participial form *āladha-āvalāḥ* is known from these records to mean

'obtained'; cf. also the forms *ārūḥati*, *ārūḥetu*, *ārūḥetave*, *ārūḥeyantu*, *ārūḥayisatha*, *ārūḥa-*
yeyu, etc.¹

As regards the word *viṇṭhena*, Narain regards its derivation from the root *vi-vas* meaning 'being on tour, away from home' as wrong on the following grounds: "When conjoined with the suffix *-tha*, as it has been done in this case, *va*, the initial letter of the root, is changed into *u*. This rule holds good in Sanskrit and all the Prakrits. Thus the form should have been *viṇṭhena*, not *viṇṭhena*. There is no justification for its being written as *va*." He further thinks that, in interpreting *vi-vas* as 'being on a tour, away from home', scholars have confused it with *pro-vas*. His own views are: "*Viṇṭhena* is clearly a form of *viṇṭhena* (Sk.) or *vinṭhena* (Pali), which means 'openly', 'publicly'. The instrumental case in the word is adverbial." Unfortunately, it is impossible to agree with any of these points which are all due to misunderstanding.

In the first place, there are many instances of *u* written as *va* in the inscriptions of Asoka; e.g. *vachati*-Sanskrit *vacate* (Śāhībāgarī and Mānsūtra, R.E. XIII, line 3 in both cases); *vata*-Sanskrit *vata* (Śāhībāgarī, R.E. II, line 5); *vata*-Sanskrit *vata* (Girnar, R.E. IX, line 6; XIV, line 4; Dhuli R.E. IX, line 5; XIV, line 2); etc. Secondly, the root *vi-vas* is used in Asoka's inscriptions, e.g. at Rūpnāth, lines 5 and 6, and Sarnāth, lines 10 and 11. In the Sarnāth Minor Pillar Edict *viṇṭayātha* and *viṇṭapayātha* are used to indicate respectively, 'you should go out on tour' and 'you should send [others] on tour', while *vināsa-*
taniga in the Rūpnāth version of the Minor Rock Edict means 'you should set out on tour'. Thirdly, that *vinṭhena* is derived from *vi-vas* is clearly suggested by the Rūpnāth version of the edict, in which *vinṭhena* *īvaṇa* *kate* is explained and amplified by the following passage 236 *satv* *vinṭhena* *ta*(*ti*). Here *vinṭhena* is the participial adjective and *vinṭhena* the noun, both derived from the same root, viz. *vi-vas*. There is thus little substance in Narain's contentions. In this edict, *vinṭhena* apparently stands for Sanskrit *vinṭhena*. It has to be noted that the common Pali-Prakrit form of Sanskrit *vinṭhena* is *vinṭhena*, so that *vinṭhena* stands for Pali-Prakrit *vinṭhena*. The use of *th* instead of *h* is only found in the form *vinṭhena* in the Rūpnāth version and, although Monier-Williams supports the use of *vinṭhena* in the sense of *vinṭhena*, *vinṭhena* of Rūpnāth may be a scribal error for *vinṭhena* which is a variant of *vinṭhena*.

Narain regards line 11, which is the most important section of the extant part of the inscription, as a separate sentence. His reading and translation of the line are as follows: *diva* *apānāṭṭi* *lāṭi* *satv* *vinṭhena* *vinṭhena* [*cha* 1] *Buddhava* *satv* *vinṭhena* *vinṭhena* [*cha* 1], "Two hundred fifty-six nights (days) after having enshrined the relics of our Buddha," or "Two hundred fifty-six nights (i.e. days) are over since the relics of our Buddha were enshrined [by me]." It has, however, been overlooked that, if the first interpretation is preferred, there is no point in Narain's emphasis on the full-stop at the end of line 10, which would make line 11 an independent sentence. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful whether a devotee of the Buddha would refer to the object of his veneration in an endearing fashion as 'our Buddha' in the age of Asoka when he was being worshipped as a great divinity.

Mirashi's reading of the concluding part of the Ahraura inscription does not differ very much from that of Narain. But, in place of Narain's *vinṭhena* (*vinṭhena*) [*cha* 1], he suggests the reading to be *vinṭhena*² so that the reference in the inscription would be to *Samyaksambuddha*

¹ The words can be easily traced in the inscription with the help of the Index at the end of *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, 1923. We have indicated the *h*-sign in the words occurring in the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions which do not show signs of length.

and not to *Buddha*. Sankaracarya's main contention is that *akṣaraḥ* — *calligraph* stands for Sanskrit *śilāśāstra*.....*śilāśāstra* and refers to an image of the Buddha or some object (such as the figure of an elephant) standing for the Buddha. We do not agree with either of these views. While Mirmohi's suggestion is totally unsupported by the clear reading of the letters, the word *śilāśāstra* is used in the Buddhist literature and inscriptions¹ in the sense of 'corporeal relics' and not of 'an image or representation'.

Only four *akṣaras* are extant at the end of line 1, so that about 22 of them are lost from the beginning of the line. These four *akṣaras* are *piya sūti*. At the end of the similarly preserved line 2, we can read [sū]śh[ā], though there is space for two or three more *akṣaras* after that. Thus about 30 *akṣaras* are lost from the beginning of this line. Of the 4 *akṣaras* in line 1, *piya* looks like the concluding part of the name *Devānampiya* while *sūti* seems to be the earlier part of the word *śālikānā*. But a reference to the other versions would suggest that these letters belong to the introductory part since the edict proper begins with the word *śālikānā* about the end of line 2. The introductory section in the present version, which was written in lines 1-2 in about 46 *akṣaras* and probably had the words *Devānampiya* and *śālikānā* about the middle, appears to have been different from the same in the other versions which are introduced as follows : (1) *Devānampiya* *hevaṃ āhā* (or *āha*) [¹] *śālikānā* (Rūpañāth); (2) *Devānampiya* *āhā* [²] *śālikānā* (Bairāt); (3) *Devānampiyam* *Asokam*..... (Maski); (4) *Suvannagiriye* *Ayaputayā* *Mahāmātāpam* *cha* *vachaneva* *Isilav* *Mahāmātā* *ārogigayā* *catavipā* [³] *hevaṃ* *cha* *catavipā* [²] *Devānampiya* *āyapayati* [⁴] *adhikānā* (Brahmagiri); (5) *Suvannagiriye* *Ayaputayā* *Mahāmātāpam* *cha* *vachaneva* *Isilav* *Mahāmātā* *ārogigayā* *catavipā* [²] *Devānampiya* *hevaṃ āhā* [³] *adhikānā* (Sāhlāpura); (6) *Devānampiyam* *Pigadasiya* *Asokam* (Gujarā); (7) *Devānampiya* *hevaṃ āhā* [³] *adhikānā* (Bṛhguṇī and Rājula-Mandagiri); etc. Unfortunately there is no way to restore the lost words in the introductory part of the inscription in lines 1-2 of the Aśmārā version though it appears to have been fairly long as in the Mysore versions and probably referred to a period of time in relation to an event of Aśoka's life. Considering the context, it is not impossible that the reference here was to the Kalinga war which led to Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism.

We can read at the end of lines 3-4, the beginning of which is likewise lost, the passages *cha* *bāḥṣam* *prakāśate* and *cha* *prakāśate* *etana*. It is clear from the number of the lost *akṣaras* that, with the word *śālikānā* about the end of line 2, the text of lines 3-4 has to be restored, with the help of the Sāhasrām and Rūpañāth versions, as follows : *śālikānā* [¹] *adhikānā* *am* *upāśāya* *etana* *na* *cha* *bāḥṣam* *prakāśate* [²] [³] *am* *prakāśate* *adhikānā* *am* *etana* *prakāśam* *ayam* *upāśāya* *bāḥṣam* *cha* *prakāśate* [³]. These two sentences show that, when the edict was promulgated, Aśoka had been an *upāśāya* (lay follower of the Buddha) for a little over two and a half years, that he was not zealous [in the matter of Dharma at first] and that he became zealous [in the matter of Dharma] for a little over one year [about the end of the said period of a little over two and a half years]. Thus there is mention here of three periods of time, (1) the first giving the whole period from his initiation into Buddhism down to the date of the edict as more than two and a half years, (2) the second referring to the initial period of his inaction without specifying its length, and (3) the third mentioning the period characterised by his zealous activity in relation to Dharma, the length of which is given as more than a year. It is, of course, obvious from this that the unspecified period of inactivity mentioned in the second place was of one year and that is what is clearly stated in some of the versions, e.g., *so* *tu* *kha* *bāḥṣam* *prakāśate* *hevaṃ* *etana* *am* *prakāśam* (Brahmagiri; cf. the similar text of the sentence in the Sāhlāpura, Bṛhguṇī and Rājula-Mandagiri versions).

¹ Cf. P.T.S. *Pali Dict.*, s. v. *śālikā*; *Schell Descriptions*, pp. 168, 169, 112, 120, 125, 142, 153.

In lines 5-6, the loss of letters is in the central part, so that we can read the *aksharas* both at the beginning and at the end. Thus in line 5 we have [a]pata[bi] at the beginning and *mānādeṇā kaḥi* at the end, while line 6 has *paḥakama[is i']* and ['vraṇa va sa]kya pāpatate *kṇulabena pi* at the beginning and the end respectively. With *stava* at the end of line 4, the text of these lines considering the number of the *aksharas* lost in the lines and the texts of the other versions, may be restored as: *stava mātala[va Jambudīpasi amānādeṇā apāta mātala] mī-*
amādeṇā kaḥi [1*] *paḥakama[stava phala]* [1*] [*va higuṇa maha*] *vraṇa va saḥya pāpatate* [1*].

In the first sentence here, the word *amātala*-Sanskrit *antara* has been used in the sense of 'a period of time' with reference to the period of more than a year which was characterised by Aśoka's zealous activity in the matter of Dharma. This meaning is clear not only from the use of *amāra*, *amātala* and *amālikā* elsewhere in the Aśokan edicts, but also from the different texts of the present edict; e.g. (1) *yā saḥya vaha Jambudīpasi amāḥ deṇā huṇa te dāni mātala kaḥi* (Hāpuṣṭh); *pura Jambudīpasi ye amāḥ deṇā huṇa te dāni mātalaḥi* (Maḥi); *amāḥ chu kālana amāḥ samāḥ amāḥ Jambudīpasi mātala deṇā* (Myore versions); *amāḥ chu kālana amāḥ ye amāḥ deṇā te dāni mātalaḥi* (Kraguḥi); *amāḥ mātalaṇā Jambudīpasi Dmānāpī-piṇṇa amānādeṇā amāḥ mātala mātalaḥi kaḥi* (Gujarā); etc. It will be seen that the words *vahā* and *kāla* have been used elsewhere as the synonyms of *antara* of the present record, the Sāhasrām text being the same as in our version. It is stated here that, during the period of more than a year which was characterised by Aśoka's zealous activity in respect of Dharma, people who had been formerly unmingled with the gods became commingled with the latter. What is meant is that Aśoka led men in the path of Dharma so much so that they became fit for commingling with the gods both on the earth and in heaven. This refers to the ancient Indian belief that pious people (like the Śaṭodbhava King Ayasobhita Madhyamurāju of Orissa) often brought the gods to the earth to converse with them.¹

The three sentences that follow the above, two of which have already been quoted, mean to say that the said commingling of the gods and men was the result of Aśoka's exertion in the cause of Dharma, and that the same result could be obtained not only by the big people like Aśoka, but that even a poor man, if he was zealous like Aśoka, could reach even the great heaven, meaning either the world of gods or a still higher station.

The next few sentences state why Aśoka promulgated the edict and gives the reasons under the following two categories: (1) he wanted that both the poor and rich people should exert in the cause of Dharma, that the *outs* or the people of the areas outside the borders of the Maurya empire² should know all about Aśoka's exertion in the cause of Dharma and its result and that exertion in that respect should be attempted by all to make it everlasting, and (2) he also declared that the said matter, i.e. exertion in the cause of Dharma would not only increase, but that it would increase greatly and would even increase more or less one and a half times.

Instead of the passage meaning 'let the rich and the poor exert [in the cause of Dharma],' the Gujarā version has 'let the poor and the rich exert [in the cause of Dharma] and get commingled [with the gods] (*yapuṇa yushakṣitā*)'.

The last sentence in lines 10-11, a clause in which is found only in the present version, reads: *va sāvāsa vāraṭha[va] [da] va vāraṇāṇā-bhī-satī aḥ vāraṇa Buthna vala āleḥa*

¹ See my *Maḥi Inscription of Aśoka*, Hyderabad, 1958, p. 27, note 1 above, Vol. XXIX, p. 35.

² In Buddhist literature, *outs* means the areas near but within the borders, while *pratyanta* means the areas outside the borders (*Pratyanta*, ed. Ceylon and Neil, p. 22). But, in the inscriptions of Aśoka, *outs* is used in both these senses. Cf. Rock Edicts II and XIII for the second meaning.

[6]. In this, the last *akṣara* is *tī*, though there is an oval sign attached to the lower right slanting stroke of *t*. This mark is not quite like the globular subscript *v* in the *akṣara* *teu* in line 6. Moreover, if we read the *akṣara* as *te*, it would probably have to be regarded as a mistake for *te*=Sanskrit *ti*. It is possibly better to regard the sign as a mark of punctuation or auspiciousness such as the crescent-symbol opening towards the left found at the end of many of the Rock Edicts at Kāśī and the globular sign with a dot inside (resembling the Early Brāhmī character *th*) as noticed often at the end of an inscription or a section thereof.¹ We also know of the use of a globular mark with an *akṣara* intended to be a sign of cancellation,² although that meaning does not appear to be applicable to the mark in the present case.

The above sentence may be Sanskritised and interpreted as follows: *etot śrāvṇam vyakhṛtaṃ [magā śrāvṇam] dīc śatyaṇekāśad-rātri-kāte yat (=yate) mātcham Buddhaya śarīraṃ (=śarīra-kāśaṃ) śrāvṇam-iti*, "This declaration is [made by me as I am] away on a tour [of pilgrimage] for 256 nights since the relics of the Buddha rose to (i.e. were caused by me to be installed on) the platform."

It seems better to regard *satī* as standing for Sanskrit *ate* rather than for *satī*. The word *at* standing for Sanskrit *yat* in the sense of 'since' is often met with in Aśokan records; e.g. in Minor Rock Edict I: *am apāṃsa amī* (Sanskrit *yat [aham] apāṃsaṃ amī*), 'since I am (have been) a lay follower [of the Buddha]' (Sahavām). As regards the use of the word *kāte*=Sanskrit *rātri*, 'a night' in the sense of 'a day including day and night', it is very common in Sanskrit literature; especially in the description of tours of pilgrimage, etc.³

The above sentence may be compared with the two concluding sentences of the Sahavām version, which run as follows: *(yam) cha carāma vṛttham* [1*] *etot vapomā-kāte-satī vṛtthā ti 256* [1*] (Sanskrit *idam) cha icchāṃsam vyakhṛtva [magā śrāvṇam] | dīc śatyaṇekāśad-rātri-kāte vyakhṛtāṃ [aham] itī—256*), "And this declaration [has been made by me while I am] away on a tour [of pilgrimage]. [I am] away on a tour [of pilgrimage] for two hundred fiftysix nights—256."

The meaning of this notion is so clear from the language that it is quite impossible to agree with those who prefer such interpretations as (1) that 256 officers were dispatched along with the proclamation to different centres of the empire; (2) that the message was proclaimed 256 times; (3) that the proclamation was made or engraved when 256 years of an era (usually identified with the Buddha-parinirvāṇa era) had elapsed; (4-5) that the edict was proclaimed by the dispatch of 256 copies of it or of 256 missionaries; etc.⁴

We have seen elsewhere⁵ that Aśoka began to promulgate his edicts relating to Dharma twelve years after his coronation, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign, and that Minor Rock Edict I was one of the earliest edicts, if not the earliest one, issued by the Maurya emperor. Thus the present edict was issued in Aśoka's thirteenth regnal year when he was away on a pilgrimage which had already lasted 256 days, i.e. a little over eight and a half lunar months, or nearly three-fourths of a lunar year of three hundred and fiftyfour days. On the other hand, Aśoka must have been initiated into Buddhism sometime after the date of the Kalinga war which took place eight years after his coronation, i.e. in his ninth

¹ Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta reprint, pp. 123-36.

² Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 262 and note 10.

³ Cf. Mahābhārata, III, 82, 42: *Pitṛa vāha-vijayaṃ mātṛaḥ prajāḥ-sāmanāḥ | tī-rātrīṃśakāṃśaṃ vṛttham-īpāṃśaṃ-dīcāt*. It is impossible to agree with those who take *iti* in some other sense. See *Mastī Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 29.

⁴ Cf. Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁵ See *Mastī Inscription of Aśoka*, pp. 23 ff.; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 336.

regnal year, and sometime before the date of his visit to the Sambodhi or Mahabodhi (i.e. Bodhgaya) which took place ten years after his coronation, i.e. the eleventh year of his reign. Since the pilgrimage to Sambodhi appears to have been one of the earliest acts of Asoka when he became zealous in the cause of Dharma one year after his initiation, the latter event probably took place nine years after his coronation, i.e. in the tenth regnal year. A year after that date, probably in the latter half of his eleventh regnal year, Asoka came into close relations with the Buddhist Church and became zealous in the propagation of Dharma. After about a year, he set out on a pilgrimage sometime in the second half of his twelfth regnal year and issued Minor Rock Edict I eight and a half months later in the first half of his thirteenth regnal year. This would account for the period of a little over two and a half years between Asoka's initiation into Buddhism and the date of Minor Rock Edict I.

Minor Rock Edict I is the only inscription of Asoka which states that he set out on a long tour of pilgrimage, in the course of which the edict was promulgated, and the **Ahaura version of the edict is the only Asokan record which states that the pilgrimage was undertaken immediately after the installation of the relics of the Buddha on a platform no doubt for worship.** This adds one more point to the evidence suggesting that Asoka was a Buddhist and is also in agreement with Buddhist tradition.

That Asoka was a patron of the Buddha's doctrine and was responsible for raising it from the status of a local sectarian creed of Eastern India to that of one of the principal religions of the world admits of little doubt.¹ Although the word *Dharma* as used in his edicts generally means a code of morals preached by him probably following what were known to him to be the teachings of the Buddha, the Bhāru-Bairāt edict clearly uses the word in the sense of the Buddha's doctrine which is called 'the True Faith' (*saddharma*). This edict not only refers to Asoka's reverence for and faith in the Buddhist Trinity (i.e. the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha), but also prescribes certain religious texts, selected by himself, for the regular study not only of the lay followers of the Buddha but even of the Buddhist monks and nuns. Asoka is known to have visited only the Buddhist holy places of Sambodhi (Bodhgaya), Lambinagrāma and Kanakamuni-stūpa. Several versions of a pillar edict contain the text of his order to his officers to the effect that heretical monks and nuns should have to be expelled from the Saṅgha and this attempt on Asoka's part to preserve the unity of the Buddhist Church is also known from the Southern Buddhist tradition. All this was not possible for Asoka if he was not a Buddhist. He is represented in Buddhist traditions as a lay follower of the Buddha and a patron of Buddhism, while we have seen how, in Minor Rock Edict I, he actually claims to be a lay worshipper of the Buddha. With some of his inscriptions, we have either the figure of or a reference to the elephant as the symbolical representation of the Buddha. To these facts pointing to Asoka's initiation into the Buddhist faith, we have now to add his statement that the relics of the Buddha had been installed [by him] on a platform apparently for worship immediately before he set out on a long tour of pilgrimage about the latter half of his twelfth regnal year.

According to Buddhist traditions, Asoka built the Asokārāma at Pāṭaliputra and no less than 84,000 Buddhist monasteries in various cities within his empire.² It is of course diffi-

¹ Cf. my *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Delhi, 1937, pp. 15 ff.

² Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 91 ff.; B. K. Mukerji, *Asoka*, pp. 60 ff.; *Major Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 7-8.

AHRAURA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA



Scale : One-seventh

8 [i]ṣaṣi sāvane [i*] khurakā cha [uḍḍi]a cha pa[la]ḥkamantū [i*] aṁtā pi
cha jñāntū [i*]

9 [ch]iḥhiṭke cha palakame hotū [i*] iyaṁ cha aṭhe vaḥhisati viṇḍam pi cha

10 vaḥhisati diyaḥhiyaṁ aṣṣadhiyā vaḥhisati [i*] ssa sāvane vivuthe[na]

11 [da]ya sapantū-lāti-sati am maṇḍhe Buddha salla āloḥhe [u]i¹

TRANSLATION

- (a) **Devānāmpriya**
- (b) It is for a little over
- (c) It is for a little over [two years and a half that I am a lay follower (of the Buddha)].
- (d) But I was [not] highly zealous (in the cause of Dharma at the beginning of the period for one year).
- (e) [It is for a little over one year (now) that I am intimately associated² with the Saṅgha (Buddhist Church)] and am [highly] zealous (in the cause of Dharma).
- (f) During this period of time (covering a little over one year) [the people who were not commingled with the gods in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in Asoka's empire)] have been made commingled with the gods.
- (g) This is [the result] of [my, i.e. Asoka's] exertion (in the cause of Dharma).
- (h) [This (result) is, however, not] to be achieved only by a rich man (like myself).
- (i) Even a poor man, who is zealous (in the cause of Dharma), is capable of obtaining even the great heaven.
- (j) For this purpose (i.e. the purpose indicated below) is this declaration (made).
- (k) Let the poor and the rich exert (in the cause of Dharma).
- (l) Let the people of the areas bordering (on my empire) also know (all about this exertion, and its results).

¹ The stop is indicated by an oral sign joined to the right leg of the letter i.

² For this meaning of the word *sapaṇḍa*, *sapaṇḍa*, *pāṇḍa* or *sapaṇḍa* used in different versions of the *Asoka*, see *Asoka*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 557 ff.

- (m) Let exertion (in the cause of Dharma) be everlasting.
- (n) This matter (i.e. exertion in the cause of Dharma) will increase—will increase even to a great extent—will increase more or less one and a half times.
- (o) This declaration (has been made by me while I am) on a tour (of pilgrimage) for 256 nights (i.e. days) since the relics of the Buddha ascended (i.e. were caused to be installed by me on) the platform (for worship).
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No. 31—ASYI PLATES OF YADAVA AIRAMADĒVA, SAKA 1020

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.9.1962)

The set of copper-plates, containing the inscription edited below, was discovered about forty-five years ago while ploughing a field by an agriculturist at **Āsyi** in the Sangamner Taluk in the Ahmednagar District, Maharashtra State.¹ The plates ultimately reached the hands of P. N. Patwardhan who published them in Marāṭhi, without any facsimile, in the *Quarterly Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśādhaka Maṇḍala*, Poona, Vol. III, No. 1 (1922), pp. 1-5.² In February 1962, when I visited Poona, the Secretary of that Maṇḍala, G. H. Khar, kindly handed over to me the original plates for my examination and study for which my thanks are due to him. As the inscription is important for the history of the early Yādava dynasty, it is edited here in English for the first time.

The set consists of **three plates** with slightly raised rims, each plate measuring 26 cm. by 17.75 cm. The plates are strung together with an elliptical copper-ring measuring 11.5 cm. by 8 cm. at the inner points. The ends of the ring are secured at the bottom of a mass of copper into which is impressed an almost circular seal, 4 cm. in diameter. The seal bears the figure of a seated Garuḍa, facing full front.³ A small piece of the middle plate towards the end of line 10 is broken off and lost, although no letter has been lost thereby. The first and the last plate have writing on the inner sides only while the second plate bears writing on both sides. There are 83 lines of writing in all distributed as follows: first plate, 21 lines; first side of the second plate and the last plate, 22 lines each; and the second side of the second plate, 20 lines. The preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory. The plates, together with the ring and the seal, weigh 3765 grams while the ring with the seal weighs 1000 grams.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 11th century A.D. Of the initial vowels, *a* occurs in lines 3, 14, 36, 38, 77 and 81; *ā* in lines 5, 12, 42, 53 and 82; *i* in line 56; *u* in lines 9, 11, 25, 41 and 56; *e* in lines 53, 57 and 81. Final *ā* is found in lines 4, 6, 8, 16, 30, 32, 35, 45, 59 and 69; final *u* in lines 13, 23, 24 and 26. The rare form of *ṣ* is met with in line 16. The language of the record is Sanskrit, prose and verse. The composition is faulty in some places and the engraver has also committed several mistakes. As regards orthography, it may be observed that the sign for *e* has been used to indicate *ō* also and that the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated. In some cases *s* is written for *ś*, cf. lines 5, 13, 21, 23, etc. The numerical symbols for 0, 1, 2 and 5 are used in lines 35 and 38.

The inscription belongs to the time of the king **Tribhuvanamalla-Permaḍidēva** (i.e. Vikramāditya VI) of the Western Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa and his feudatory **Mahā-maṇḍalādēva Airamadēva** of the early Yādava dynasty of Sāupadēśa. The name of this feudatory ruler has been wrongly taken by Patwardhan as Irammadēva while Hemādri, in

¹ The inscription has been registered as No. A 34 in *A. B. Ep.*, 1961-62.

² There are some errors in this published transcript.

³ It appears that the seal was missing when Patwardhan obtained the plates but was subsequently found and fixed in its place.

⁴ *QJBHM*, Vol. III, p. 2.

his introduction to *Pratakhya*, mentions it as Parammadēva.¹ The correct reading of the name in the present inscription is Āramadēva as given in lines 42 and 82 in the present portion while it is spelt as Āramadē in verse 8 in line 30, the doubling of *a* being due to metrical reasons.

The details of the date of the record given in lines 34-36 as Śaka 1020, Bahudhānya, Vaiśākha amāvāsyā, Monday, regularly correspond to 3rd May, 1098 A.D.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only known record of the Yādava chief Āramadēva discovered so far. The record opens with the *Siddham* symbol followed by a verse invoking god Śaṅkara (verse 1) for the welfare of the Yādava king (Yādupati-pati) i.e. Āramadēva. Verses 2-7 are devoted to the introduction of the predecessors of the ruling chief Āramadēva. All these seven verses are found in the Bassin plates² of Sūpachandra II, the father and predecessor of Ārama, which are dated Śaka 991 or 1069 A.D. Verse 2 mentions the first ruler Dridhaprahāra as hailing from Dvārāvātī (i.e. the well-known Dwārakā in Gujerat) and as making famous the city called Chandradityapura. This Chandradityapura is generally identified with modern Chandor in the Nasik District in Maharashtra State. Verse 3 refers to Dridhaprahāra's son Sūpachandra I who is stated to have built the city of Sūpapura (named after him) in Sūdinēra (division). The name of this division has been read as Sindinēra in the Bassin plates and it represents modern Sinnar which is 17 miles to the south-east of Nasik.³ The same verse mentions Dhādityappa, son of Sūpachandra I. Verse 4 gives the names of 4 rulers viz. Dhādityappa's son Brahmadhillama or Bhillama I, his son Rāja, his son Vaddiga and the latter's son Bhillama II. The wife of Bhillama II is introduced in verse 5. She was Lachchhiyavvā who was the daughter of Jhāṇḍharāja and who belonged to the Bāhlikakūja family. Then comes Bhillama II's son Vāsūka (verse 6) whose son was Bhillama III. Verse 7 states that in the family of this Bhillama III was born Sūpēndu (i.e. Sūpachandra II) who restored the glory of his kingdom on the death of Bhillama by defeating all his enemies just as Hari saved the three worlds in his Boar incarnation. The recently discovered Dvalāh plates⁴ state that Sūpachandra uplifted (*samādhritya*) the kingdom which had fallen into the hands of his relatives (*dāyādina*). Hēnādri gives three names between Bhillama III and Sūpachandra II, viz. Vādugi, son of Bhillama III, Vādugi's successor Vēngi, who was probably the former's brother and Vēngi's successor Bhillama IV. It may, therefore, be suggested that after the death of Vādugi, the Yādava kingdom passed into the hands of Vēngi who was succeeded by Bhillama IV and that Sūpachandra II, who was probably the son of Vādugi and the grandson of Bhillama III and thus belonged to the main line, had to fight with the members of the collateral line and wrest the ancestral kingdom. Therefore, Bhillama, after whose death the glory of the kingdom is stated to have been restored by Sūpachandra II, may be identified with Bhillama IV. We know that Sūpachandra II was a subordinate of the Western Chālukya king Sōmāśvata II and helped the latter's younger brother Vikramāditya

¹ *Bomb. Rec.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 271.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 119 ff.

³ Bhagvanlal Indraji translated the verse as saying that Sūpachandra 'founded the town of Sūmpura in the good Sindinēra'. Observing that this rendering was wanting in sense as Sindinēra itself was a town, Fleet suggested (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 612, note 4) that Sindinēra is here referred to as the birth-place of the son of Sūpachandra who is mentioned later on in the verse. But if we take Sindinēra or Sindhinēra as the headquarters of the division of the same name, there will not be any difficulty in understanding the verse in question.

⁴ *Cl. A. K. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. A 12.

VI in obtaining the throne.¹ Verse 8 introduces **Āirama**, son of Śaṅgachandra II, who is also stated to have defeated **Bhuvanāṭkamalla**, i.e. **Samśōvara** II and to have offered the kingdom to **Paramardīa**, i.e. **Vikramāditya** VI. This shows that both the father and the son viz. Śaṅgachandra II and Āirama sided with **Vikramāditya** VI in his fight against his elder brother and predecessor,² **Yōgallā**, wife of Āirama, is introduced in verse 3. This is followed by the date of the record in lines 34-35 which is discussed above.

Lines 36-43 state that *mudhāṃśaśāśācārā* Āiramadēva made a grant, with the consent of the *pañcha-pradhāna*, while **Tribhuvanamalla** **Pernāṣḍidēva** i.e. **Vikramāditya** VI was the supreme king. The expression *pañcha-pradhāna* i.e. a council of five ministers is interesting and may be compared with *ashṭa-pradhāna* set up by Śivaji in later times. At the time of the grant, Āirama was at **Narmadāpura** on the banks of the river **Narmadā**. Lines 43-48 inform that the gift was made to **Kūkala-panḍita** and 30 other **Brāhmanas**. **Kūkala-panḍita** was the son of **Gōpati-bhṭṭa**, grandson of **Śūlamabhṭṭa**, and great-grandson of **Nāgaga-kramavi** who belonged to the **Kātyapa-gōtra** and **Śākala-ākṣhā** and who had emigrated from **Karahāṭa**. Lines 48-49 state that the gift consisted of the village **Kōmkaṇḍē** in **Saṅgamannēra-84** situated in **Śrinagara-2500** in **Sōṇadōṣa**. Lines 51-52 relate to the privileges of the gift while lines 53-57 refer to the boundaries of the gift-village. They are: to the east, **Dundūdōva**; to the south-east, the village **Kōnachī**; to the south, **Maniyavallī** village; to the south-west, **Jumiyaravē** village; to the west, **Vaḍagava** village; to the north-west, **Saṅganavi** village; to the north **Kapathaka** village; and to the north-east, **Mōshī-pāniya**. Lines 58-62 are devoted to the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. Lines 62-63 repeat the information that Āiramadēva of the **Yādava** family granted the village **Kōmkaṇḍē**. This is followed by the statement that the gift should be protected by the sons and grandsons (of the donor). The meaning of the sentence in lines 63-64 is not clear. However, it appears to stipulate that the donee should pay some *dramma* as taxes (*śūtra*) to the king.³ Thus the present grant seems to be a *karāḍāna*. The charter ends with the statement that it was written by **Hariś-chandra**.

As regards the identification of the place-names found in the record, **Dvārāvati-puttana** (line 6) is the well-known **Dvārakā** in Gujarat. **Chandrādityapura** (lines 7-8) may be **Chandor** or **Chandvad**, 40 miles north-east of **Nasik**. **Sākhinēra** (line 11), the division in which **Sāṅgapura** was included, is represented by modern **Sinnar**, 17 miles south-east of **Nasik**. It is also called **Śrinagara**, the head-quarters of the division **Śrinagara-2500**, in line 48. **Karahāṭa** (line 43) is modern **Karhal** in **Satara District**. **Sōṇadōṣa** (line 48) is the area round about the **Sasik District**, **Saṅgamannēra-84** (line 49) which was included in **Śrinagara-2500** is modern **Saṅgannēr**, 50 miles to the north-west of **Ahmednagar**. The gift-village **Kōmkaṇḍē-grāma** (line 49) in **Saṅgamannēra-84** division is represented by modern **Kunkangon**, 7½ miles to the east of **Saṅgannēr**. The villages mentioned as boundaries (lines 53-57) to the gift-village may be identified as follows; **Dundūdōva** may be modern **Dudhōvara** temple and hill, about 10 miles to the east of **Saṅgannēr**. **Kōnachī-grāma** is modern **Konehi**, 10 miles east of **Saṅgannēr** on the slope of the **Dundhōvara** hill. **Maniyavallī-grāma** is **Manoli**, 8 miles to the east of **Saṅgannēr**. **Jumiyaravē-grāma** is represented by modern **Jerve**, a small village on the north bank of the **Pravarī** river, 5 miles east of **Saṅgannēr**. **Vaḍagava-grāma** is modern **Wadgaon**, 5 miles east of **Saṅgannēr**. **Kapathaka-grāma** may be modern **Kavathe-Kamalōvar**, 10 miles north of **Saṅgannēr**. **Mōshī-pāniya** appears

¹ See above, pp. 69 ff.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cf. the expression *śūtra* in the **Kalgaon** plates of **Yādava Mahādēva**, above Vol. XXXII, p. 47, text line 77 and *śūtra* in the **Chinchani** plates of **Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III**, *ibid.*, p. 60, text lines 28 and 42.

to be the name of a stream. I am unable to identify Naromadîpura on the banks of the river Naromadî and also Sarigumrigrâma which is stated to have been situated to the north-west of the gift-village Kûnkamî-grâma.

TEXT¹

[Metres. Verses 1 *Maṇḍūkya*; verses 2-8 *Śāriṅgī*; verses 9-10, 14-22 *Anuṣṭup*; verse 11 *Śāli*; verses 12-13 *Indravajrī*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² Svasti Jayā-bhavadayaś-cha ॥ Trailōkye(kyam) sadhijati Bhagavā[m]la(la)-
- 2 vda(la)lā-māhātmya-tējā³ chittā(nā)ganyab parama-tapasān yōgi-
- 3 nām dhyāyatām yab []⁴ a-pratyakṣam bhavati vivu(hu)ddhā(dhā)nām-apl prā-
- 4 yuś-sau dēvaś sō-yañi Yadupati-patēy Śaṅkarāy kām karō-
- 5 t(tu)[]⁵ 1* Ādan khyātō(ta)-**Dṛiḍhaprahāra**-nripatīy śrī-Vishnurūpab sa
- 6 hi prāyātō nija-vadūm(ka)-śōkha-tanur-**Dvārāvati-pattanāt** [] []
- 7 sarigrāmō tipu-kustī-pattī-aratām samchchhō(chō)da-bhōdō dṛiḍha⁶ **Cham-**
- 8 **drādityapuram** prasiddham-akusōd prāk-sambhavam yō bhōvī [] 2* Śrīmo-
- 9 []-**Sēupachandira**-uśma nripavaras⁷-tarmūd-abhūd-bhūmipah⁸ nityam dē-
- 10 m(ka)-paśānti(dūti)-vishayō⁹ svan-nāma sadhupādayan [] * yēn-ākār¹⁰ purad
- 11 cha Sēupapuram śrī-Sūrinōrō varō(rō) tat-purab kula-dipaka(kō)¹¹
- 12 guṇa-nidhiy śrī-**Dhādityappa**-tatah [] [] 3* Ātrād¹²-aśōcha-(bhū)ta-
- 13 la-samāy¹³ śrīmoa **vri(bri)had-Bhīllama** śrī-Rājas-tad-manāntarah a-
- 14 rapatir-||¹⁴ māhī-mahajanab | aryaśk-tasya vafha)bhūva bhūlala-
- 15 Hariy śrī-**Vaddig**-ākhyō nripah¹⁵ tamūt¹⁶ śrī-vaśa-**Bhīllama** kahi-

¹ From the impressions and original.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Should be not observed here.

⁴ The metre of this verse is defective. Better read *afimam*.

⁵ Read *paśānti-vijayab* as in the Devanāgarī plates to suit the metre.

⁶ There is an unnecessary *dhya* at the end of the line.

⁷ *Mahā* is defective. Better read *śrī-mahā-mahā*.

ASVI PLATES OF YADAVA AIRAMADEVA, SAKA 1020

 $\vec{H}_0 = 0$

2	चक्रिन्वाचः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	2
4	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	4
6	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	6
8	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	8
10	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	10
12	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	12
14	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	14
16	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	16
18	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	18
20	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	20

G. S. GAI

[illegible]

Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVI

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58 78
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84

SEAL



(from photograph)

Size: One-half

- 16 tipatīḥ pratyakāṣa-dharmamō-bhavat | [] 4* Bhāryā yasya cha Jhaṁjha-rā|a-
 17 nayā śrī-**Lachchhiyavvā**¹hrayā dharmma-tyāga-civōka-vu(hu)ddhi-sagunā
 18 śrī-Rāshṭrajū(kū)t-ānvayā | [] * yā jātā nacha(va)-vā(lā)harāja-māmayā ya-
 19 [ay-ā]nvay-āddhārītā |² apt-āṁg-ōdyata-rājya-bhāra-dharayā³ rā-
 20 ya(jya)-tray-ārghyā tataḥ | [5*] Śrī-**Vēspī(sū)ka**-mahipatīḥ sama-
 21 bhavat⁴ yasy-ādiga-śi(śi)ṣṭas-tataḥ śrī-**Bhīllama**⁵-dharā.

Second Plate, First Side

- 22 dharaḥ samuditaḥ śrī-Mahājalik-ā[khyū(khya)]yā | [] * trālōkyē
 23 nija-vatasa(ka)⁶-kirtti-nirmulatayā saṁbhūṣhayaḥ Yādava-
 24 h⁷ dakṣhō Dakṣa-vintarīdanaya-churapaṇa-saṁpājnyā yō bhuvī | [6*]
 25 Tad-vāṁsō(ā-ō)dbhava-**Sēupāṁdu**-nripatir-jjātō-tva dharmmadhikāḥ sarvā-
 26 [u]-bhū-valay-āśritāḥ kṣhiti-patnā sirjī[tya]-saurya-śinā | [] *
 27 rājyaḥ yāna samuddhātātā svikalatō svarggaḥ gatō Bhīllamō yadva-
 28 t-sūkra-rūpa-sāmya-Haripā lōka-trayaḥ dh-ōddhṛitām(tam) | [7*] Tat-patrō
 29 nripatir-tray-sūka-tīlakō vaiṛ-ibha-kamṭhravō vīrah [śū]ravi-
 30 pakṣa-pakṣa-dalanō rāj-**Āiramamō**-bhavat | yōna śrī-Bhuvanaika-
 31 mallam-aṣṭatāḥ nirjītya apt-āṁgakaṁ rājyaḥ śrī-Paramarddhuḥ kṣhiti-
 32 bhṛtō dattam aca-svā-krantāt | [] 8* Bhāryā yasyābhavud-dāvi Lakṣmītraj-
 33 va bhuvī svayam(yam) | śrī-**Yō[ga]H-ēti** yamā(n-nā)ṁnā raibjītāḥ bhuvana-trayach(yam)
 | [9*]
 34 **Ha(Sa)ka**-nripa-kāl-ātita-sarivachchha(tee)ra-sahaar-alkō vi[rh*]an(āa)ty-a-
 dhikē | aṁ-

- 35 katō-jā | samvat 1020 Bahudhāyana⁸-sahvataur-āntarggatiya⁹

¹ A-sūtra is engraved a little above, looking like i.

² This *deṣṭa* is unnecessary. The Bansein plates read *Tade-sany-ādhārā* while the Deralādī plates read *pā jātā manā bhū-rājya-sanyapt Tade-sany-ādhārā*.

³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁴ The metre requires a reading like *Bhīllama*.

⁵ This *pāda* is materially defective and would be alright without the word *ca* or *cha*.

⁶ Read *Dakṣhāyaga*.

⁷ Read *śaurya-patnā*.

- 36 Vaisā(śā)kha-māśē Sōma-dinē Amāvāsyāyām Narmmadāyām Narmma-
 37 dāpurē śri-Siddhēśva(śva)ra-kahōtrē Vra(Bra)hma-tīrthē Kapi-tīrthē cha Vaisā-
 (śā)kha-va-
 38 di 15 Sōmē | aly-śha śri-Narmmadāpurē | samasta-bhuvandēra(śra)-
 39 ya-śri-prithvi-vallabha-mahāśājadhīrāja-paramā(śva(śra))ra-paramahha(śa)-
 40 caka-Satyānarayakuladhika-Chālukyādharapa-śrīmat-Trībhuvana-
 41 malla-Pāramāḍi¹dē[va]-vijaya-rājyē | Sēupa-dāśē(śē) | samasta-rā-
 42 jāvali-virājita-mahāmādhajalēśva(śva)ra-śri-A²īrumadēvēna
 43 pañcha-pradhān-ānūnatēna || Karahāṭa-vinirgata-Kākyapa-gō-

Second Plate, Second side

- 44 [tr-ā]ṇvayō³ Śā(śā)kala-śākhā-prasūtāya | tasya cha pūrvvapara-
 45 śākh | Nāgapa-kramavāt tat-putrah Sūdana-bhūta(h) | tasmāt
 46 Gōpati-bha(śa)h | tat-putrāya Kūkala-pamḍitāya | yama-nāya-
 47 ma-avādhyāya aliyāu-ānūhāṭhāna-ratāya | trīmaśvtrā(d-bā)dhūma-sahī-
 48 tāya(ya) | Sēma(u)pa-dāśē(śē) Śrinagara-sārdḍha-sahaēra(śra)-dvaya-samva(ba)-
 49 dāha-Samgamanēra-chatur-ā⁴śiti-madhyē Kōṇkaṇē-grāmaḥ pā-
 50 da-prakāśānamāḥ kṛtvā mauli(h)-kṛita-basta-dvayāna parama-śrē-
 51 yō-rīham śā(śā)naana-yuktō dantah(tta)h || sa-vijakha-mūlō-kulah sa-kā-
 52 śhāha-tri(tri)u-śḍakah | nīlhi-nikāha(kah)pa-giri-nada-nadi-mahā-
 53 h(ta) śtad-grāma-sūnyām pūrvvataḥ Duṁdūdēvaḥ āgōyām(yyām) Kō{na}-
 54 [chi]-grāmaḥ dakṣiṇataḥ Maṇiyavali-grāmaḥ nairi(tri)tyām
 55 Jūmyaravē-grāmaḥ | paśchimataḥ Vaḍagava-grāmaḥ vāyavyām
 56 Saṁganirvi-grāmaḥ attarataḥ Kapathaka-grāmaḥ ||(al)śē(śē)śyāḥ Mē-
 57 śhī-pāniyam | ēvath apūā(ah-ā)ghāḥ-śpalakṣhitah grānū-yam

¹ Read *Parmādi*.

² Read *by A*.

³ Read *śaṁvayō*.

⁴ There is an unnecessary *śā* after *tr*. Read *śiti*.

¹ Knapik, unpublished data.

- 78 lpa-amanōlyśhañ¹ } na śrutāñ (iñ) na mayā dṛśhtāñ(śa) svayam datt-āpahāra-kāñ
(kañ) [{ 20*]
- 79 [Kath(Ūkath)]ir-ārkkāñ cha tathā bhūmīr-śaśhañ-cha-āpaś-tatī-āñ(śa) [{ *] tārakāñ-cha-ā-
- 80 nalañ-cha-aiva Dharmmanāyaś-tath-aiva cha[[21*] Tīrāñ sañdhyaś-trayō vāñ a-
- 81 gnyāñ-cha trayāś-tathā [ahō-rātrañ cha dānasya² śīō vai sākṣhīñ
- 82 amṛitāñ [{ 22*] Yūdav-ānvayāñ śrī³-Āirama(śvēna Kōmkañś-grāma-śā(śā)-
- 83 sasañ dattam(śam) || pūta-pautr-ādibhañ(bhī) pālāñyañ(yam) || śrōtrō(śra)-drummāñ-cha
- 84 ||⁴ savaṛṇṇa-vaṭṭakōna tāñvō(hū)lāñ dātavyāñ(vyam) || śi-
- 85 khītañ [pāva]lakurañ (pi)śrī-**Hariśchañdrēṇa** || Mārugañ-mahā-śrīñ ||

¹ Read *kalpanā* li *vāṇapāṇā*.

² *śaśhī* is not observed here.

³ Read *śrī-Ā.*

⁴ There is some blank space at the beginning of this line.

No. 32—ANDURA PLATES OF GOVINDA IV, SAKA 851

(2 Plates)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 24.10.1962)

These plates were discovered in July 1962 while digging in a *gaḍhī* at the village **Andūra** in the Balapur Taluka of the Akola District, Vidarbha. Mr. Ramrao Dharerao Deshmukh of Andūra sent them to the Tashildar, Bālpur, who forwarded them to Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Maharashtra State. The latter very kindly placed them at my disposal for study and publication. The plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

They are **three copper-plates** measuring 14 cm. by 25 cm. Each plate has a ring-hole, about 2.5 cm. in diameter, through which passes a ring which holds the plates together. The ends of the ring are secured under the bottom of a seal, square in shape, each side of which measures 7 cm. The ends of the plates are slightly raised for the protection of the engraved record; still, some left-hand portion in the first three lines has become indistinct owing to friction. The first and third plates are inscribed on the inner side only and the second plate on both the sides. The record consists of sixty-nine lines, of which seventeen are written on each inscribed surface of the three plates, except the first side of the second plate, which has eighteen lines. The inscription is, on the whole, well preserved. The portion in the first three lines on the first plate, which is indistinct, can be restored with the help of the cognate Cambay¹ and Sangli² plates of Govinda IV. The **seal**³ has in relief on a countersunk surface the figure of Garuḍa, squatting on a lotus and facing full front, with wings expanded and a serpent held in each hand. On his proper right there is the figure of squatting Guṇapati and on his proper left that of a squatting goddess, probably Pārvatī, holding a *śula* in each hand. Below, on either side, there appear three knobs in place of a *cāsurī* and a lamp seen on the seals of the cognate plates. Below the knobs on the proper right of Garuḍa there appears a *śaśṭīka* and to its right just below the figure of Garuḍa, a sheathed dagger. The seals of Bhaktavatsīya grants generally bear a legend containing the donor's name but the present seal has no such legend. The plates weigh 7.82 kg. while the ring with the seal weighs 1.64 kg.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet, regular for the period to which the present grant belongs. The following peculiarities may be noted—The initial *i* is shown by a curve below two dots; see *ira*, line 9; the medial *u* is in some cases shown by a horizontal stroke to the left as in *Chalukya*, line 11; the medial diphthongs are, in some cases, denoted by *prishtha-mātrās* and in others by *śrī-mātrās*; see *kṣpāḍi-apūrvavāḥ*, line 15; *k* has generally a loop on the left except when it has the medial *ri* added to it or it is the superscript letter of a conjunct; see *śrī-Kṛishṇa-rājā*, and *-śrīkṛiṣṇa*, both in line 11; the left limb of *kh* has now a fully developed tail; see *-khādyah*, lines 15-16; *ā* is still without a dot; see *-prāśānapāḥ*, line 23; the superscript *ḥ* has the same form as the superscript *u*; see *pañcāṇṇyāḥ*, line 30; the subscript *ṣ* is laid on its side; see *śrī-Suvratavarjāḥ*, line 47; the subscript *ṭh* is cursive; see *-ṭhīti*, line 8; *dh* has not yet developed a horn on the

¹ *Ahira*, Vol. VII, pp. 26 f.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 247 f.

³ See plate facing p. 236 above, figure II.

left limb so as to be distinguished from *v*; still the two vertical strokes of *dhā* are not joined by a horizontal stroke except in *dhāvatāḥ*, line 33; *pā* has now developed a distinct curve on the right; see *viśphūṅjat-*, line 36; *r* appears in two forms, one of which has a loop on the left, see *Mahārājādhirāja-*, line 44. Finally, the left limb of palatal *ś* is not yet separated from the vertical on the right; see *unt-śāśu-*, line 9.

The language is Sanskrit. The record is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The initial eulogistic portion is metrically composed. It has twenty-nine verses, all of which occur in the same order as in the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. It does not, however, contain two verses of the latter grant, viz. the usual initial verse in praise of Vishnu and Hara and verse 27 of that grant.¹ This eulogistic portion is followed by the formal portion in prose in lines 39 to 64. The initial portion of this description of the donor Gōvinda IV is copied from the same draft as is used in the Cambay plates, but the later portion giving the parentage of the queen Bhāgiyavvā, the occasion and the date of the gift, the names, *gōtras*, *śikṣā* and original places of residence of the donees, the donated village and its boundaries, etc. is different. This is followed by four benedictive and imprecatory verses of the usual type. Unlike the Cambay and Sangli plates, the present plates do not mention the name of the writer of the record.

The draft is fairly correct in the eulogistic portion, which, as stated above, is copied from a common draft, but in the formal portion, which is new, there are several grammatical and other mistakes which make the task of its interpretation very difficult. As regards orthography we may note that the letter *ḥ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; see *brahmanāḥ*, line 1; the dental *s* is occasionally used for the palatal *ś*; see *Sri-stana* line 1; and vice versa in *śraut*, line 5; the consonant preceding and following *r* is generally doubled; see *śtapatrāḥ*, line 6 and *kiṭṭi-* line 8; the final *a* is in some places changed to *anuvāra*, see *tārmikā*, line 24 and *Himavān-nāmanāḥ*, line 26; the mistakes in *vanthallat*, line 48, *krāmanitā*, line 54, etc. are evidently due to wrong pronunciation. The affix *niya* at the end of the names of some of the donees corresponds to *ārya* noticed in the earlier records of Vīḍarbha such as the Chammiak plates of the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II. It should not be traced to Kannaḍa influence.

The inscription is one of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV, who bore the titles *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* and the *śrī* *Nitya-Kandarpa*, *Chāpākya-Chaturmukha*, *Vikānta-Nārāyaṇa*, *Nripati-Trinātra*, *Sucaraavarsha*, *Prithivīpallekha*, and *Vallobhavarāṇḍra*. He meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Nityavarashadēva* (i.e. Indra III). The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village *Ēlaūri* included in the territorial division of *Vaḍanēra-300* to eight Brāhmanas on the occasion of the *Tulāpuruṣa Mahādēva* which Gōvinda IV made on Wednesday, the fifth tithi of the dark fortnight of Pausa in the Śaka year 851².

¹ The Sangli plates have all the verses of the eulogistic portion of the Cambay plates except the first *vaṅgala* verse.

² I was at first inclined to read the unit figure of this date as 2, but have since adopted the suggestion of Dr. Cal that it is 1. The figure 2 was at first denoted by two convex curves placed one below the other. Later, the upper curve was placed obliquely and the lower one, similarly placed was attached to its lower end. See the figure 2 in the date Śaka 882 of the Cambay plates (above, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 40). The lower curve became a straight stroke in later times. If the date is read as Śaka 852, it will have to be regarded as irregular; for the tithi in Śaka 852 fell on a Tuesday (the 11th January A.D. 931) and not on a Wednesday as required. The *śakābada* (Vikānta-Nārāyaṇa) also ended on the same day. Again the *Vikānta* occurred on the 23rd December A.D. 930, i.e. more than a fortnight before the date of the grant. There is, therefore, no doubt that Śaka 851 is the correct reading of the date of the present plates.

(expressed in decimal figures only). The cyclic year then current was **Vikrīta** and the moon was in conjunction with the *śukrahasta* Uttara-Phalgunī. The grant was made on the occasion of the *Mahāpurnā* Uttarāyana (summer solstice). This date given with such full particulars can be completely verified. According to the northern luni-solar system, the cyclic year corresponding to the Śaka year 851 was Vikrīta as stated in the present grant. The same system is used in two other inscriptions of Gōvinda IV, viz. in the Kalas inscription of Śaka 851 and the Cambay plates of Śaka 852. But in the later Sangli plates of Śaka 855 the southern system is found used.¹ It is well-known that in later records of South India, it is the southern system that is generally used. The reign of Gōvinda IV falls in the transitional period when the northern system was yielding place to the southern. So we find instances of both in the records of his reign. The fifth *tithi* of the *śukla* Purnā in the Śaka year 851 ended 12 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on the 23rd December A.D. 929, when the week-day was Wednesday as stated in the present grant. The *śukrahasta* Uttara-Phalgunī did not, however, commence till 8 h. after mean sunrise that day. The Uttarāyana or Makara *saṁkrānti* had taken place 23 h. 30 m. on the previous day, i.e. half an hour before the sunrise of the 23rd December. When the Makara *saṁkrānti* thus occurs during a night, the religious rites in connection with it are to be performed on the succeeding day.² Besides, the auspicious time (*puṣya-bhā*) of the Makara-*saṁkrānti* extends to as many as 40 *ghaṭikā* according to Hāmādri.³ The grant seems, therefore, to have been made in the afternoon of the 23rd December when both the *tithi* and the *śukrahasta* were current. It is further stated in lines 48-49 that the king made at the same time some more *Mahādānas* such as Hiranyagarbha, Ubbayamukhi, Gōsahasra and Kalparāksha⁴ for (the religious merit of) his queen, the illustrious Bhāgiyavvā, the *patni* on whose forehead was caused to be tied by twelve *Mahādāmantas* (Chief Poudatories). The grant of the village was made by Gōvinda IV without getting down from the pan of the *Tulā* in which he was seated for the *Tulādāna* in the courtyard of Gōvindāvara which seems to be the name of a *śrīṅga* installed in the name of the Rāshtrakūṭa king. It is not stated where this temple of Gōvindāvara was situated, but it was probably in the Rāshtrakūṭa capital of Māyakhōṭa. It is noteworthy that the grant recorded in the Sangli plates also was made at

¹ According to the northern system, the cyclic year corresponding to Śaka 851 was Vikrīta and that corresponding to Śaka 852 was Khara as stated in the respective grants. They would be Visākhā and Vikrīta respectively according to the southern system. The cyclic year Vijaya corresponding to Śaka 855 of the Sangli plates agrees with the southern system. According to the northern one, it would have been Jaya.

² Cf. अपरे तु मकरे रात्रिर्लक्ष्मि सर्वत्र परदिनमेव पुण्यम् । *Uttarastambha* (Nirayanasagar Press ed.), p. 3.

³ Cf. मकरसंक्रान्ती हेमाद्रिमते परतत्त्वत्वारिशद्वष्टिकाः पुण्याः । 'विंशत्कर्तके नाड्यो मकरे तु दशाधिकः ।' इति ब्रह्मवैवर्ते । माधवमते तु विंशतिः । 'विंशत्कर्तके पुनो मकरे विंशतिः परा ।' इति ब्रह्मवैवर्ते । *Nirayanasimha* (Nirayanasagar Press ed.).

⁴ For the *Mahādāna* Hiranyagarbha, see Hāmādri, *Chaturvargachakrasamam, Dānakhyāḍa*, Vol. I (Gourava ed.), pp. 226 f. The Ubbayamukhi *Mahādāna* is the gift of a cow just while giving birth to a calf. Cf. प्रसुमनार्ता यो गौं च दद्यादुभयतोमुत्तमम् । ययोक्तेन विद्वानेन स जातिस्मरतां लभेत् ॥ cited in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 491 from the *Siddhāntapūraṇa*. For Gōsahasra, see *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 226 f. For Kalparāksha, see *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 247 f.

Māyakhēta.¹ The parentage of the queen *Bhāgiyavvā* is stated in lines 45-46. She was descended from *Bhīmarāja* of the *Chalukya* family. *Bhīma*'s son was *Tallappa*. The latter's son was *Gunagaka*, whose queen was *Rēvakavvā*. Their daughter was *Bhāgiyavvā*, who was married to *Gōvinda IV*. The present grant gives no information about the country where this *Chalukya* family was ruling.

As stated before, the donees were eight *Brāhmanas*. The particulars about their *gōtras*, *śākhās*, original habitations, etc., are given below.

Name of donee	Name of his father	Gōtra	Śākhā	Original habitation
1. <i>Sanvaibhatta</i>	<i>Madhuvapayyabhatta</i>	<i>Bhāradvāja</i>	<i>Rigvēda</i>	<i>Chandrapuri</i>
2. <i>Vāvapa</i>	<i>Tikkapayya</i>	<i>Kauśika</i>	<i>Taittirīya</i>	<i>Nalagrāma</i>
3. <i>Kōśava</i>	<i>Mādhavaiya</i>	<i>Vatas</i>	<i>Taittirīya</i>	<i>Dharma-Sāllukā</i>
4. <i>Prabhākarabhatta</i>	<i>Vachubhatta</i>	<i>Kauśika</i>	<i>Rigvēda</i>	<i>Sinavā</i>
5. <i>Śrīdharabhatta</i>	<i>Rāvapaibhatta</i>	<i>Harita</i>	<i>Taittirīya</i>	<i>Nalagrāma</i>
6. <i>Tikkābhatta</i>	<i>Vijapaiya</i>	<i>Bhāradvāja</i>	<i>Rigvēda</i>	<i>Puri</i>
7. <i>Jannibhatta</i>	<i>Viddhapaiya</i>	<i>Gārgya</i>	<i>Taittirīya</i>	<i>Vāvi</i>
8. <i>Vāvupaiya</i>	<i>Risipayya</i>	<i>Bhāradvāja</i>	<i>Rigvēda</i>	<i>Chikkali</i>

The donated village *Elauri* was situated in the territorial division of *Vaṇanēra-300*. It was bounded on the east by *Danti-grāma*, on the south by *Nimbagrāma*, on the west by *Kōṭṭaūrigrāma* and on the north by the river *Payōshpi*. As shown below, some of these villages can still be identified in the *Buldana District* of *Vidarbha*.

Having thus disposed of the formal portion of the present grant, we shall next turn to the historical information furnished by it. This has indeed been discussed in detail by *D. R. Bhandarkar* in his article on the *Camby plates*, with which the present plates agree in their eulogistic portion. Still, in certain respects *Bhandarkar*'s remarks will have to be modified or corrected in the light of researches made since his time. The first three verses are *maṅgala-ślokas* eulogising *Brahmā*,² *Kōśava* (*Viśṇu*) and *Śaṃkhu*. The fourth and fifth verses state that the *Yādava* family, from which the *Rāshtrakūṭas* claimed descent, was produced from the Moon. The next six verses (8-11) describe in order the kings *Dantidurga*, his uncle *Kṛishṇa I*, his son *Gōvinda II*, his younger brother *Nirupama* (*Dhruva*), his son *Jagattuṅga* (*Gōvinda III*) and finally, his son *Amoghavarsha I*. The description of these kings is conventional. About *Amoghavarsha I* we are told that he pleased the god of death (*Yama*) by supplying him with cakes in the form of the *Chālukyas* whom he exterminated in *Viṅḡavallī* (the kingdom of *Vāṅḡ*). The reference is evidently to the long-drawn war with the Eastern *Chālukyas* in

¹ For the grant recorded in the *Camby plates* of *Saka 252* which was made on the occasion of his *parabhūṣa-samādāna* (or coronation), the king had gone to the village *Kapiltthuka* (not yet identified) on the *Gōdāvarī*. It seems that the formal coronation of the king was delayed by some months after his accession.

² Actually the *śloka-pūis* (*Śloka-wings*) of *Brahmā* are praised in this verse, but the intention is to praise *Brahmā* himself.

which Amoghavarsha's son Krishna II and the latter's brother-in-law the Kalachuri prince Śaṅkaragapa took part. About Akālavarsha (Krishna II), the son and successor of Amoghavarsha I, the present grant, like those discovered before, has the following verse :—

तस्मादकालवर्षो नृपतिरभूच्चलराजमन्त्रस्तैः ।

सद्यः समण्डलाग्रं खेटकमहितैः परित्यक्तम् ॥ 12 ॥

This verse states that the enemies of Akālavarsha (Krishna II), being terrified by his valour, abandoned their arms and shields. D. B. Bhandarkar, however, thought that the words *khēṭaka* and *maṇḍalāgra* in this verse have a double entendre (*śleṣha*). He took the verse to mean that the enemies of Krishna II abandoned the city of Khēṭaka 'which is meant here to denote Mānyakhēṭa itself, the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes.' In this connection Bhandarkar drew attention to the statement in two Chālukyan records that Guṇaka Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-58) frightened the fire-brand Krishna and burnt his city. This interpretation of the aforesaid verse cannot be upheld. In the first place Khēṭaka is nowhere else mentioned as another name of the royal capital Mānyakhēṭa. Ordinarily, *khēṭaka* means (i) a shield and (ii) a village. It is also the name of a territorial division (modern Kairā) in Gūjarat. Again, what is the significance of the description 'the enemies abandoned Khēṭaka (Mānyakhēṭa) along with the leaders of their circles (*sat-maṇḍalāgras*)?' The reference to the desertion, by the enemies, of their circle of princes has no special significance. Again, if the enemies left the capital of Krishna, they must have first captured it. Such an admission would scarcely redound to the credit of Krishna II, who is intended to be praised. Besides, there is absolutely no evidence that the enemies ever occupied Mānyakhēṭa. The reading in the Chālukyan records on which Fleet and Bhandarkar relied for this supposition is Kiragapura, not Krishnapura as conjectured by Fleet* and subsequently adopted by Bhandarkar. There is still a place called Kiragapur in the Bādāghāt District of Chhattisgarh as shown by Altekar.² So the place burnt by Vijayāditya III was not the Rāshtrakūṭa capital Mānyakhēṭa³ but Kiragapura in Chhattisgarh where both Krishna II and his brother-in-law Śaṅkaragapa⁴ were then encamped.

Krishna II married a Kalachuri princess who was a daughter of Kōṅkala I. Their son was Jayasthapa. The latter married Lakshmi, the daughter of Raparigraha, who is now known to be none other than the aforementioned Śaṅkaragapa. Their son was Indra III, who, we know, succeeded his grandfather Krishna II. About him the present grant, like the two discovered before, has the following verse :—

वन्माचद्द्विपदन्तघातविषमं कालप्रियप्राङ्गणं

तीर्णां यत्तुरगं रगाधयमुना सिन्धुप्रतिस्पर्द्धिनौ ।

येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं तिर्म्मूलमुन्मूलितं

नाम्नाद्यापि जनैः कुशस्वलमिति श्वातिं परां नोयते ॥ 18 ॥

* Above, Vol. VII, p. 39.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 102.

³ See his *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 32.

⁴ Another passage where *khēṭaka* is similarly misinterpreted occurs in the Sanjan plates. See my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 22-23; note 3.

⁵ Fleet and Hultsch rendered *satkila* by 'a fire-brand', but the latter afterwards corrected his mistake. See above, Vol. IV, p. 226. *Satkila* is the same as *Śaṅkaragapa*, son of Kōṅkala I.

This verse tells us that in the course of his invasion of the Pratihāra capital Mahōdaya (Kannauj), Indra had to camp for a while in the courtyard of the temple of god Kālapriya, which his elephants rendered uneven by the strokes of their tusks. Thereafter his horses crossed the unfathomable Yamunā and he devastated the city Mahōdaya (Kannauj) which has since then become known as Kusa-sthala (a land of grass).

Bhandarkar identified Kālapriya with Mahākāla and conjectured that Indra's army was encamped in the courtyard of the god's temple at Ujjayini. This identification cannot be accepted. Mahākāla is nowhere called Kālapriya. On the other hand, we know from several passages in the Purāṇas that Kālapriya was the name of the Sun-god installed in a temple on the northern bank of the Yamunā.¹ This is also corroborated by the description in the present grant that Indra III's horses crossed the Yamunā in the course of the king's invasion of Kannauj. Rājāsākhara also tells us that Kālapriya was situated to the south of Mahōdaya (Kannauj).² From the Purāṇas we learn that there were three important places of Sun-worship, viz. Sūfira or Kōṣṭhaka in the east, Kālapriya in the middle part of North India and Mūlasthanā (Multān) in the west. The Sun-god was personally present in the temple of Sūfira in the morning, in that of Kālapriya at noon and in that of Mūlasthanā in the evening.³ This Kālapriya is evidently Kālpī, which is situated on the south bank of the Yamunā and has several mounds awaiting excavation. Kālpī lies on the way from Mānyakhēṭa to Kannauj. That it was a well-known place in ancient times is also shown by its mention in all the three plays of Bhavabhūti. They were all staged at the *gṛāṁ* in honour of the god Kālapriyauṣṭha. The identification of Kālapriya with Kālpī may thus be accepted as quite certain.⁴

Indra III married Vijāmbhā, the daughter of the Kalachuri prince Ammayadēva, son of Arjuna, who was himself a son of Kōṅkalla I. Their son was Gōvindaharja who made the present grant. In his description there occurs the following verse :—

सामर्थ्यं सति निन्दिता प्रविहिता नैवाश्रये कुरुता
 व(व)न्धुस्त्रीगमनादिभिः कुचरितैरावज्जितं नावदाः ।
 शौचाशौचपराङ्मुखं न च भिया पैशाच्यमंगीकृतं
 त्यागेनासमसाहा(ह)सैरत्र भुवने यस्ताहताकीमवत् ॥ 21 ॥

¹ Cf. सामर्थ्यः सूर्यप्रतिष्ठा च कारवामास तत्त्वचित् ॥
 उदयाचले च संश्रित्य यमुनायाश्च वशिणे ।
 मध्ये कालप्रियं देवं मध्याह्ने स्थाप्य धीतमन् ॥
 भूलस्थानं ततः पञ्चादस्तमानाचले वसिम् ।

Parāśara Purāṇa, Asiatic Society ed. (1883), Adhyāya 177, verses 31-33.

² See "अनिन्दितादिशामनिन्दितो विग्विभागः" इत्येके । तथाहि । यौ राधिपुरस्य वशिषाः स कालप्रिय-
 ह्योराट् इति । *Kālyāṇīnīśāh*, (G. O. S.), p. 64.

³ Cf. सामर्थ्यं मम पूर्वाह्णे सुतीरे द्रव्यते जनेः ।
 कालप्रिये च मध्याह्णेऽपराह्णे चाव नित्यदाः ॥ *Itihāsa Purāṇa*, I, 129-13.

⁴ For a full discussion of this question, see my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 33.

D. R. Bhandarkar translated this verse as follows: "Ignominious cruelty was not practised (by him) with regard to his elder brother, (though) he had the power; (he) did not obtain infamy by evil courses such as (illicit) intercourse with the wives of his relatives; (he) did not, (through fear, resort to) diabolical conduct which is indifferent to what is pure and impure; (and) by his munificence and unparalleled heroic deeds he became Sāhasāśaka in the world." This verse has puzzled many historians. R. G. Bhandarkar has, for instance, remarked in his *Early History of the Deccan*, "What this statement exactly means is difficult to say. But probably Gōvinda was believed to have encompassed his brother's death and the other accusations were whispered against him and this is intended as a defence."¹ D. R. Bhandarkar also has drawn similar conclusions. Says he, "The first three lines of the verse look as if the composer of the inscription was giving of his own accord quite an un-called for defence to establish the spot-less character of his patron Gōvinda IV." It is again pointed out that the Śāhāra grant of the Śāhāra king Aparājita, who was a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas, states that Indra III was followed by his son Amoghavarsha II, who reigned for an extremely short period of one year.² Though he was the immediate predecessor of Gōvinda IV, the latter is not, in his grants, described as meditating on his feet. This silence indicates clearly his hostility to his brother. Besides, he is described in some Rāshtrakūṭa records as having led a dissolute life, which undermined his health and hastened his death. So it is not unlikely that he caused his brother's death and had incestuous connection with his wife. Altekar, who has latterly written on this subject, also believes in these allegations. He says, "The new king (Amoghavarsha II) was a youth of about thirty at the time of his death in c. A.D. 929 and his early death cannot have been entirely due to his intense affection for his dead father which prompted him to follow the latter to heaven as soon as possible, as stated in some records." There were ugly rumours current and Gōvinda, his younger brother who succeeded him, goes out of his way to deny their truth in the charters issued by him. In these he protests that he has neither treated his brother cruelly nor committed incest with his wives even though he had the power to do so. It is clear that there was a wide-spread belief that Gōvinda had hastened the death of his elder brother and this suspicion seems to have been well-founded."³

Recent researches in Gupta history have thrown welcome light on this verse. Sāhasāśaka in this verse means Vikramāditya⁴ and undoubtedly refers to Chandragupta II, who assumed that title. The composer of the verse says that Gōvinda IV resembled Chandragupta only in liberality and unparalleled daring, but not in his evil actions. The first three *pādas* of the verse in question insinuate three such actions committed by Sāhasāśaka, i.e. by Chandragupta-Vikramāditya, viz. that he acted cruelly towards his brother, had illicit intercourse with his wife⁵ and undertook actions becoming an evil spirit (*piśāche*), devoid of all considerations of purity and impurity. The reference here is evidently to the story of Rāmagupta as known from the Sanskrit play *Dvī-Chandragupta* and the Persian work *Majma' al-Tawarikh*. We learn from them that Chandragupta went to the rescue of his sister-in-law Dīruvādēvi, whom her imbecile husband Rāmagupta had promised to surrender to a Śaka king. He impersonated the Gupta

¹ See *Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. III, p. 99.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 271. The verse occurs also in the earlier Janjira plates (two sets), dated Śaka 915, of this Śāhāra king. See *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, ed. by A. S. Gadgil, pp. 35 ff.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 238.

⁴ *Early History of the Deccan*, edited by Yashwanth, Vol. I, p. 289.

⁵ Cf. विक्रमादित्यः साहसाशकः प्रकान्तकः । cited in Kāśīprasādhin's commentary on *Amarakosa*, II, 3, 2.

⁶ Bhandarkar translated इन्धु by 'relatives', but here it clearly means 'a brother' as shown below.

queen and murdered the Śaka king in his harem. Later, he seems to have caused the death of his brother Rāmagupta and married Dhruvadēvi, who is identical with Dhruvasvāmīni mentioned in several Gupta inscriptions and seals as the queen of Chandragupta II. The insinuations in the first two *pādas* of this verse are also corroborated by an explicit statement in a verse in the Sānjan plates of Amoghavarsha I.¹

The full significance of the insinuation in the third *pāda* of the present verse was, however, not known until I pointed it out several years ago² in the light of a passage brought to notice by Ramakrishna Kavi and published by D. R. Bhandarkar in his article in the *Malavika Cennentration Volume* (pp. 189 f.). I reproduce its relevant portion here for ready reference.³

I pointed out the significance of this passage in the following words:—"This passage indicates how Chandragupta conceived the plan of going to the Śaka king in the guise of a woman and killing him when he was unguarded. The introductory note in Sanskrit which summarises the context of the passage shows that Chandragupta had made up his mind to win over a Vampire (Vātāla) at night as a last resort, when every other means of rescuing Rāmagupta's camp had proved of no avail. It was necessary for that purpose to go to a cemetery; but egress from the camp was impossible, as they were besieged on all sides by the enemy's forces. While Chandragupta was thinking of some device to go out of the camp, there came a maid servant of some lady, probably Mādhvasenā, with a bundle of garments and ornaments which Queen Dhruvadēvi had sent with her as presents for her mistress. Not finding her there, the Chōṣṭ kept the articles with Chandragupta's companion Viddhaka and herself went out in search of her lady. The presence of Dhruvadēvi's garments suggested to Chandragupta the idea of going out of the camp in the guise of a woman. Whether he actually went to a cemetery and won over a Vātāla, the passage does not tell us. Here the verse under discussion comes to our help. The third line refers to some actions of Chandragupta befitting an evil spirit and devoid of all considerations of purity and impurity. Evidently we have here a reference to such actions involving impurity such as going to a cemetery and offering human flesh, etc. to propitiate evil spirits. Readers of Bhavabhūti's *Mālavi-Mādhava* will remember the scene in Act V of that drama in which Mādhava, the hero, despairing of getting Mālavi, goes to a cemetery and offers human flesh to the evil spirits haunting that place, evidently to secure their help to win his lady-love. Did Chandragupta succeed in winning over a Vātāla? Did the latter suggest to him the ruse of going to the Śaka king in the guise of Dhruvadēvi? These questions cannot be answered in the absence of more information from the *Dēv-*

† See
हृत्वा भ्रमरमेव राज्यमहरदेवीं च दीप्तस्तथा
सह कोटिमलेच्छयत्किञ्च कलौ दाता स गुप्तान्वयः ।
येनायाजि तनुः स्वराज्यमसकुट्टाह्वार्षकेः का कथा
ह्रीस्तस्योन्नतराष्ट्रकुट्टातिरुको दातेति कोट्यामपि ॥

Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 248, verse 48 (corrected).

² *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 48 f. The article is reprinted in my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 138 f.

³ कथा वैशेषस्तद्वृत्ते शकपतिना परं कुच्छभापाहितं रामगुप्तस्यैवाधारनमुच्चिभूदुपायान्तरसोचरे प्रतिकारे
निशि त्रेतासमाचनमप्यवस्थन् कुमारचन्द्रपुत्र आश्रेयेन सिद्धपकेनोक्तः । विवृणक्तः—भो सत्कं वाणि भवदा इमामे
वेत्ताये मज्जमं समासासो भङ्गागरिजार्थं । पदादो । एवं वि गन्तुं ।

नायकः—(स्वगतम्) अयोध्यामधिकृतलीयः ।

(For the full extract, see my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 139, note X. See also the passage quoted in *Chōṣṭ's Syntacticon* by V. Bagharan, p. 300.)

Chandragupta or some other source. But it is likely that subsequent events happened as indicated above. . . . The poet who composed the stanza under discussion has evidently drawn upon the *Dvī-Chandragupta* for his remarks about Chandragupta."

It will thus be seen that the intention of the poet who drafted this verse was to institute a comparison between his patron Gōvinda IV and the well-known Gupta king Chandragupta II Vikramāditya and to show how the former excelled the latter. Such comparisons were instituted by other poets also. Thus in a verse¹ cited in Rājasekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* it is stated how a king named Kārttikōya, whom I have shown to be identical with the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahipāla, far surpassed Rāmagupta; for his fame was sung in the Himalayas, from where Rāmagupta had to beat an ignominious retreat. Again, the aforesaid verse from the Sanjan plates² states that Amōghavarsha I felt ashamed when he became known as *dātā* (donor); for even the Gupta prince who had killed his brother and appropriated his kingdom and wife was known as *dātā*. The intention of the court-poet who drafted this *prastāvi* was, therefore, not to give an uncalled-for defence of his patron against accusations whispered about him, but to show that he was superior in character to Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya, the only king of yore who resembled him in daring and liberality.

Besides, we have no other references to the alleged evil actions of Gōvinda IV in any records of his successors and their feudatories, who had little love for him and would not, therefore, have refrained from mentioning them if they had been true. The Deoli and Karkhad plates³ of Kṛishṇa III refer to Gōvinda's dissolute life but are silent about those charges of heinous crimes. On the other hand, they intimate that Amōghavarsha II died a natural, though premature, death. As for his non-mention in the charters of Gōvinda IV, it may be due to the circumstance that he had an extremely short reign of one year. Analogous instances can easily be cited from ancient Indian history.⁴

In regard to the charge of dissolute life also, the evidence is not trustworthy. It occurs in the Deoli and Karkhad plates of Kṛishṇa III, the son of Gōvinda's adversary Amōghavarsha III. These plates tell us that Gōvinda IV, with his intelligence caught in the noose of the eyes of women, disphased all beings by taking to vicious courses; his limbs being enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of maladies and his innate strength and prowess becoming neutralised, he met with destruction. This implies that Gōvinda IV died of consumption due to his dissolute life. As a matter of fact, he was defeated and slain by the enemies headed by the Chālukya prince Arikēmarī, who later invaded his capital. The prince of Wales Museum plates⁵ of Chālvaidēva also state that Amōghavarsha III completely uprooted

१ इत्था ददगतिः शक्राधिपतये देवी ध्रुवस्वामिनी

यस्मात्प्रविष्टताग्रहसो निदधते श्रीरामयुक्तो नृपः ।

तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गिरिगुहाकोणं कथत्किदरे

दीयन्ते तत्र कालिकेय नगरस्त्रोणो तपेः कोत्तयः ॥

Kāvyamīmāṃsā (First Ed. (1905), p. 47 with the necessary changes.

² See p. 284, note 1 above.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. and *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.

⁴ I have shown elsewhere (*Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 164) that the name of Rājasekhara, a Kalachuri king of Tripuri, is similarly omitted in the Bilhari stone inscription, though it is mentioned in the later Hanarao plates of Karcā.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 359.

Gōjjiga (i.e. Gōvinda IV). That Gōvinda IV died prematurely owing to his dissolute life is, therefore, a myth circulated by his enemies.

The verse under discussion states that Gōvinda IV resembled Śāhasānka (i.e. Chandragupta-Vikramāditya) in daring and liberality. We have no specific instances of Gōvinda IV's daring, but that he stoutly defended his kingdom is known from contemporary inscriptions and literature. The Kalachuri army sent in support of Amoghavarsha III was opposed near Ashlapura on the bank of the Payōshyā, where a sanguinary battle was fought with the feudatories who supported Gōvinda IV. If the account given in Rājasekhara's *Viddhataṭṭabhaṣajikā* can be believed, these feudatories included the rulers of several countries such as Karṇāṭa, Pāṇḍya, Mura and Āndhra.¹ Another feudatory of his, viz. Bappuva stubbornly fought and gained some victories in the south. Gōvinda IV thus resolutely organised resistance to the enemy though he was ultimately overpowered. We may, therefore, credit him with daring as stated in the present verse.

There is much greater evidence of his liberality. The Cambay plates state that on the occasion of his *pañṭabandha* ceremony he bestowed on Brāhmanas six hundred *agrahāras* and three lakhs of *śuvarṇa* coins and on temples eight hundred villages, four lakhs of *śuvarṇa* and thirty-two lakhs of *dramma*s. Such liberality is rare even in the ancient history of India. Gōvinda IV is, therefore, fittingly compared with the Gupta king Chandragupta II, whose munificence was of a similar type.²

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, the donated village **Ēlaṭṭī** is probably identical with Yerli, which lies on the southern bank of the Pūrṇā (ancient Payōshyā), about 6 miles north of Nāndūrā, a station on the Nagpur-Bhusawal line of the Central Railway. It is situated in the Buldana District, which borders the Akola District on the west. The Payōshyā (Pūrṇā) formed its northern boundary. **Nimbagrāma**, which formed its southern boundary, is now represented by Nimgaon, about four miles to the south,³ and **Dantigrāma**, its eastern boundary, by modern Dāḍgaon, about two miles south by east. **Kōṭṭaṭṭī**, which lay to the west of the donated village, cannot now be traced; its place seems to have been taken by Alampur, which, as its name indicates, was settled in comparatively modern times. **Vaḍanēra**, the chief town of the territorial division **Vaḍanēra-300**, is probably identical with a place of the same name which lies about 9 miles west of Nāndūrā. Some of the places from which the donors of the present grant hailed can be located in the vicinity of Vaḍnār. Thus **Chandrapurī** is probably Chandūr, about 10 miles north by west of Nāndūrā on the Nagpur-Bhusawal railway line. **Dharma-Sāllukā** may be Selgaon, 4 miles south-west of Nāndūrā. **Sisavō** is probably identical with Shavai, the donated village mentioned in a grant of Gōvinda III.⁴ It is now represented by Sirao, two miles north of Murizapur in the Akola District. **Purī** is, of course, the famous old capital of Kōṭṭakapa, probably identical with Bājapuri in the former Janjirā State. As for **Chikhalī**, there are several villages of that name in the Akola and Buldana Districts, but the nearest to Yerli is that which lies about 4 miles south-east of Nāndūrā. The remaining places cannot be identified.

¹ See *CHI*, Vol. IV, pp. lxxix I.

² *CL* संवाहणसहस्रतोत्तिष्ठन् वरेण तुह करे लवणम् ।

वलनेन विक्कमाइतवरिणं जणुसिखिणं तिस्ता ॥

Gāṇḍhārapāṇṭh, Nirṇayāṅgar Press ed., p. 464.

³ For the identification of Ēlaṭṭī and Nimbagrāma, I am indebted to Mr. G. S. Jadhav of Amravati.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 206.

TEXT¹

[Metres : verses 1, 8, 13, 15, 27, 30, 32-34 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2, 3, 7, 18, 19, 21, 29 *Śārdūlav-krīḍita* ; verses 4, 11, 28 *Śragdhara* ; verses 5, 9 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 6 *Anupachchanda-sika* ; verses 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 20, 22 *Āryā* ; verses 23, 31 *Sālinī* ; verse 24 *Drutavilam-bita* ; verses 25, 26 *Vijōgini*.]

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धिः² [1*] जयन्ति इ(इ)[द्वाणः समंनिष्पत्तिमु]दिततमनः । सरस्वतीकृतानन्दा
मधुरास्सामगीतयः ॥[१*॥] सान्द्रः श्रो(श्रो)स्तनभार-
- 2 भूरिमक[रीकास्मीरसम्मिश्रितः प्रोन्म]ञ्जदगजराजगैरिकरज.पुञ्जद्वैः पिजराः [1*]
क्षीराब्धेः(ब्धेः) क्षुभित-
- 3 स्य मन्दरगिरि[व्यावर्त्तनादुदगताः] कल्लोला जनयन्ति यस्य पुलकः(कं) पागात्स
वः केन(श)वः ॥[२*॥] स(श)म्भोर्वाणि सि(शि)र-
- 4 स्थितस्य फणिनां पत्युः फणानां दत्त(श) द्योतन्ते परितः स(श)तानि समाण-
(मणि)ज्योतीषि जूटादवी(वीम्) । एनस्तान्बुपरि-
- 5 श्र(श)क्तसुरसरित्सिक्तेन्दुकन्दोल्लसज्यो(ज्यो)त्स्नाकल्पलतालवालबलयः(य)श्रीभाञ्जि भञ्जंतु
वः ॥[३*॥] ताराजकाब्ज(ब्ज)पण्ड³वृ
- 6 तगमनसरूपिणीराजहंसात् त्वै(त्रै)लोक्यैकाधिपत्यस्थितमदनमहाराजशुभ्रातपत्न्यात् [1*]
लावण्यक्षीरसि-
- 7 न्द्योर्द्युति[रजत]गिरेर्हृद्भूदंतपत्त्रादंशः सोमादयं पत्विभूवनकमलावाससीचाद्रुपेतः ॥[४*॥]
तस्माश्चि(च्छि)यः कुलगृहं भ-
- 8 वनं महिम्नः श्रीहास्यदं स्थितिमहृद्भिगभीरतानां(नाम्) [1*] आपन्नसत्व(त्व)-
परिपालनलब्ध(त्व)कीर्तिर्त्वं(त्वं)शो व(व)भुव भुवि सि-
- 9 न्युनिभो यदूनां(नाम्) ॥[५*॥] परिणतपरमण्डलः कलाबान्प्रविततव(व)हलयशो-
शुप्रसिद्धा(ता)यः [1*] शशधर इव दन्ति-
- 10 दुर्मराजो यदुकुलविमलवियत्यथोदियाय ॥[६*॥] तस्याद्यं नृपतेः पितृव्य उदयो
थीवीरसिहासनं ।⁴ मे-

¹ From the original plates and inked impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Originally -मण्ड, changed to -पण्ड -, Better read -पण्डा.

⁴ This *dash* is unnecessary.

- 11 रो[*] शृगमिवाधिरुह्य रघिवच्छ्री(च्छ्री)कृष्णराजस्ततः [1*] ध्वस्तोद्दिक्ताचतुर्व्य-
वंशतिमिरः पृथ्वीभूता मस्तके न्यस्तावृः(त्रिः) सक-
- 12 लं जगत्प्रचित्तैस्तेजोभिराक्रान्तवान् ॥[७*]॥ तस्माद्गोविन्दराजोभूदिन्दुवि(वि)म्ब-
(म्ब)शिलातले । यस्यारिप्लोपधूर्त्तकः प्र-
- 13 शान्तिरिव लक्ष(क्षय)ते ॥[८*]॥ तस्याभवद्भुवनपालनधीरवृ(वृ)द्धिरुद्धतशतकुलमन्त-
तिरिद्धतेजाः [1*] राजानुजो निष्प्रमापर-
- 14 नामधेयो यन्मुद्रयांवृ(वृ)धिरपि प्रथितः समुद्रः ॥[९*]॥ तदनु जगत्तृगोजनि
परिहृतनिजमंडलाभोगाः [1*] गतप्रोवत-
- 15 धनिताजनकुचसदृशा यस्य वैरिनुपाः ॥[१०*]॥ तस्माच्चामोषवर्षाभनदतुलव(व)लो
येन कोपादपूर्वः श्वालुन्याभ्युपस्ता-
- 16 द्यैः जर्जितरतिममः प्रीणितो विगवस्यां(लक्ष्याम्) । वैरिच्छाण्डोदरान्तर्व्वं(र्व्वं)हिय-
परितले यत्र लब्धा(ब्धा)वकाशं तोयव्याजाद्विमु(शु)-
- 17 दं यथा इव निहितं तज्जगत्तृगसिन्धौ ॥[११*]॥ तस्मादकालवर्षो नृपतिरभू-
त्पराक्रमत्प्रस्तैः [1*] सद्यः समण्डलाग्रं खे-
- Second Plate : First Side*
- 18 टं(क)महितैः परित्यक्तं(क्तम्) ॥[१२*]॥ सहस्राज्जं(ज्जं)नवंश(श)स्य भूषणं
कोक्कलात्मजा । तस्याभवन्महादेवी जगत्तृगः स्ततो[ज]नि
- 19 ॥[१३*]॥ [ग]म्भीराद्वलनिषेर्भूम्प्रतिपन्नरक्षणक्षमतः [1*] कोक्कलसुतरणविग्रह-
जलधेल्लेदमीः समुत्पन्ना ॥[१४*]॥ सा जा-
- 20 याजायन्ता(ता)जातघनो(नो)स्तस्य महीनुजः [1*] भीमसेनार्जुनोपा[त्त]पयो(यो)भूषण-
शालिनः ॥[१५*]॥ तत्र जगत्तृगोदयधरणीध-
- 21 स्तः प्रतापकलितात्मा । लक्ष्म्या नन्दन उदितोजनि विजयी राजमातृण्डः
॥[१६*]॥ स्थितिचलितसकलभूभृत्यक्षच्छेदाभि-
- 22 मुक्तभुजव[ज]ः [1*] अनिमिषदर्शनयोग्यो यः सत्य[मि]हेन्द्रराज इति ॥[१७*]॥
यन्माचद्वि(द्वि)गदन्तघातविषमं कालप्रिय-

* Read - वपुर्व्वेष्टासुधया - ।

* Read - काष्ठैः जर्जित - ।

* Originally टे, corrected as ट ।

* Read - जगत्तृगस्ततो - ।

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- 23 प्राङ्ग(ङ्ग)णं तीर्णां अतृणैरगाधयमुना सिधुप्रतिस्पद्भिनी । येनेह हि महोदया-
रिनगरं निर्मूलमृन्मूलितं । वाञ्छा(म्मा)-
- 24 वापि जनैः कुशस्वलमिति क्वाति प[रां] नीयते ॥[१८*॥] यस्तस्मि(स्मिन्)
दश[क]लवर्णदले सो(सो)हृदयानां कुले कोकलः प्र
- 25 प्रतिपादितोऽयं च [मु]णश्चेष्टोर्जुनोभूत्सुतः [१*] तत्पुत्रोऽस्मिन् देव इत्यतिव(व)लस्तस्मादि-
जाम्बा(म्बा)भवत्यग्रेमा(वा)-
- 26 म्बुतिवेकमेव हिमवन्तान्न^१ क्षमाभूत्प्रभोः ॥[१९*॥] धीन्द्रनरेन्द्रात्तस्या(स्यो)
सूनुरभूद्भूपतिर्विजाम्बा(म्बा)वा(वाम्) [१*] [गो]विन्दराज-
- 27 नामा कामाधिकरुणसीन्दवं ॥[२०*॥] सामर्थ्यं सति निन्दिता प्रविहिता
नैवापजे कूरता ।^२ व(व)म्बुस्त्रीगमनादि-
- 28 मिः कुक्षरितैरावज्जितं नायशः [१*] शीचाशौचपराङ्मुखं न च भिवा
पेयाच्चमसीकृतं त्यागेनासमसाहा(ह)[सि]-
- 29 इव भुवने यस्माहसाकोभवत् ॥[२१*॥] वर्षम्बुवर्णवर्षः प्रभूतवर्षोऽपि कनकधाराभिः
[१*] जगदञ्जितमेककाञ्चनमयम्-
- 30 करोदिति जनैरुक्तः ॥[२२*॥] कः केतार्थी को दरिद्रः पृथिव्याभित्त्वं पृष्टं
द्वारि लिप्तोरभावात् [१*] हेलासिद्धैः डीपनार्थ^३[१*]
- 31 प्रणीतोऽप्युच्चैः कोशः प्रीतये यस्य नाभूत् ॥[२३*॥] यदपिदिग्विजयावसरे सति
प्रसभसंभ्रमभावनयेव भूः [१*] स-
- 32 यदि नृत्पति पालिमहाध्वजोऽङ्कितकरा(रा)न्यकुताधविवज्जिता ॥[२४*॥] सहते न
हि मण्डलाभि(धि)पं परमेषांभ्युदयी स-
- 33 मृद्धत(तम्) । इति जातभिगाविजायतो रविचन्द्रावपि यस्य पायतः ॥[२५*॥]
सहते समवाहितीमयं न परेषां सविशेष-
- 34 शालिनी(नीम्) । यदि निन्दितराजमन्दिरं ननु गगा(ङ्गा) यमुना च सेवते
॥[२६*॥] यस्मि(स्मिन्) राजनि सौराज्यं निर्जिताप्ति वितन्वति ।

^१ This sign of punctuation is wrongly attached to the preceding letter.

^२ This *akshara* is superfluous.

^३ Read *हिमवन्तान्न* .

^४ This *dashu* is unnecessary.

^५ The *Cambray* plates read *सहते* .

^६ Read *हेलासिद्धैर्डीपनार्थः* .

^७ Read *यदनिन्दित* — as in the *Cambray* plates.

- 35 चिमां(मा)नस्थितिरित्याशो(सी)न(अ) भोगेषु ह(क)राचन ॥[२७*॥] यस्वोहाम-
प्रतापामलव(व)ह्लासिखाकज्जल नीलमेघाः ।¹

Second Plate : Second Side

- 36 विष्णुर्जन्तवङ्गधारास्फुरणविसरणान्येव विबुद्धिलाताः [1*] दुर्वारारीभकुम्भस्थलदलन-
मलमौषित-
- 37 कान्ते(व्ये)व तारावचन्द्रक्षीराञ्चि(चि)धेषा भूतभूवतयशोराशिनिष्यन्दितानि ॥[२८*॥]
यस्मिन्कष्टकशोषनोलुक्कन-
- 38 तस्वम्भोजनार्त्तिभि(वि)योवाग्मन् न पवत्सु कोशचतति[ल्लं(मी)] कूलोपायन(नम्)
[1*] केतव्या पवनोल्लसन्ति²-
- 39 जरजःपु(पु)त्राधिकारोदरे ।³ भुगव्ने(व्ने) पनम्वे(से)न वेवलतया द्वायाभमृद्धये
न्यत(तम्) ॥[२९*॥] यश्च समुपहृमि-
- 40 तद्वरनयनदहनविह्वितानित्यकन्दर्पंरूपसोन्दर्यदणः श्रीनित्यकन्दर्पः प्रभुमन्त्रशक्त्युपबु(व्)-
हितो-
- 41 त्याहृण[क्ति]समाक्षिप्तगतममुषः श्वाणवयंचतुर्मन्त्र प्रथितैकवित्रमाक्रान्तवसु[न्ध]राहित-
करण-
- 42 परावणः श्रीवि(वि)कान्तम(ना)रावणः श्व(स्व)करकलितहलदलित विपक्षवदस्त्रलक्ष्मणः
श्रीनृपतिविणे(ते)-
- 43 वः समभवत्त च परमभट्टारकमहारा[रा]भाषिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमन्नित्यवर्गदेवपादानुद्धात-
पर-
- 44 मभट्टवरकमहाराजाधिराजव(प)रमेश्वरश्रीमत्सुवर्णवर्ग(वर्ग)देवः युद्धोवल्लभश्रीमद्वल्लभानरे-
- 45 न्द्रदेवस्य महादेव्याः अरश्चलुकपर्वस(श)मण्डना(भो)द्वुतथीभीमराजः तस्य सुतो
सोतइलणराजो⁴
- 46 तवा[व्य*] च सुतः सकलगुणव(र्ग)पन्नथोगुणमकराजः(जः) तस्य च राजाश्रीरेव-
कव्याया(या) समुद्धुतथीभामियव्व(व्वा) राजा

¹ This stanza is superfluous.

² Read —वेद्योगमन् ।

³ Read —ल्लसन्ति- ।

⁴ Read —समाक्षिप्तगतममुषदधीनयन — as in the Cambay plates.

⁵ Chitray plates read —कलित हेतुल्लवलित- ।

⁶ Read —भट्टारक- ।

⁷ Read —श्रीभीमराजस्तस्य सुतः भीतइलणराजः ।

- 47 सह(क)लभोम्यवुणावयवसंरुम्भ^१(संयोग)निर्मित(ता) विष्णोर्त्त[स्त्री]रिव श्रीसुवर्ण-
वर्णदेवत्वा व[ङ्ग]निजगुणभागेन लला-
- 48 टे द्वादश[भि*]र्महामामन्तः पट्टो वक्षइत्वा^२ श्रीभागियम्वाए^३ हिरण्यमर्धंमु भय-
मुखी^४गोमहचक्रपवुक्ष-
- 49 दानादि दत्त्वा(त्वा) तुलापुरुषादनृत्तरता श्रीगोविन्देश्वरालयप्राङ्गणे मया प्रथम-
करोदकातिस-
- 50 ग्रीण शकसम्बत् ८५१ प्रवर्त्तमानविकृतसम्ब(संव)संरान्तर्गतपुण्यव(व)हुलाञ्चम्वां
वु(वु)धे उत्तरा(र)वा(फ)लुतो-
- 51 नक्षत्रसमेते शशि(शि)नि प्रथितोत्तरायणमहापर्वणि अष्टवर्गस्य शासनमिदं
सहिर[ण्य] दत्त(त्तम्) [1*]
- 52 य[त्र] प्रथमः चन्द्रपुरीविनिर्गतभारद्वाजगोत्रव(व)हृत्तह(स)प्र(प्र)ह्यचारिस[र्वभ]ट्टः
मधुवप्यभट्टमुतः ।

Third Plate

- 53 तथा नलशामविनिर्गतकौ[शि]कगो[त्र]त्तै(तै)त्तिरीयसत्र(प्र)ह्यवा(वा)रिवावर्णकमवितः^५
तिक्कण्यमुतः [1*]
- 54 धम्मसेल्लुकाविनिर्गतवत्ससगोत्रत्तैत्तिरीयसत्र(प्र)ह्यचारिकेशवकमवितः^६ माधवैवमुतः [1*]
त-
- 55 वा सीमदेविनिर्गतकौशिकगोत्रव(व)हृत्तम[व(व)]ह्यचारिप्रमाकरभट्टः श्रीवत्(त्त)भट्ट-
मुतः [1*] तथा नलशामवि-
- 56 निर्गतहस्तिगोत्रत्तैत्तिरीयसत्र(प्र)ह्यचारिरेवर्णभट्टमुतः श्रीधरभट्टः [1*] तथा पुरीविनिर्ग-
[त*]गारडा[ज]-
- 57 गोत्रव(व)हृत्तम[व(व)]ह्यचारित्तिकेभट्टः विडपेयमुतः [1*] कावीविनिर्गतगाय(ग्यै)-
सगोत्रत्तै(तै)त्तिरीयसत्र(प्र)ह्यवा-

^१ The meaning of this word is uncertain.

^२ Read वंश- ।

^३ Read पट्टं वन्दयित्वा ।

^४ Read श्रीभागियम्वाए ।

^५ Read हिरण्यमर्धंमयमुखी- ।

^६ Read -संवत् ।

^७ Read वावण- . Such names are in vogue even now in Maharashtra.

^८ Read -कमवित् ।

^९ Here both the strokes of medial ai appear over the letter 'a'.

- 58 रिजसैभट्टः विद्वर्षयमुतः [1*] तथा चिक्ख(ख)लीविनिर्गतभारद्वाजगोस्व(ब)*
ह्वत्तसव(ब)ह्मचारिवावर्षय.
- 59 रिसियण्णमुतः [1*] एतेपां वडनेरत्तु(त्रि)यतान्तर्गत एल्लउरीग्रामः सबूधमालाकुलः
सधान्यहिर(र)प्पादेवः.
- 60 सदण्डोपदशापराधः सर्वोत्पत्तिमहितः पुव्वंप्रसिद्धचतुस्तीग(मा)प[मं*]न्तमा(न्त जा)-
चन्द्राकं नमस्यो [३*]-
- 61 तः [1*] तस्य चाषाटाः [1*] यस्य पूर्वतः दन्तीग्रामः दक्षिणतः निम्ब-
धामः* पश्चिमतः कोट्टउरीपा-
- 62 मः उत्तरतः पयोण्णा(ण्णो)नदी [1*] एवं चतुराषाटविशुद्धं एल्लउरीग्रामं अष्ट-
वर्गं वा(वा)ह्मणानां
- 63 कृषत[1*] कर्षयतो भूजता भोजयतो न केनचित्त्वाधात[1*] कार्यः [1*] यश्चा-
ज्ञानविमिरणट[ला]वृत्तमसिरा-
- 64 च्छिन्वादाच्छिद्यमानम्वा[नृमोदेत*] स पञ्चविम(मं)हापातकंलपातकंश्च संयुक्त[1*]
स्यादुक्त(वत्) चे[द*] व्यासेन ॥ व(व)ह्म[भि*]वंसु-
- 65 वा भू[क्ता] पार्त्विर्वेस्वमरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य त[स्य*]
तदा कलं(लम्) ॥[३०*]॥ रामवचनं(नम्) ॥ सामान्यो-
- 66 वं धम्मसेतुनृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि[1*] सत्त्वनिबं भाविन[1*]
पार्त्विवेन्द्रान्भूयो [भू]यो वा-
- 67 चते रामभद्र ॥[३१*]॥ हर्ता हारयिता भूमि(मे)म्मन्दवु(वु)द्धिस्तमोवृता(त) ।
स व(व)द्धो वारुण[1*] पार्श्वः तिर्य्योनिपु*
- 68 जायते ॥[३२*]॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्तु वसु(सु)वरा(राम्) । वष्टि-
वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टंसी* जायति कुमिः ॥[३३*]॥ भू-
- 69 मि यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ल्ल)ति यश्च भूमि(नि) प्रपच्छति । उभौ तौ पुष्यकस्मार्णी
निउ(य)तौ स्वर्गंवासिनौ ॥[३४*]॥ इत [॥*]

* Read निम्बधामः ।

* Read अष्टवर्गस्य ।

* Read केनचिदुधाधातः । स is written below the line.

* Read -दाच्छिद्यमानं वा ।

* Read तिर्य्योनिपु ।

* Read सिंहाय ।

No. 33—NAGARJUNAKONDA PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION OF GAUTAMIPUTRA
VIJAYA SATAKARNI, YEAR 6

(I Plate)

H. SARKAR, NEW DELHI

(Received on 26.11.1962)

The subjoined pillar-inscription was discovered on the 29th May 1962, at Nāgārjunakonda,¹ District Guntur, Andhra Pradesh, in the course of the removal of the antiquities from the submergence levels to the new Museum premises. The actual findspot is quite close to Site 126, and the ancient burning *ghāt*. In fact, the inscribed pillar was re-used at some late date as a balustrade of a *ghāt* on the Krishna, but the area as a whole being a narrow strip of land in between the river-bank and the Nāgārjunakonda hill, is not at present easily accessible, specially during floods. The record has been noticed in *Ancient India*, No. 16 (1962), p. 84, where the date of the regnal year has been incorrectly read as 8 instead of 6.

The green limestone pillar on which the inscription is engraved might have originally belonged to a pillared hall. Subsequently the pillar was re-used in the construction of the *ghāt* referred to above. The occurrence of a few very defaced letters in late Nāgari characters on the other side of the same pillar is likely to suggest that this *ghāt* was in use, if not constructed—the latter, however, by no means an impossible proposition—in the late medieval times. It is worth noting that architecturally this pillar, with rectangular upper and lower portions, middle portion being octagonal, is similar in type to those of the Ikshvāku period. The inscription is engraved just below the octagonal part of the shaft which is devoid of any carving. The extant height of the pillar, including the undressed part, is 175 cm. the width and thickness being 30 cm. and 22.5 cm. respectively.

The inscription, consisting of four lines, covers a space of 30 cm. by 16 cm., the fourth line having only four letters. The epigraph is written in Brāhmī characters of about the third century A.D. and the language is Prakrit. Palaeographically the present record, despite a few noticeable differences, is not far removed in point of time from the records of the Ikshvākus from Nāgārjunakonda.² The strokes on the top as well as at the bottom are not very long drawn and the letters are somewhat broader in the present case.

An interesting feature of orthography is the use of the reduplicated consonant *ṣ* in the word *Satakarṇi*.³ Such use of the double consonant is, however, not noticed in the inscriptions of Viṭapuruṣadatta.

The inscription opens with the adoration to the Best of Men (*aga-pagala*) i.e. Buddha. One of the Nāgārjunakonda inscriptions reads *aga-pagala* (Pali *agga-puggala*—Sanskrit *agrya-puṅgava*) as an epithet of Buddha.⁴ After the adoration, the details of the date of the record are given as *Vaisākhi-pūrṇimā* of the fourth fortnight of the summer season during the sixth regnal year of the king Vijaya Sātākarni. The record ends immediately after the date portion without giving the purport or any other information. However, the passage about the

¹ Also spell as Nāgārjunakonda. Macraon over *a* and *o* has not been used in this article.

² Cf. above, Vol. XX, pp. 16-37.

³ The word *Satakarṇi* is spell variously as *Satakarṇi* (Khācavala's inscription, *ibid.*, p. 79, line 4). *Satākarni* or *Satākarni* (Nasik inscription of Gautamiputra, *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 71 and 73). (The form *Satākarni* itself occurs in the Maṇavaṇṇi inscription of Chutya Śatākarni, cf. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, SL 297—241.)

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 35-36.

adoration and the date portion would establish the Buddhist nature of the epigraph. For, the *Vaiśākhi-pūrṇimā* is traditionally associated with the day of Buddha's birth and *nirvāṇa*.¹ It may, therefore, be suggested that the object of the inscription is to record the gift of the pillar containing the epigraph under study to a Buddhist establishment, which might have been situated close to the *śūdepot* of the inscription.

The present epigraph is important because, besides being the solitary *Sātavāhana* record from *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, it is the only inscription of *Gautamiputra Vijaya-Sātakarṇi* so far known. He may be identified with the *Andhra* king *Vijaya* of the *Purāṇa* list. His name is read as *[Vijaya Sātakarṇi]* in some of the coins from *Tarhālā* hoard.² Since the record is dated in the sixth regnal year of the king, it supports the testimony of the *Purāṇas* according to which he ruled for six years. According to the *Purāṇas* two more kings, viz. *Chandabāhi* and *Pulomāvi* of the *Sātavāhana* dynasty ruled after *Vijaya*: they are also known from inscriptions.³ D. C. Sircar suggests that at least the predecessors of *Pulomāvi* of *Myakadoni* inscription must have ruled over *Andhradeśa*.⁴ The present discovery of *Vijaya-Sātakarṇi*'s inscription at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* proves that *Andhradeśa* formed part of his dominion. It is likely that the city of *Vijayapuri*, the ancient name of *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, was originally founded by this *Vijaya Sātakarṇi* who named it after himself and subsequently it became the capital of the *Ikshvākus*. The existence of a township at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* during the later *Sātavāhanas* is indicated by the discovery, at that place, of two hoards of coins exclusively belonging to the *Sātavāhana* kings, besides stray occurrences of the coins of *Yajña Sātakarṇi*, *Pulomāvi*, etc. as also by the presence of pre-*Ikshvāku* deposits at many a site in that area including the one below the *Ikshvāku* rampart. Hence *Vijaya-Sātakarṇi* seems to have founded this city which was named after him.⁵

TEXT*

- 1 [Na]mo bhagavato Agapogalasa []*
- 2 ruṇo Gotamiputasa Sīri-Vijaya-Sa-
- 3 takarṇisa sava 6 gi pa' 4 diva Vesā-
- 4 [kha] pūrṇimā []*

TRANSLATION

Adoration to the Lord, the Best of Beings (i.e. Buddha). (The pillar is the gift made on) the *Vaiśākhi-pūrṇimā* day of the fourth fortnight of summer during the sixth regnal year of king *Gautamiputra Vijaya-Sātakarṇi*.

¹ The fourth fortnight date suggests that the year starts from the first fortnight of the month *Chaitra* and the present is the fourth fortnight is the characteristic of *pūrṇimā* (cf. above, Vol. I, p. 404).

² Y. V. Mirashi, 'A large hoard of Sātavāhana coins', *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XVI, p. 505; see also *JNSI*, Vol. II, pp. 83-94.

³ Kodavall inscription of *Chandabāhi* (*ZDMG*, Vol. LXII, p. 502; above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 316 ff. and Plate) and *Myakadoni* rock-inscription of *Pulomāvi* (above, Vol. XIV, p. 353).

⁴ *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 182. It is also said that the *Myakadoni* inscription suggests that the *Andhra-śa* undoubtedly formed part of *Pulomāvi*'s dominions. (cf. *Comp. Hist. of India*, Vol. II, p. 324).

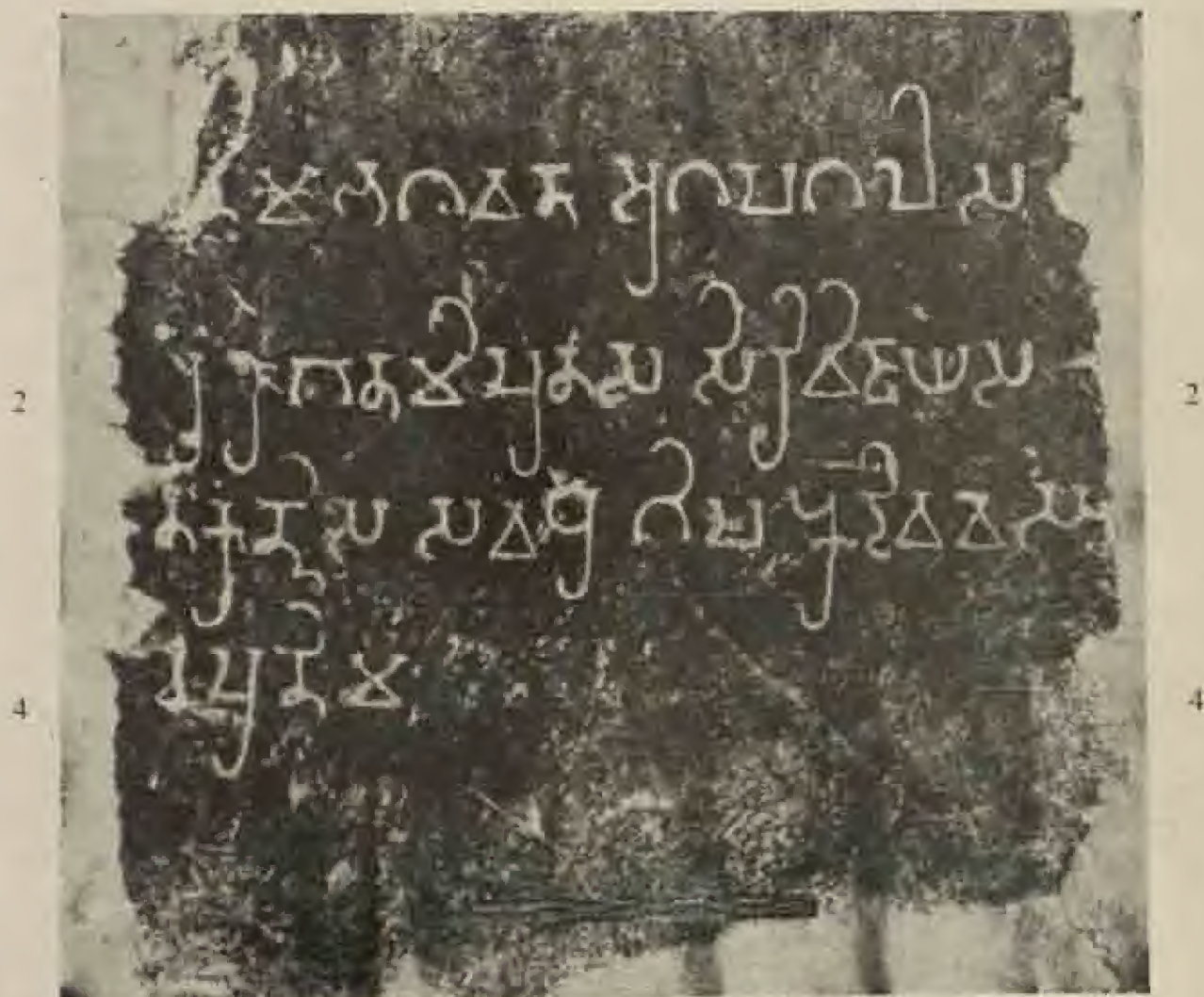
⁵ In view of this, D. C. Sircar's suggestion that the *Ikshvāku* capital was called *Vijayapura* probably for its foundation in the eynio year *Vijaya* (above, Vol. XXXV, p. 2, note 4) does not hold good.

* From the original and impressions.

* This is the contraction of *Prakṛit pūrṇimā-pūrṇimā*, *Sanskrit pūrṇimā-pūrṇimā*.

* The punctuation to denote the end of the record is indicated by two *vīṅga*-like dots.

NAGARIJUNAKONDA PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION OF GAUTAMIPUTRA VIJAYA
SATAKARNI YEAR 6



Scale : One-half



No. 34—CRYSTAL INTAGLIO IN BRITISH MUSEUM

(I Plate)

D. C. SINGH, CALCUTTA

(Received on 26.II.1962)

Sometime ago, I received for examination a plaster and a siliceous cast of a splendid crystal intaglio from Mr. Douglas E. Barrett of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum, London.¹ The original was recently acquired for the Museum, though it had been for many years with the Museum authorities on deposit. It was the property of Lieut. Col. C. H. S. Deane who is known to have been stationed at Peshawar and Rawalpindi in 1932-34, and this fact led to the supposition that the provenance of the object might be the former North-West Frontier Province, now in West Pakistan. The belief that the head-dress of the human figure represented on the crystal is of the Khotanese type of about the seventh century A.D. lent some colour to the supposition. But, at my request, Mr. Barrett kindly enquired about Deane's army career in India and found out that, before the First World War, he was for sometime stationed at Ajmer and, after 1919, in Bihar, Mandalay, Kamptee and Secunderabad. Deane's career in India therefore does not help us in tracing the provenance of the crystal since he could have purchased it at any of the various places where he was stationed and from a dealer belonging to any part of Northern India or elsewhere.

On an examination of the casts, I found that their original is an intaglio which is remarkable from several points of view. Of course, a seal of the precious stone called *sphatika* (crystal) is not so striking since ancient Indian seals made of precious stones are available to us.² But the king, for whom the object was originally made and whose portrait it bears, was a thoroughly Indianised foreigner who seems to have ruled over some region not very far from East Malwa about the third century A.D. and, though his name, as found in the inscription the crystal bears, is as yet unknown from any other source, his portrait above the writing is unique in its beautiful execution and artistic excellence. Indeed, such a beautiful portrait of an early Indian king is unknown to the student of ancient Indian art.

Unfortunately, to do justice to the portrait and the two-line inscription, one helping in explaining the other in certain respects, is not an easy task, especially because the meaning of the second line of the latter, as it reads, is not satisfactorily clear.

On the casts, the scooped out section looks like the inside of one-third of a big egg-shell cut lengthwise and has the maximum depth of 1.1 cm. It bears an inscription in two lines in the lower part, its upper area being occupied by the upper half of the body of a king standing against an arched window. On the casts, the writing, etc., are in relief and the figure is in bas-relief. The case, of course, must be the opposite with the original. The crystal intaglio with the negative writing of its legend was thus not meant for itself being used as a seal but for being utilised in producing *abhiśāhas* or tokens with positive writing.³

The horizontal ail of the window exhibits a pattern of what looks somewhat like a series of St. Andrew's crosses and reminds us of the collar of some of the Śaka kings of Western India as

¹ This is noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64, No. K 242.

² For a convenient and, see *CH*, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 7, Plate 1, No. 4. For pictures of crystal bearing inscription, cf. *Bühler, Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta reprint, p. 116.

³ Cf. *CH*, Vol. III, p. 283 (No. 78).

noticed in their portrait on the coins.¹ The top portion of two thin *hira* (Garuda) columns rises above the window sill in the left and right while the lower ends of the arch of the window rest on the heads of the Garudas. The arch is made of a shaft which has on it a series of small decorative semi-ovals each of which has another minute semi-oval in it. The window with the human figure reminds us of an image on a terracotta or metal plaque or a stele having a similar ornamental border called *khajjā* in the case of metal plaques bearing icons and of the *shāl-chitra* of the modern Durgā images made for autumnal worship in Bengal.

The most interesting thing in the architectural motif discussed above is the Garuda column, the lower parts of which have not been represented owing apparently to the space being covered by the inscription. The Garuda design suggests that the motif is certainly Indian and not foreign.

The royal figure is shown from slightly below the waistline where the *dhātī* is tied beneath the navel. The body is in three-quarters profile or turned a little towards the proper left, while the face is in profile or further turned towards the left. Only the right brow and eye are visible. In its section on painting, the *Viśvavālmīkīya* describes a posture called *ardha-sādhana* or *adhy-ardh-śikha* which is understood to mean the face shown in profile and the body in three-quarter profile.² The bulky figure engraved on the crystal illustrates the Indian conception of male beauty—*vyādh-śākhā śikha-lambhāh śila-pāśābhavahā-bhajāh*.³ The features are heavy. The throat is not seen; the end of the chin is globular. The right eye and eye-brow, which only are visible, are respectively big and thin while the nose is long and pointed, but not aquiline. The left arm is bent at an angle, with the elbow seemingly resting on the Garuda figure on that side and the fingers hanging downwards. The right arm is also bent; but the thumb and the fingers, bent inwards, rest on the upper right wrist. The pose is quite imposing. As indicated above, the figure illustrates a posture which follows a convention recognised by ancient Indian artists.

Besides the upper fringe of the *dhātī* tied to the waist, only two other pieces of cloth are noticed on the royal figure. The first of these is the *uttariya* which comes from the back side to the left shoulder, descends towards the right waist, goes again up by the back side to the left shoulder and descends towards the left waist after a bend on the left chest where it passes underneath its first section. The body is otherwise bare. This dress is of course purely Indian. But the third piece of cloth on the figure is the *diadem* elaborately tied behind the head with its two ends flying over the king's back. The diadem has almost the same width as the *uttariya*.

What is of exceptional interest is that the diadem points to the foreign nationality of the person in question. It was worn by royal personages and certain dignitaries in Western Asia and the neighbourhood and, in India, the royal bust is often depicted with the diadem on the coins of the Indo-Greek rulers while the king is sometimes seen with the diadem on the coins of the other foreigners who ruled after the Greeks. It formed no part of the proper Indian dress, but was regarded by the Indians as an element of the *uśchya-śikha*, i.e. the dress of the foreign settlers of the Uttarāpatha division of India including the land beyond the East Punjab upto the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes in Central Asia.⁴ The earliest illustration of the *uśchya-śikha* is noticed on a Bactrian sculpture of about the first century B.C., the figure being represented as wearing the diadem as well as a coat and high boots.⁵ An essential feature of this

¹ See, e.g., *Esplan's Catalogue*, Plate IX B.

² S. Kramrisch, *The Viśvavālmīkīya*, pp. 9, 43.

³ *Amphiprasa*, 1, 13.

⁴ Cf. *Brāhmanīya*, I.VIII, 46. *Uśchya* or *Uttarāpatha* also included the entire Himalayan region.

⁵ H. N. Hauser, *Bactrian*, Book III, Plate LXII, figure 7.

dress is that the body is covered by garments while the Indians proper generally kept the upper part of the body bare.¹ Thus the dress of the royal figure under study, containing both Indian and foreign elements, suggests that he was a thoroughly Indianised foreigner. The king's bare body indicates that he lived outside Uttarāpatha in some neighbouring region of Northern, Central or Western India.

The fairly thick moustache on the upper lip of the figure protrudes a little beyond the corner of the mouth; but the beard is shaved off. A long and thick patch of hair is found below the temple, its lower part, being shaved off, ending in a horizontal line.² The hair on the head is long and profuse, and the end of the locks all around appears to be hidden in an upward curl. It is well known that the Indians of old kept long hair³ and dressed it in various styles.⁴ The *Mṛich-chhatika*⁵ speaks of some of these styles as *grantha*, *jāpala*, *lila*, *kanaka*, *saṁta* and *vidhva-chūḍa*. The hair style of the royal figure appears to be Indian.

Among the ornaments worn by the king depicted on the crystal, we notice those for the head, ear, neck, arms and wrists. The ear-ornament is made of a longish bead hanging from two pendants on either side. While the ornaments for the wrist and the neck are of the ring type, those for the arms and the head are of the fixing or fastening type.⁶ The end of the knob at the joint of the neck-ring can be seen in the upper part of the right chest. The arm-ornament is of a big and elaborate design and covers the major part of the upper side of both the arms. The head-dress which is not a head-cover or a ring-type crown, seems to consist of several round ornaments and a chain of beads, which are all joined with one another and the whole thing fixed on the hair. The diadem runs immediately below the head-dress which does not cover the hair at the back of the head. Even on the part under the head-dress, the hair can be seen here and there. The ornaments, especially that on the arms, appear to be typically Indian.

The most important feature of the inscription in two lines, in which the letters are boldly and beautifully fashioned in relief below the figure described above, is that the characters are box-headed of the scooped-out type. The box-headed script, which exhibits South Indian element in a considerable degree, is usually called the Central Indian alphabet and, among Northern records, 'is found fully developed in the inscriptions of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) at Eran and of Chandragupta II (376-413 A.D.) at Udayagiri,'⁷ both in East Malwa, though the alphabet of our record appears to be earlier than the Gupta epigraphs in question. The box-headed alphabet is also used in the records of the Vākāṭakas of Barar, the Śaṁkhaṁpurīyas and Pāṇḍyanāṭas of the Chhattisgarh region, the Kādambas of Kuntala and others. But there is less likelihood of the provenance of the crystal under reference being any of these areas since they are far removed

¹ Cf. *Brhatkathā*, LVIII, 40: *mitāḥa-śakāḥa pādāḥa pādāḥa-śaṁta*.

² Cf. Hunter-Williams, *Sansk. Ep. Dict.*, s. v. *Jāṁ-jūḥa*. This fashion of shaving the beard was popular with the Hapṭas of the medieval age. See V. A. Smith, *Defunct History of India*, Part II, 1920, p. 325 (*Hapṭa Prastipadika*), p. 373 (*Hapṭa Prastipadika*), etc. Śaṁta (*Hapṭa*, p. 428) had a lock of hair and not a patch of the type we are speaking of.

³ *Journ. Ind. Soc. Oc. As.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 90, 92, etc. (see below, p. 282 and note 3).

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, Plates.

⁵ Act IX, verse 2.

⁶ The fastening type ornaments are often noticed in the Ajanta paintings. See *Ajanta Paintings*, Lalit Kala Academy, Plates IV-V, VII &.

⁷ G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta reprint, p. 161. For the inscriptions, see *CII*, Vol. III, Plate II, A and B. The writing on the crystal may also be compared with that of Plates V, XXI-A, XXX-XXXI, XLII-C and XLIII-C of *CII*, Vol. III, among South Indian epigraphs, in which the top most is typical. Among early foreign settlements, the Persians appear to locate the Gandhāra in West India and Jain tradition speaks of Mauryas rule at Pataliputra.

from Uttarāpatha. Amongst the places associated with the use of this alphabet, East Malwa is the nearest to Uttarāpatha. Thus, the provenance of the crystal may be a region about the central areas of North India not very far away from East Malwa. The most important letter in the epigraph is *ma* (occurring three times) which has a triangular base, the triangularity being more rigid than in the form of the letter in the Southern alphabet, the like of which is not usually found in the records of the Gupta age written in the Northern alphabet. The rigidly triangular form of the letter *va* (occurring twice) is also earlier than its shape found generally in the inscriptions of the Gupta period. While, on the basis of these letters, the epigraph may be assigned to an early date, there are some later traits besides the box-head referred to above. Thus the subscript *y* ends in a longer upward stroke than is normally expected in the records of the Kushāṇa age (even though there are a few exceptions),¹ while the upward vertical stroke forming medial *ā* in *jā* turns horizontally to the right, a development apparently out of a rightward curve in which the vertical is often seen to have ended in a flourish in the records of the Gupta age.² The left limb of the tripartite *y* is almost as high as the central and right limbs of the letter. These features would suggest a date not much earlier than the fourth century A.D. Considering therefore both the earlier and later palaeographical features of the writing, we may assign the crystal roughly to the third century, and this date, as will be seen below, seems to be supported by some other considerations.

The inscription is written in **Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit** as is the case with most of the Mathurā inscriptions of the Śaka-Kushāṇa age and the epigraphic and numismatic records of the Śakas of Ujjayini flourishing from the second to the fourth century A.D.³ There is a grammatical error in the use of *śiḥ* for *śi* in line 1 while Prakrit influence is noticed in the word *valana* for Sanskrit *vala* in line 2. The inscription also contains a foreign name with an un-Indian sound as will be seen below.

The first five syllables of the record in the first half of line 1 read *śrīmahārājā* which is a mistake for *śrī-Mahārāj-*.⁴ We have a number of instances of the same grammatical error in early epigraphic records, e.g., *śrīśaṅkhavarāhaśrīśaṅkhavarājā* for *Śarva-Chandavar-Śrīśaṅkhavarājā* in a Mathurā Museum inscription of the time of Huvishka (second century A.D.),⁵ *śrīśaṅkhavarāhaśrīśaṅkhavarājā* for *śrī-Chandavarāhaśrīśaṅkhavarājā* in the Sālet inscription (about the fourth century A.D.),⁶ and *śrīmūlavarāhaśrīśaṅkhavarājā* for *śrī-Mūla-varāhaśrīśaṅkhavarājā* and *śrī-mahārājavarāhaśrīśaṅkhavarājā* for *śrī-Mahārājavarāhaśrīśaṅkhavarājā* in a Mandasor inscription of 401 A.D.⁷ It is of course difficult to say whether the question of the age and provenance of the crystal can be linked with those of the above inscriptions.

The last four syllables in the latter half of line 1 read *avarighasa*, the reading of the whole line therefore being *śrī-ma(Ma)hārāj-avarighasa*, "of the illustrious Mahārāja Avarighsa (or, Avarigha)". Thus the passage speaks of a ruler bearing the foreign name Avarighsa (or Avarigha) and the Indian royal title Mahārāja. The foreign origin of the king is thus not only indicated by his diademed figure but also by his un-Indian name.

¹ Cf. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (ed. K. L. Soper), p. 206, Sn. 64, line 4 (supra).

² See, e.g., Oja, *Bhāratīya Pāṭhaśāstra*, plate XVII (Bāṇa); cf. Bühler's Table IV, Column 41 (VIII, XI).

³ See, e.g., *Sālet Inscriptions*, pp. 118-19, 132-34, 140-41, 144-52, 156-60, 175 ff.

⁴ Cf. Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 ff. Lüders' suggestion that the names in the Sālet and Mathurā Museum inscriptions are respectively Śhaṅkhavarāhaśrī and Śhaṅkhavarāhaśrī does not take into account similar aberrations and is no doubt wrong.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 68.

⁶ See *Sālet Inscriptions*, pp. 377-78, 402, lines 1 and 2.

It is well-known that the son and successor of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman I (c. 130-55 A.D.) of Ujjayini, who ruled in c. 155-75 A.D., bore a name in which a foreign sound is represented by *gha*. Rapson says, "In the transliteration of the foreign name Dāmaghaśa, which is borne by Rudradāman's son and successor and by two later members of the dynasty, it is possible in the case of the first of these to trace three stages. Originally, the latter portion of the name appears as *ghaśa*, which may possibly be an attempt to express the Persian *šada*, 'a son'. The un-Indian combination of consonants *gha* is next supplanted by the Indian *y*; but, as the result *yada* is still no proper Sanskrit or Prakrit word, it is further Indianised by the addition of *śa*. This form (i.e. Dāmajaśaśa) is exclusively used by the second and third bearers of the name."¹ The name of the foreign ruler mentioned in the inscription on the crystal may be related to an expression like Persian *avriš*, 'dropping of water'. It may thus be Avarighaśa=Avariaśa=Avriśa.

It has to be noticed that Dāmaghaśaśa=Dāmajaśa I of the Śaka family of Ujjayini first transliterated the un-Indian sound of *z* by *gha* and finally by *y*. Since the representation of *z* by *gha* was becoming obsolete with the Śakas of Ujjayini as early as the latter half of the second century A.D., it is difficult to assign king Avarighaśa of our inscription, who adopted the earlier method in transliterating apparently the same foreign sound and may not have flourished very far away from the Śaka dominions, to a date much later than the second century A.D. This may be regarded as an evidence in favour of assigning the inscription roughly to the third century A.D.

Seal inscriptions generally refer to a person, office, institution, etc., in the sixth case-ending and rarely in the first case-ending or without any case-ending at all.² It would therefore have been normal if our record would have stopped with the first line of writing. In that case, it would have meant, "[This is the seal] of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Avarighaśa," and we could have supposed that the costly crystal intaglio was made for the use of an important representative of the king like a Minister Plenipotentiary. Unfortunately, the inscription has a second line of writing, the meaning of which, moreover, is not quite clear.

Line 2 of the inscription reads *vāma-śatadyama* in which *śatama*, as indicated above, apparently stands for Sanskrit *śata*. Of course, the word *vāma* may be taken to mean 'adverse' or 'dear' in this context, so that *vāma-śata* would mean 'a dear or favourite jewel' or 'an adverse jewel'. In that case, the whole inscription would speak something in respect of a jewel of *Mahārāja* Avarighaśa, no doubt meaning the crystal bearing the epigraph. But, as it stands, *vāma-śatadyama* does not offer any sense.

Particular precious stones were regarded as auspicious or inauspicious bearing good or evil to particular kings who were therefore advised to get their luck respecting jewels examined by experts.³ *Sphajita* or crystal, one of the important jewels,⁴ is stated to have been produced in the Kāvēra, Vindhya, Yavana, Chūra and Nēpāla countries and considered the best among jewels for the purpose of destroying sin.⁵ Auspicious stones were often fixed in ornaments and worn, though a lot of them were preserved in the royal treasury.⁶ But the nature of the crystal under study and the negative inscription it bears would suggest that it was meant neither for wearing nor for preservation in the treasury, but for the preparation of tokens by the king's

¹ *Catalogue*, p. cxvii. The name of the great-grandfather of Dāmajaśa I, may also be remembered in this connection (*Ibid.*, pp. 71 ff.; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 167-68). The proper Indian form for Persian *šada* seems to be *śata* in Sanskrit and *śada* in Prakrit.

² See *Mem. ASI*, No. 46, pp. 57 ff.; *Struct. Indian Epigraphy*, p. 100.

³ *Bṛhatkathā* 16, LXXX, 1.

⁴ Cf. *Ind.*, verses 4-6.

⁵ *Gardola Purāṇa*, Part I, Chapter LXXIX, verses 1 and 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, LXVIII, 13; LXXIX, 14; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 173, text line 14.

representatives. Is it then possible to think that the intaglio was made for the use of three of king Avarigha's high officers named Vāma, Raina and Ayama (Sanskrit *Argaman*) ?¹

The most important problems regarding the crystal relate to the age and nationality of king Avarigha and the area over which he ruled. As regards the age and area, we have seen that he probably flourished in a region in the central areas of North India not very far away from East Malwa about the third century A.D. Among the records of the foreigners found in East Malwa and belonging to dates between the second and the fourth century A.D., mention has to be made of the Sanchi inscriptions of the Kushāga rulers Vaskushāga and Vāsishta (second century A.D.) and the Sanchi and Eran inscriptions of the Śaka ruler Śrīdharmavarman (third century A.D.),² who is called *Mahākshatrapa* in a record of his thirteenth regnal year but Rājās and *Mahākshatrapa* in another epigraph of the twenty-seventh year of his rule. It may be that Śrīdharmavarman was at first a military governor of East Malwa under some ruler, but threw off the latter's yoke at a later date. What relations the Śaka *Mahākshatrapas* of Ujjayini (sometimes called *Mahārāja* by their contemporaries) had with East Malwa in the third century A.D. and with Śaka Śrīdharmavarman who flourished in the said area and age are not quite clear. Akara (East Malwa) was conquered by the Śātavāhana king Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.) from the Kshaharāta-Śaka *Mahākshatrapa* Nahapāna (119-84 A.D.), but was reconquered by the Kādamuka-Śaka rulers Chasthana and Rudradāman from the same Śātavāhana king within a short period.³ Thus, on the decline of the Kushāga empire, the Śakas began to hold independent sway over Western India together with East Malwa. *Mahārāja* Avarigha does not appear to have any place in the known genealogy of the Ujjayini Śakas whose records are written in the Southern alphabet. Śrīdharmavarman's inscriptions are also written in Southern characters which appear to be somewhat later than the epigraph under study. Under the circumstances, can it be conjectured that *Mahārāja* Avarigha established himself for a short time in the East Malwa region at the expense of the Śakas of Ujjayini? He may have been a Śaka, though the title *Mahārāja* instead of the expected *Mahākshatrapa* is rather striking. Can it be further conjectured that Śrīdharmavarman, first a semi-independent governor and later an independent ruler, extirpated Avarigha or his family originally on behalf of the Śakas of Ujjayini?

The dress and name of *Mahārāja* Avarigha raise the interesting problem of the Indianisation of the foreign settlers of this country, on which the Purāṇa and Dharmasāstre works throw welcome light. There is a story in the *Harivamśa* (I, 13-14) and a number of the *Purāṇas* such as the *Vāyu* (88), *Śiva* (VI, 61), *Vāṇa* (IV, 3), *Bhāgavata* (IX, 8) and *Bṛhannarāyaṇa* (7-8).⁴ The original story in the *Harivamśa* and the *Vāyu* and *Śiva Purāṇas* is given twice, firstly in short and secondly in detail. The shorter version of the story runs as follows. King Bāhu of the Ikshvāku dynasty was driven out of his kingdom by the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas who were allied with the Śakas, Yavanas, Kimbōjas, Pāṇḍas and Pahlavas. Bāhu's son Sagara was brought up at Aurya's hermitage by the wild sage of the Bhṛigu family, who taught him the use of the fire weapon. Sagara then killed the Tālajaṅghas and Haihayas and stopped the observance of the duties of the Kshatriyas by the Śakas, Pahlavas and Pāṇḍas.⁵ Among the enemies of Bāhu

¹ Cf. *Sanchi Inscriptions*, p. 188, No. 62, text line 2. [See p. 284, note 3 below.—Ed.]

² *Ibid.*, pp. 141-45; 180-81; [Mishra], *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. I, pp. 276, 360; *CH*, Vol. IV, pp. 13-14, 605 ff.

³ Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 182-83, 291-92.

⁴ It is told in practically the same language in the *Harivamśa* and the *Vāyu* and *Śiva Purāṇas*, while the *Bhāgavata* gives a summary account and the *Bṛhannarāyaṇa* a slightly distorted version. The *Vāṇa Purāṇa* narrates the story in prose.

⁵ The *Mahābhārata* (III, 106, 8) merely speaks of the subjugation of the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas by Sagara. Note that a prince's birth in a hermitage after his father's death at the hands of enemies is a popular motif found also in epigraphic records (cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 220).

and Sagara mentioned here, the Haihayas were a branch of the Yadu or Yādava people while the Tālaṅgaḥas represented a sub-branch of the Haihayas.¹ The allies of these peoples were all foreigners settled in the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavarsha and its neighbourhood, among whom the Yavanas (Greeks) and Śakas (Scythians) are the most famous. The Kāmbojas have been supposed to be Iranian autochthones living in the Afghanistan region² while the Pahlavas may be Sasanian-Persians and the Pāradas Parthians settled in the Western Himalayas.³

The bigger version of the story is introduced in response to two questions, one of them seeking the reason why Sagara became angry with the Śakas and the other peoples so as to prohibit them from observing the practices to be followed by the Kshatriya community. The kingdom of the unfortunate king Bāhu was usurped by the Haihayas and Tālaṅgaḥas. The Śakas were allied with the usurpers while the five tribes, viz. the Yavanas, Pāradas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas and Khakas were also fighting on the side of the Haihayas. Having lost his kingdom, Bāhu, accompanied by his queen of the Yādava clan, repaired to the forest and died there. The queen was pregnant at the time and the sage Aurva of the Bhṛigu family advised her not to commit Sati and took her to his hermitage. There she gave birth to Sagara who received all his training from the sage. Aurva also gave him the terrible fire weapon with which Sagara annihilated the Haihayas responsible for his father's discomfiture. Thereafter, he was bent upon extirpating the allies of the Haihayas, viz. Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. The defeated foreigners appealed to the king's preceptor Vasishṭha to save them from Sagara's wrath. The sage granted them refuge and advised Sagara to spare their lives. The king then thought of a middle path between his own vow to extirpate his father's adversaries and his preceptor's advice to spare their lives and compelled the Śakas and others to give up the prescribed duties and to change their appearance. Thus the Śakas had to shave half their head and the Yavanas and Kāmbojas their entire head while the Pāradas had to keep long hanging hair and the Pahlavas long beard. At the same time, they were prohibited from studying the Vedas and offering oblations.⁴ It is added that the Kshatriyas whose duties were thus repudiated by Sagara as a result of Vasishṭha's advice were the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, [Pahlavas], Kaulisārjās (or Kaliaparśas), Mahishas (or, Māhishikas), Dāriyas (or, Dāryas), Chōlas and Kāulas.⁵

Of course, the story is a myth and the attempt to bring the Greeks and Scythians in it has to be regarded as a clear case of anachronism. Known facts of history make it quite clear that the Greeks and Scythians had nothing to do with India in the hoary antiquity to which mythology ascribes Bāhu and Sagara, the second of the two being represented in Purāṇic tradition as twenty-four generations in ascent from Dakṛeṭha, father of Rāma of the Rāmāyaṇa fame.⁶ But there are other interesting aspects of the story, one of which is the ascription of certain characteristics of the foreign settlers of Uttarāpatha to their discomfiture at the hands of Sagara. The half-shaven head of the Śakas, the fully shaved head of the Yavanas and Kāmbojas, the long

¹ See Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 25, note 4. The Yādavas were originally displaced apparently owing to their Nonaryan associations, but came later to be regarded as aristocratic like the solar and lunar races. The loss of the stigma was due to the spread of the worship of the Yādava hero Vāsudeva-Kṛiṣṇa.

² Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 7.

³ Cf. Fargiter, *The Mahabharata Purāṇa*, pp. 214, note; p. 317, note.

⁴ *Harivamśa*, I, 14, 15 ff. (cf. *Vāya Purāṇa*, 88, 139 ff.; *Śiva Purāṇa*, VI, 61, 40 ff.).

⁵ *Harivamśa*, I, 14, 18 ff. (cf. *Vāya Purāṇa*, 88, 142-43). After narrating the above story, the *Harivamśa* (I, 14, 20-21) mentions Sagara's victory over the Khakas, Tushāras, Chōlas, Madras, Kishkindhikas, Kaulas, Vāgas, Sāras and Kaṇṭakans in connection with the *Vajinsūkta* or horse-sacrifice performed by him.

⁶ See, e.g. *Vāya Purāṇa*, 88.

hanging hair of the Pāṇḍas and the long beard of the Pahlavas were apparently the respective peculiarities of the people, which, as we have seen, have been attributed to their subjugation by Sagara. There are some other instances of this kind in Sanskrit literature. Thus, while describing the victories of the Kashmirian king Lalitāditya Muktiṣīḍa (c. 724-60 A.D.), Kallhaṇa's *Rājataranginī* (IV, 175 ff.), composed in the middle of the twelfth century, says, "This mighty [king] made the [conquered] rulers, in order to indicate their defeat, adopt various characteristic marks which they [and their people] wear humbly even at the present day. Clearly it is by his command, to display the mark of their bondage, that the Turushikas carry their arms at their back and shave half their head. In the *dhōṭī* of the Dākṣiṇyāyas, he made the tail sweeping the ground, to mark that they were like beasts." Here the Turushika peculiarity of carrying arms behind the back and shaving half the head as well as the Dākṣiṇyāya habit of tucking only one corner of the *dhōṭī*-end behind the back (unlike the East Indian customs of tucking the entire *dhōṭī*-end behind the back) have been attributed to the defeat of the peoples at the hands of the Kashmir king. Likewise, the Haruḥa inscription (554 A.D.) describes the victory of the Maṇkhari King Iṣṇa-varman over the sea-faring Gaṇḍa people as *krīṇā ch-āyati-mōchita-athala-bhara Gaṇḍā-samula-śṛṅgān*, 'having compelled the Gaṇḍas, driven out from land for all time to come, to take refuge in the sea'.¹ The sea-faring nature of the Gaṇḍas has been attributed here to their defeat at the hands of the Maṇkhari king.

More important than the above is, however, the bearing of the story on the position of the foreigners settled in India and the Nonaryans of India in the Brahmanical social system. Though the Greeks and Scythians were Indians by domicile, their social habits and dress differed from those of the Indians proper, and this required an explanation especially for those who were eager to assign them to a particular position in the Indian social system characterised by the *chātvarṇya*. Similar was the case with the Nonaryans who observed their own tribal customs. Our story attributes the peculiarities of such peoples to their subjugation by Sagara. There were also similar other fanciful explanations.

Certain versions of the thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.) suggest that the fourfold classification of the society was prevalent in the Maurya empire excluding the land of the Yavanas.² This is explained by the Buddhist canonical work *Majjhīma-nikāya* (II, 149) which states that, in the lands of the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas, there were only two (and not the usual four) social grades, viz. *Arjo* and *Dāso*, i.e., the noble and the serf. Still, however, the Indianisation of the foreigners was progressing gradually, and Patañjali's *Maṇubhāṣya* (under Pāṇini, II, 4, 10) regards the Yavanas and Śakas as 'clean' Śūdras. But the arbitrary nature of ascribing to the foreigners a place in the Indian social system is clearly indicated by the fact that the *Manusmṛiti* (X, 42-43) regards the said peoples as degraded Kshatriyas when it says, "By the omission of the prescribed duties and also by their neglect of the Brāhmaṇas, the following Kshatriya jāti have gradually sunk to the position of the *Frishala* (i. e., Śūdra or the low-born): the Paṇḍrakas, Chōḍas (or, Andras), Draviḍas, Kāmbōjas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chīnas, Kīrātās, Daradas and Khāsas." The arbitrary nature of the scheme is further demonstrated by the fact that elsewhere (X, 22) the same *Manusmṛiti* speaks of the Khāsas and Draviḍas of the above list among the descendants of the Vr̥ṭya (apostate) Kshatriya: "From the Vr̥ṭya Kshatriya is born the Jhalla, Malla, Liśabhāṭi, Neta, Karaka, Khasa and Draviḍa." The same social status is thus indicated by Manu both as 'Kshatriya sunk into the position of the Śūdra' and 'the descendant of the apostate

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff. (verse 12); *J. A. S. Letters*, Vol. XI, 1945, p. 89, note 4.

² *Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 26, note 2.

Kāshtriya' and by Patañjali as 'clean or pure Śūdra'. It will also be seen that, while Manu apparently seeks to explain the peculiar ways of these foreign and indigenous peoples as due to their omission of the prescribed duties and neglect of the Brāhmanas, the Sāgara story ascribes them to the subjugation of a number of them by king Sāgara. As we have suggested elsewhere, the position of a particular foreign or Nonāryan people in the theoretical *chatur-varṇa* scheme depended on the rank demanded by its importance, culture and activities.¹

As regards the **peculiar habits** ascribed to certain peoples in the Sāgara story and elsewhere, we have already said a few words on the style of wearing *dhātī* by the Dīkshipātyas as mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and the sea-faring nature of the Gauda people as known from the Haraha inscription. As to the Turushkas carrying their arms behind the back, Stein observes, "Yarkhandia and Tibetans are fond of walking with their hands folded at their back."² Besides, we have been told that the Śakas and Turushkas shaved half their head, that the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas shaved all the head and that the Pūrudas had long hanging hair and the Pahlavas long beard. These fashions were apparently regarded as peculiar because they were un-Indian. The Indian males, excluding the ascetic classes, usually shaved their beard and, though they kept long hair, it was generally tied in a top, side or back knot.³ The long beard of the Pahlavas who may be identified with the Sasanian-Parthians, reminds us of Kālidāsa's description of the *śaśāṅgā* (bearded) head of the Pātusikas or Pāśchātyas, which looked like a bee-hive.⁴ As regards the statement that the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas shaved off their hair on the head, we have to note that the royal head on the coins of the Greek kings of Bactria and India exhibits neither haven head nor long hair, but short hair. This, therefore, may have been the characteristic referred to in the Sāgara story. More difficult to understand is what has been meant by the statements that the Śakas and Turushkas shaved half their head. The royal head on the coins of the Śakas of Western India exhibits a close-fitting cap and hair hanging by the neck above the shoulders. Thus, if hair on any part of the head was shaved or sheared, it may have been in the front, i.e., above the forehead.⁵

It will be seen that the dress and appearance of king Avarighaṇa are more Indianised than the early foreign settlers of India, referred to above. It is, therefore, not possible to determine his nationality on this basis.

¹ See *Homage to Vaiṣṇī*, ed. Mathur and Mishra, p. 74.

² Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 128, note.

³ Cf. *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 193, 307; above, p. 277; notes 2-5.

⁴ *Ugheśavāhīnī*, IV, 40, 82-83; cf. *The Successors of the Śākhāyānas*, pp. 323-26.

⁵ The short version of the story as found in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (IX, 4, 5-6) says that Sāgara did not kill the Tālaṅghas, Yavanas, Śakas, Halyayas and Barbāris, but made them *vidyā-vṛddha* (i.e., caused change in their dress or appearance). Some of them were made to shave their head, some to keep their beard, some to keep hanging hair, some to shave half the head, some to be *śaśāṅgā* (wearing an under-garment) and some *śaśāṅgā* (wearing an upper garment or cloak). The last of these characteristics appears to refer to the covering the body in the *śaśāṅgā*-style. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 165-56), the Kīrtiśyas, Pahlavas, Yavanas, Śakas, Mlecchhas, Kīrtas and Tushas were created by Vaśiṣṭha's cow when Viśvāmitra tried to carry her forcibly away, while, according to the *Mahābhārata* (I, 85, 34; cf. *Maṇu Smṛiti*, 34, 30), the Yālavas, Yavanas, Bhīṣas and Mlecchhas descended, respectively, from Yadu, Turvaṣa, Drūhyā and Anu, the four discarded sons of king Yayāti of the lunar race.

TEXT¹

- 1 Śrī-rma(Ma)hārāj-Āvarighasaya [I*]
- 2 Vāma-Ratan-Āryama² [j²]

TRANSLATION

(*This is the seal*) of the illustrious *Mahārāja Avarighsa*. (*His representatives are*) *Vāma*, *Ratna* and *Aryaman*.

¹From coins.

²The intended reading may be Sanskrit *Vāma-Rata-Aryamañaj*.

If the intention of the author of the legend was to indicate that the seal was of *Vāma*, *Ratna* and *Aryaman* who were the representatives of *Avarighsa*, probably a word indicating their relationship with the *Mahārāja* would have been used. (The intended reading seems to be *Śrī-Mahārāj-Āvarighasaya ratna-ratnam-ādam* which may be translated as 'This beautiful jewel (is) of the illustrious *Mahārāja Avarighsa*.'—Ed.)

CRYSTAL-INTAGLIO IN BRITISH MUSEUM

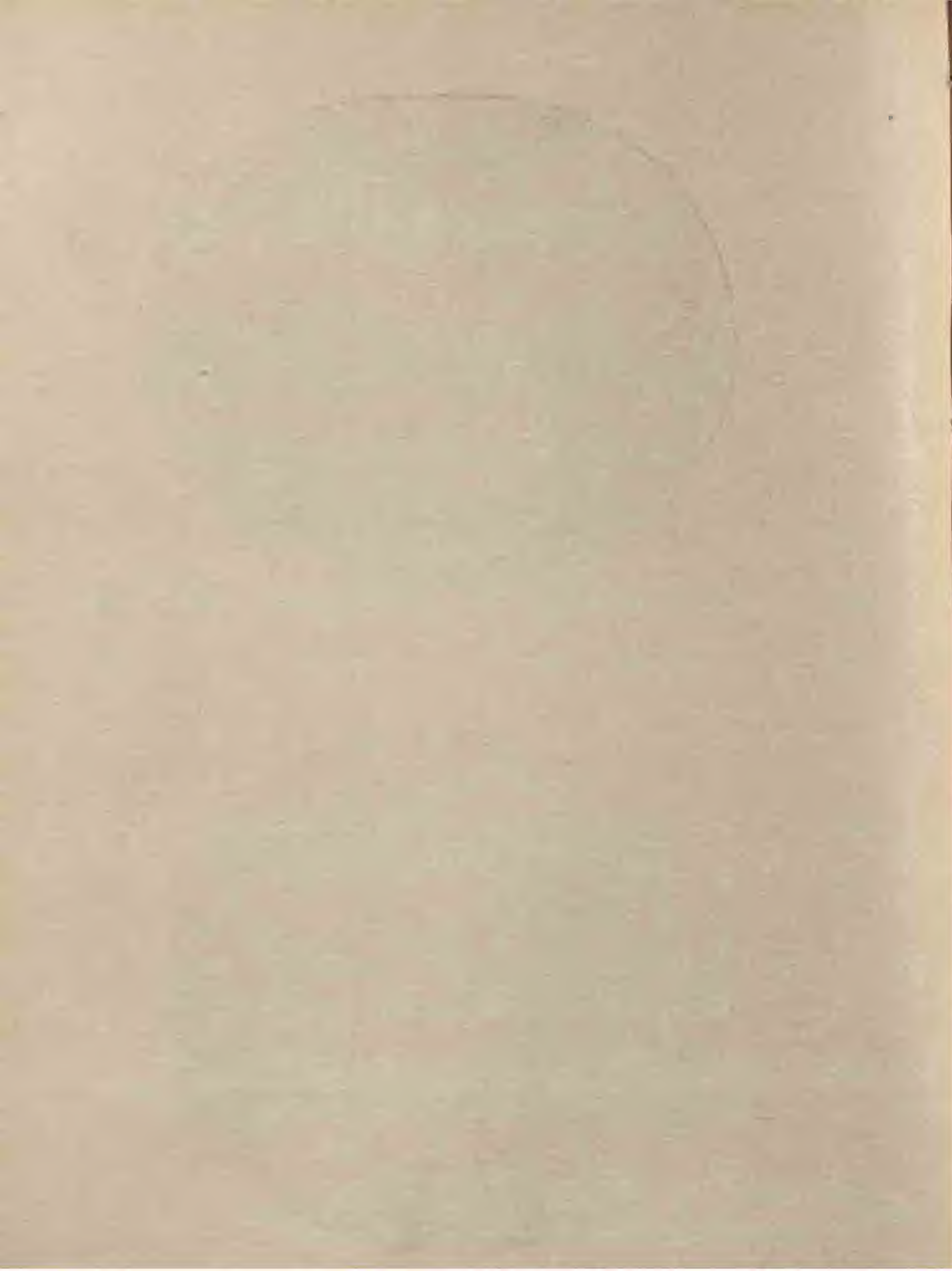
A. Positive



B. Negative



(from Photographs)



No. 35—DHARUR PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA GOVINDA III, SAKA 728

V. V. MIRASHI, NAIPUR AND N. A. GORE, AURANGABAD

(Received on 11.2.1963)

These plates¹ were originally in the possession of Shri Bapurao Bhaurao Mahajan of Dhārūr in the Bhir District of the Marathwada Division of Maharashtra. They were obtained from him by Shri Raghavendrarao Ramachandrarao Opalkar of Bhir, the chief town of the District. They were brought to notice by Shri P. B. Mande in the course of his search of manuscripts at Bhir on behalf of the Department of Marathi in the Marathwada University. Shri Opalkar very kindly lent them to the Department for decipherment. Shri N. A. Gore first edited the record with photographs of the plates in the *Marathwada University Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 76 ff. We re-edit it here from the same photographs with the kind permission of Shri S. R. Dongarkery, Vice-Chancellor of the Marathwada University, and Prof. W. L. Kulkarni, Head of the Department of Marathi in the same University.

As the plates had been buried underground for safety, they were covered with rust, but they were cleaned by Shri Opalkar. It was believed that they recorded the grant of some land to the Balaji temple at Dhārūr, but as shown below, this is entirely baseless.

The record is engraved on three copperplates, of which the first and the third are inscribed on the inner side only and the second on both the sides. The plates measure 24.5 cm. in length and about 18.5 cm. in breadth. Their corners are rounded off and their edges are slightly raised for the protection of the writing. The record is in a fairly good state of preservation. The plates are held together by means of a ring, about 10.5 cm. in diameter and 2 cm. in thickness. To this ring is soldered a circular seal, 5.3 cm. in diameter, on the countersunk surface of which appears the figure of Garuḍa in human form, facing full front with outstretched wings. It probably held a serpent in each hand, but it has now become indistinct.

The record consists of seventy-one lines, of which twenty lines are incised on the first plate and also on the first side of the second plate, eighteen on the second side of the latter plate and the remaining thirteen on the third plate.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet, regular for the period to which the grant refers itself. The following peculiarities may be noted :—The initial *i* (short) is denoted by a curve below two dots (see *id*, line 68) ; the initial *ī* appears in the form of a triangle with its apex downward (see *deam*, line 45) ; the medial *vi* and *vu* are denoted partly by lengthening the top-line to the left to end in a curve and partly by means of a *div-mātrā* (see *karair*, line 7, and *maulika*, line 33) ; *ā* is still without a dot (see *Gaṅgā*, line 11) ; the central curve of *j* has not yet become a vertical stroke (see *vājamāna*, line 2) ; the superscript *ā* is written like *ṣ* (see *pāṇḍā*, line 52) ; *t* has not yet developed a vertical stroke (see *a-chāḍa-bhāḍa*, line 47) ; the subscript *ṣ* of the conjunct *ṣṣ* is vertically placed (see *Karap-ādha*, line 8) ; *dh* has not yet developed a horn on the left (see *Vedhaṇḍ*, line 1) ; still the two verticals of *dhā* are not joined by a horizontal stroke as is done in some records of the period ; finally, the final consonant *t* is shown in some cases by a surrounding curve (see *ānūtāt*, line 4).

The language is Sanskrit. The record is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The initial eulogistic portion is metrically composed. It has eighteen verses, all of which are known to

¹ A. R. Ep., 1964-65, No. A 36.

occur in many grants of Gōvinda III such as the Nāsarī plates.¹ It is noteworthy that verse 4 gives the name of Dhruva, the father of Gōvinda III, as Dhāra. The eulogistic portion is followed in lines 37 to 53 by the formal portion of the grant, giving the *gōtra*, *śikhā* and name of the donee, the names of the donated village and its boundaries, the date and occasion of the gift as well as the usual appeal to future rulers for its preservation. This is followed in lines 56 to 70 by seven benedictive and imprecatory verses of the usual type. The record closes with the mention of the scribe and the *śatāka*. It is fairly correctly written. As regards **orthography**, we may note that (i) *h* is always written as *c* (see *cṛihad-*, line 2); (ii) *rī* is used for *ri* in some places (see *ṛiṅga*, line 31); (iii) the consonant following *r* is doubled (see *darlinghyād-*, line 4); (iv) the *aiarga* is omitted when followed by a sibilant, combined with a hard consonant, in accordance with the *Pāṇini*, VIII, 3.36 (see *ura-athala*, line 2 and *Karṇāṁba-śāka-*, line 8); (v) the final *n* is often wrongly changed to *anastara* as in *gaṇaṁ*, line 18 and *āgataṁ*, line 29. Such orthographical mistakes as *Matarakhaṇḍi* (line 11); and *pratiṣṭāṁba-* (line 57) are due to wrong pronunciation.

The inscription is one of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III, called Gōvindarāja in line 17 and Jayatīrṅga-ṛi-Vallabha-narēndradēva in line 39. He bore the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭaraka*, *Mahānīlāhira* and *Paramāśvara*. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village *Apahā*, which Gōvinda made while camping at *Mayārakhaṇḍi* on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of Jyēṣṭha in the expired Śaka year [728].² The donated village was included in the *cakṛa* (district) of *Dhārātūra* and was bounded on the east by the village *Aivachchha*, on the south by the village *Dhaṇi*, on the west by the village *Vaṇḍi* and on the north by the village *Ananta* and a watering place. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa *Duggaiya*, son of *Chandaiya*, who had mastered the *kruma* recension (of the *Rigveda*) and grandson of *Vijādhakṣa*. He belonged to the *Voṁa gōtra* and was a student of the *Rigveda*. The grant was written by *Arupāditya*, son of *Vatsarāja*. He figures as the scribe in several grants³ of Gōvinda III, ranging in dates from Ś. 727 to Ś. 734. The *śatāka* was *Dēvaiya Rāṇaka*, who is mentioned in this capacity in the Nāsarī plates⁴ also.

The date of this grant is irregular. Unlike several other grants of Gōvinda III, it does not mention any cyclic year. This need not, however, cause any suspicion about its genuineness; for some other grants of this Rāshtrakūṭa emperor, especially those made in the early part of his reign, make no mention of the current cyclic year. See, e.g. the *Paithan* plates⁵ of Śaka 719, the *Anjanavati* plates⁶ of Śaka 722, the *Jharikā* grant⁷ of Śaka 725, the *Magne* plates⁸ of Śaka 732 and the *Lohārā* grant⁹ of Śaka 734. But apart from this, the details of the date do not work out regularly. There was no solar eclipse on the new-moon day of Jyēṣṭha, either *mā* or *adhi*, in the Śaka year 728. There were two solar eclipses in that Śaka year, one of which occurred on the new-moon day of the *amānta* Bhādrapada, corresponding to the 16th September, A.D. 806, and the other on the new-moon day of *Māgha*, the 11th February, A.D. 807. The drafter of the record has

¹ Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 123 f.

² While writing this date in line 50, the writer has inadvertently omitted the word *astara*.

³ See, e.g. the Nāsarikā grant of Śaka 727, the *Ward* plates of Śaka 730 (for Śaka 729), the *Shirra* grant of Śaka 730, the *Bahulavāḍ* plates of Śaka 732 (for Śaka 731), the *Bhārata* (Bihar Samādāna Maṇḍala) plates of Śaka 732 and the *Lohārā* grant of Śaka 734.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 124. He is mentioned in the *Jharikā* grant as *Mahāśāhi-pallin*, i.e. the name of *Vāṭalya* mentioned as *śatāka* in line 56 of the *Bahulavāḍ* plates a mistake for *Dēvaiya*?

⁵ Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 103 f.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 8 f.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 157 f.

⁸ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 42.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 312 f.

evidently, by forgetfulness or mistake, written *Jyēṣṭhā* for *Bhādrapada* or *Māgha*.¹ An analogous instance is furnished by the *Wagī* plates² of this very king *Gōvinda III*. They record his grant of a village on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of *Vaiśākha* in the *Saka* year 730. There was, however, no lunar eclipse on *Vaiśākha-pūrṇimā* in that *Saka* year. The only lunar eclipse in that year which could have been referred to is that in *Pauṣa* (the 5th January 809 A.D.). Apart from this irregularity in their dates, there are no grounds for suspecting these two grants to be spurious.

As all the verses in the eulogistic portion occur in several other known grants, the present grant does not add to our historical knowledge. But we may discuss here again the **chronology of the northern campaigns of *Gōvinda III***. More than twentyfive years ago, Prof. Mirashi showed that the known grants of *Gōvinda III* fall into two groups.³ The first group now comprises three grants, viz. the *Paithān* plates of *Saka* 716, the *Añjanavati* plates of *Saka* 722 and the *Jharikā* grant of *Saka* 725. The eulogistic portion of these grants is copied mostly from the earlier grants of *Gōvinda III*'s predecessors, viz. *Dantidurga*, *Krishṇa* and *Dhruva*. This draft mentions no exploits of *Gōvinda III*, not even his defeat of twelve kings headed by his brother *Stambha* and his imprisonment of the *Gaṅga* king. The second group comprises all the other grants⁴ ranging in dates from *Saka* 727 to *Saka* 734. This new draft mentions several northern and southern campaigns of *Gōvinda III*. Some more details are furnished by the *Sanjān* plates⁵ of his son *Amoghavaraha I*. From these sources we can arrange chronologically the events in the reign of *Gōvinda III* as follows:—Soon after *Gōvinda*'s accession in *Saka* 715, twelve kings headed by his brother *Stambha* rose in revolt against him. *Gōvinda* released the *Gaṅga* prince *Muttarasa* probably to create a rival to his brother *Stambha*, but as he joined the latter and his allies, *Gōvinda* defeated them all and put the *Gaṅga* king into fetters again. The ease and rapidity with which these victories were achieved are graphically described in all his later grants. *Gōvinda* is said to have thrown the *Gaṅga* prince into prison before his brow was wrinkled in a frown.⁶ These operations could not, therefore, have taken more than a year (*Saka* 716). The next five years seem to have been occupied by *Gōvinda*'s campaigns in Central and Northern India. He first defeated

¹ Sometimes a grant made on an earlier occasion is recorded later. See, e.g. the date of the *Maṅge* plates of *Saka* 732. The grant recorded in them was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of *Pauṣa*, when the week-day is said to have been Monday and the *nakṣatra* *Puṣya*. The week-day on the *Pūrṇimā* was, however, Saturday, and the *nakṣatra* was *Āśvini*. The grant was reduced to writing two days after the *Pūrṇimā* on Monday, when the *nakṣatra* was *Puṣya*. In the case of the present grant, however, a similar supposition is not possible, for there was no solar eclipse in the whole of the previous year *Saka* 727.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 157 f.; Vol. XXIV, p. 11. Kielhorn supposed that the date of the *Wagī* plates would be correct for *Saka* 737 current (i.e. *Saka* 736 expired), but in that case the cyclic year would be *Vijaya*, not *Vyaya* as stated in these plates. (See his *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 11). Similarly, the date of our grant should be either *Saka* 723 or *Saka* 724, in both of which there was a solar eclipse in (some) *Jyēṣṭhā* as stated in the grant. But these dates are not possible: for, as shown below, the southern campaigns of *Gōvinda III* described in the present plates were not completed even in *Saka* 725, the date of the *Jharikā* grant. So the date of the present plates will have to be regarded as irregular.

³ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 216 f.

⁴ See, e.g. the *Nācālikā* grant of *Saka* 727, the *Simval* grant of *Saka* 729, the *Wagī* plates of *Saka* 730, the *Rādhapur* plates of *Saka* 732, the *Goḍanguppe* plates of *Saka* 730, the *Bahmīśāl* plates of *Saka* 732, the *Maṅge* plates of *Saka* 734, the *H.E.S. Maṅgal* plates of *Saka* 732 and the *Lohitā* grant of *Saka* 734.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 215 f.

⁶ Cf. *यावन् ध्रुवो सनाहकके पर्यन्तते लभते ।*

the Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa II and his ally Chandragupta, who was probably ruling in Malwa,¹ and then routed Dhurmapāla of Bengal, who had espoused the case of Chakravyūha of Kanauj. He next marched victoriously to the north until his horses drank and his elephants plunged themselves into the spring waters of the Himālayas. He then returned to the Narmadā and marching along the bank of the river, he conquered the countries of Mālava, Kāśala, Kālīṅga, Vāṅga, Pāṭala and Oḍra and placed his own servants (i.e. feudatories) in charge of them. He then returned again to the Narmadā at the foot of the Vinḍhya and spent the rainy season at Śrībhavana (modern Sārbhōg in Gujarat), the capital of Mārāsarva, who, out of fear, had speedily submitted to him and presented him with his heirloom which none else had obtained before. Gōvinda caused some temples to be constructed, while encamped at the place. It is generally supposed that his son Śarva (or Amoghavaraha I) was born at the capital of Śarva² (or Mārāsarva). These several events must have taken a period of about five years from Śaka 717 to Śaka 721. The present grant, like other later ones of Gōvinda III, states that after passing the rainy season at Śrībhavana,³ the king marched with his forces to the bank of the Tungabhadrā, from where he led his campaign against the Pallavas. The Sanjān plates of Amoghavaraha I do not, however, state that Gōvinda marched to the Tungabhadrā straight from Śrībhavana. It is also unlikely that after spending about five years in his campaigns in Central and Northern India, the king would have immediately launched his offensive against the Draviḍa kings. As a matter of fact, we find that he was in his capital at Mayūrakhaṇḍi in the rainy season of Śaka 722; for he made there the Tuli-purusha gift and the grant of a village on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the new-moon day of *amānta* Āshāḍha of Śaka 722 (the 25th June 800 A.D.).⁴ He must have spent some time at the capital making preparations for his southern campaign. From the Jharikā grant we learn that he was encamped at Alampura (or Hēlāpura) on the bank of the Tungabhadrā, where he made a grant on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Kārttika-paurṇimā in Śaka 725 (the 2nd November 803 A.D.).⁵ Gōvinda seems to have stayed in the south for a few months; for he made another grant at Rāmaśvara-tirtha on the Tungabhadrā in Vaiśākha va. di. 5 of Śaka 726 (the 4th April

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar identified this Chandragupta with the homonymous Pāṇḍya-*raṇa* king, the younger brother of Tivaraḍēva. He evidently followed the view of Fleet and Kielhorn, who placed Tivaraḍēva in the eighth century A.D. Prof. Mirashi showed nearly thirty years ago that this date was incorrect and that Tivara must be referred to the middle of the sixth century A.D. (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 17f). His younger brother Chandragupta could not, therefore, have been a contemporary of Gōvinda III. Chandragupta, defeated by Gōvinda III, was a king of Malwa. The Sanjān plates mention Gōvinda's victory over Nāgabhaṭa and Chandragupta in the course of his northern campaign. The Nisadikā and some other grants mention Gōvinda's victory over a Gūrjara king and the submission of the king of Mālava in the same context. The Gūrjara king is evidently Nāgabhaṭa II and the king of Mālava was probably Chandragupta. It is not yet known to what royal family the latter belonged.

² Scholars have generally accepted the view that Amoghavaraha I was born at Śrībhavana. His other name Śarva lends colour to this view; for it may have been suggested by that of Mārāsarva, the ruler of Śrībhavana. But it looks unlikely that the queen of Gōvinda III accompanied him during his northern conquests. That Amoghavaraha was born after Gōvinda's northern conquests and before he launched his offensive against southern kings looks probable in view of the order of description in the Sanjān plates. Amoghavaraha may have been born at the capital Mayūrakhaṇḍi. In that case Gōvinda III may have stayed at his capital for at least one or two years, before he proceeded to conquer the Pallava king. We know that he was at Mayūrakhaṇḍi in Śaka 722. His next dates Śaka 725 and Śaka 726 are furnished by the Jharikā grant and the British Museum plates respectively both of which mention that he was encamped at Alampura (or Hēlāpura) on the Tungabhadrā. This would show conclusively that he did not proceed to the bank of the Tungabhadrā straight from Śrībhavana as may be supposed from the wording of verse 15 of the present grant and similar verses in other grants.

³ P. L. Gupta objected to the identification of Śrībhavana with Sārbhōg on the ground that the former lay near the Vinḍhya, while the latter lies far away from it (above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 127). He proposes to identify it with Śripura in the Raipur District of Chhattisgarh, which was the capital of the Pāṇḍya-*raṇa* kings, but it is still farther from the Vinḍhya mountains.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 19.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 158.

804 A.D.) as recorded in the British Museum plates. Using Alampur as his base, he seems to have led his campaigns against the Gaṅgas, Eṛlāsas, Chūlukya, Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas. Even the king of Laṅkā submitted to him, sending two statues—one of himself and the other of his minister—to his camp at Hēlāpura, which he installed in the temple of Śiva at Kāśchī. After these southern campaigns were over, he got a new draft of the eulogistic portion prepared, which was first used for the first time in the Nēsarikā grant of Śaka 727.¹

It has recently been suggested that the northern campaigns of Gōvinda III must have been conducted between June 800 A.D. (the date of the Anjanavati plates) and November 803 A.D. (the date of the Jharikā grant).² This means that Gōvinda defeated Nāgabhaṭa II and his ally Chandragupta in Central India, then proceeding to the north, he vanquished Dharmapala and his protégé Chakrāyudha and marched to the foot of the Himālayas; then he returned to the Narmadā and marching along its bank, he conquered Mālava, Kōśala, Kuliṅga, Vāṅga, Pāhala and Oḍra countries; thereafter he returned to the bank of the same river, and passed the rainy season at Śrībhavana, where he caused some temples to be constructed; and from there he straightway proceeded to the Tuṅgabhadra, without even visiting his capital after these prolonged northern campaigns. We shall have to suppose that all these events took place within the brief period of three years and five months. This appears very unlikely. It would, therefore, appear that the northern campaigns of Gōvinda III were over before the rainy season of Śaka 731, when he appears to have encamped at Śrībhavana.

The fixation of the chronology of Gōvinda's northern conquests has a bearing on the history of his son Amoghavarsha. Supposing that the northern campaigns of Gōvinda III occurred after his southern ones, Dr. Altekar at first placed his sojourn in Śrībhavana and the birth of his son Amoghavarsha in the monsoon of 808 A.D.³ Consequently, he thought that the latter was a small boy of six at his accession in 814 A.D.⁴ Later, he modified his views considerably, realising the force of the arguments of Prof. Mīrashi set forth in his article on the Sisavai and Lohārā grants. In the account of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty which he wrote for the *History and Culture of the Indian People* (Vol. IV, pp. 8-9), he observed as follows:—"The new Emperor (i.e. Amoghavarsha) was a boy of 13 or 14 and his father had arranged that Karka, who had succeeded his father Indra as Viceroy of Gujarat, should assume the reins of Government during his minority." R. G. Bhandarkar and Fleet, who had earlier written on the history of the Rāshtrakūṭas, do not mention this regency of Karka.⁵ If Amoghavarsha I was born in the Śaka year 721 (799 A.D.) as shown above, he must have been sixteen years old at his accession in Śaka 737 (815 A.D.).⁶ This is the age of majority according to Kautīlya.⁷ Harsha is known to have commenced to govern his kingdom, nay, he embarked on a *digvijaya* at this age. The Sanjān plates tell us that Gōvinda III went to heaven, thinking that his unique son would be able to bear the burden of this world.⁸ This also shows that Amoghavarsha was quite capable of ruling independently when his father died in 815 A.D.

¹ It seems that the new draft of the eulogistic portion of Gōvinda's grants was not ready till Śaka 725, the date of the Jharikā grant since it is not used therein. So the Maypā plates of Stambla, dated Śaka 724, in which the new draft is found used, will have to be regarded as spurious.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 330.

³ Altekar, *The Rāshtrakūṭas*, etc., p. 60.

⁴ Amoghavarsha seems to have come to the throne in Śaka 737 or 815 A.D. See Altekar, *op. cit.* p. 71.

⁵ See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 49 and 401-02.

⁶ If he was born at Mayyarakhaṇḍī in Śaka 722 (see above, p. 283, note 2), his age at accession may have been fifteen.

⁷ Cf. श्रीकृष्णधर्मः पुमान् प्राप्तव्यबहारो भवति । Kautīlya's *Arthśāstra*, ed. by Shama Sastri (1924), p. 154.

⁸ (१) अवाप्ता कीर्तिमित्रलोकौ निजमुच्यन्तर् भर्तुमानोत्तमर्षः पुत्रस्यात्मकमेकः सकलमिति कृतं जगन् धर्मोत्तमैः । Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 246. See a similar description of Gōvinda III when he came to the throne: तस्याप्यमृदमुच्यन्तर्भूतो समर्थो गोविन्दराज इति मूर्तुस्त्रिप्रतापः । Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 163.

The only evidence in support of Altekar's view that Karka was acting as a regent for Amoghavaraha I is that the dates of his grant and those of his younger brother Gōvinda overlap one another. Karka's grants are dated in Śaka 734¹ and 738,² while those of his younger brother are dated in Śaka 732,³ 735⁴ and 742.⁵ It is, therefore, supposed that Gōvinda was looking after the administration of Gujarat while Karka was in the Rāshtrakūṭa capital. But the former is known to have made a grant as early as Śaka 732 (810 A.D.), when Gōvinda III was living and there was no question of Karka's regency. The real reason for the overlapping of the dates seems to be that both Karka and his younger brother had authority to make land-grants without referring to each other.⁶ Besides, Karka is not known to have made any grant at Mānyakhūṭa, the Rāshtrakūṭa capital, during his supposed regency. For all these reasons it does not seem likely that Karka was acting as regent for Amoghavaraha, though there is no doubt that he rendered very valuable help in retaining him on the throne during a rebellion of his Chālukya and Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Dhārāsūra, the headquarters of the *viśaya* in which the donated village⁷ was situated, is evidently identical with Dhārūr where the present plates were discovered. The donated village **Apahā** is Apāgaon (Lat. 18° 35' and Long. 76° 10'), about 14 miles south-east of Dhārūr. All the boundary villages can be identified in its vicinity. Thus **Aivachchha**, which bounded it on the east, is Āwaagaon which lies only about 1½ miles in that direction; **Dhañī-grāma**, which formed its southern boundary, is modern Dhaṇagaon, which lies only about 2 miles to the south of Apāgaon; **Vāuṇī-grāma**, its western limit, is now called Bāvāchi Kaij and lies only about a mile to the west of Apāgaon; **Ananta-grāma** which lay to the north is Anandagaon, about 4 miles north of Apāgaon. Apāgaon, Bāvāchi Kaij, Dhaṇagaon and Āwaagaon are all situated to the south-east of Kaij in the Kaij taluk of the Bhār District.

TEXT*

[Metres : Verses 1, 10, 20, 22 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2, 6, 8 *Varaṇatīlaka* ; verses 3-5, 7, 9-17 *Śārdūlavikrīṭita* ; verse 18 *Āryā* ; verses 21, 23 *Indravajrā* ; verse 24 *Śālīnī* ; verse 25 *Puṣpūtāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धिः* [१*] स बोव्याद्वेषसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलंकृतं(तम्) । हरश्च यस्य
कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतम् ॥११॥* भूपोभव-
- 2 द्व(द्व)हदुरस्यलराजमानथोको(को)स्तुभायतकरैरुपगूढकण्ठः [१*] सत्यान्वितो विपुलचक्र-
विनि* जिज्ञता-

* *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 158.

* *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 158.

* *Above*, Vol. XXVI, p. 248.

* *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 54.

* *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 146.

* [For a detailed discussion on this point, see, *above*, Vol. XXV, pp. 272-75.—Ed.]

* In identifying these villages we have received valuable help from Shri D. R. Ambedkar, Assistant Director of Archaeology, Maharashtra State and Shri L. G. Parab, Librarian, Central Archaeological Library, for which our best thanks are due to them.

* From photographs kindly supplied by Shri D. R. Ambedkar. (The plates published here are prepared from the impressions taken in this office.—Ed.)

* Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 रिचकोप्यकृष्णचरितो भुवि कृष्णराजः ॥[२॥*] पक्षच्छेदभवाश्रु(श्रि)ताखिलमहा-
भूभृक्कु(कु)लभ्राजिता-
- 4 दु(दु)ल्लंघ्या(छया)दपरैरनेकविमलभ्राजिष्णुरलान्वितात् । यस्त्वालुक्यकुलादनूनविवु(वु)-
धवाता-
- 5 श्रयो वारिष्वेर्लक्ष्मीम्मन्दरवत्सलीलमचिरादाकुष्टवान्वल्लभः ॥[३॥*] तस्याभूतनयः
प्रतापविसरै-
- 6 राक्रान्तदिङ्गमण्डलचण्डा(ण्डा)शोस्सदृशोप्यचण्डकरताप्रह्लादितस्मातलः । धोरो धैर्यधनो
विपक्ष-
- 7 वनिताक्कवाम्बु(म्बु)जश्रीहरो हारीकृत्य यशो यदीयमनिश(शं) दिङ्गनायिकाभि-
धू(धू)त(तम्) ॥[४॥*] ज्येष्ठोल्लंघनजात-
- 8 याप्यमलया लक्ष्म्या समेतोपि सं(सन्) योभून्निम्मलमण्डलस्थितियुतो दोषाकरो न
क्वचित् । कर्णाध-
- 9 स्थ(स्थि)तदानसन्ततिभूतो यस्यान्यदानाधिकं दानं वीक्ष्य सुलज्जिता इव
दिशाम्प्रान्ते स्थिता दिग्गजाः ॥[५॥*]
- 10 अन्यैर्न जातु विजितं गुह्यक्तिसारमाक(का)न्तभूतलमनन्यसमानमानं(नन्) । येनेह
व(व)ञ्च-
- 11 भवला(लो)क्य चिराय गङ्ग(ङ्ग) दूरं स्वनिमहभिण्(ये)व कलिः प्रयातः
॥[६॥*] हंलास्वीकृत[गौ]डरा-
- 12 ज्यकमलामसं प्रवेश्याचिरादु(दु)म्मागं मरुमध्यमप्रतिव(व)लैर्यो(यो) वत्सराज(जं)
व(व)लैः [१*]
- 13 गौडीयं शरदिन्दुपादधवलं च्छ(छ)त्प्रद्वये केवलं तस्मान्नाहत तद्यशोपि ककुभां
प्रान्ते स्थिता(तं) तत्त्वा-
- 14 शात् ॥[७॥*] लब्ध(द्ध)प्रतिष्ठमचिराय कलिं सुदुरमुत्साये शुद्धचरितेर्दंरणी-
तलस्य [१*] कृत्वा पु-
- 15 नः कृतयुगः(ग)श्रु(धि)यमप्यशेषां चित्रं कथं निरुपमः कलिवत्सलोभभूत् ॥
[८॥*] प्राभूदयं वस्ततो नि-

16. स्यामाबिन्दुयथा वारिर्बः(घेः) शुद्धात्मा परमेश्वरोन्नतशिरःसप्तस्तपादः सुतः [1*]
पद्यामन्दकरः
17. अतापसहितो नित्योदयः सोमवतेः पूर्वद्विरिव भानुमानभिमतो गोविन्दराजः सं-
18. तां(ताम्) ॥[१॥*] वस्मिं(स्मिन्) सर्वगुणाश्रये क्षितिपतो श्रीराष्ट्रकूटान्वयो
जाते यादववंशवन्मधुरिपा-
19. वासीदलघ्यः परैः [1*] दृष्टाशावधयः कृताख्य(स्मृ)सदृशा दानेन येनोद्धता
मुक्ताहार-
20. विभूविता स्फुटमिति प्रत्यर्धिनोऽर्धर्धिनां(नाम्) ॥[१०॥*] यस्याकारममानुषं
तु(वि)भूवनव्यापत्तिरक्षो-

Second Plate, First Side

21. चितं कृष्णस्येव तिरोक्ष्य ग्रच्छति पितर्येकाधिपत्यम्भुवः [1*] आस्ता(स्तां)
तात तवैतदप्रतिहता वत्ता स्वयाः कण्ठ-
22. का किन्नाजं व मया धृतेति पितरं युवत(क्तं) वचो गोभ्यधात् ॥[११॥*]
येनात्यन्तदयालुनाथ निगदक्लेशादपा-
23. स्याद्यतात्सवं देशं गर्मितापि कृष्णविसराद्यः प्रातिकु(कृ)त्ये स्थितः [1*] यावन्न
भूकुटी ललाटफलके यस्योन्नते ल-
24. क्षते विक्षेपेण विजित्य तावदचिराद्(द)द्वः स गगः पुनः ॥[१२॥*]
मन्धायाशु सिलीमुखी(खाम्) स्वसमयां(यान्) वा(वा)णा-
25. सप्तस्योपरि प्राप्तं वदितव(के)न्धुजीवविभवं पद्याभिवृद्ध्या(द्वया)नितं(तन्) [1*]
सप्तलत्वमदीक्ष्य यः शरदुत्तु पर्ज-
26. भवद्गुञ्जरो नष्टः क्वापि भयात्तथा न समरं स्वप्नेपि पश्येद्यथा ॥[१३॥*]
विन्ध्याद्रेः कटके निविष्टकटकं
27. श्रुत्वा चरयेन्निरजैः स्व देशं समुपागतं ध्रुवमिव ज्ञात्वा भिया प्रेरितः [1*]
माराज्ज्वलमहोपतिर्द्वि-

* The series requires a reading like *वर्धिनः*, which is actually given by the Harpur and Radanagurpur (Majumdar Arch. Report for 1937, p. 113) plates. Most other plates read as here.

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The manuscript page contains approximately 20 lines of handwritten text in Devanagari script. The ink is dark brown or black, and the paper appears aged and slightly discolored. There are some visible stains and wear on the right side of the page.

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[The manuscript page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is largely illegible due to fading and blurring. A large circular ink blot or hole is visible on the left side of the page.]

- 28 तमगादप्राप्तपूर्वः परैः यस्येच्छामनुकूलये(यन्) कुलधनैः पादो(दो) प्रणामैरपि
॥[१४*]॥ नीत्वा श्री-
- 29 भवने घनाघनघनव्याप्ताम्ब(म्ब)राम्प्रवृण तस्मादागतवा(वान्) समं निवव(व)लेरा
तुगभद्रात-
- 30 ट(टम्)[१*] तत्त्वस्थः स्वकरस्थितामपि पुनर्निःशेषमाकृष्टवा(वान्) विक्षेपैरपि
चित्तव्रमानतरि-
- 31 पुर्वः पल्लवातां श्रु(श्रि)यं(यम्) [॥१५॥*] लेखाहारमुखोदिताद्वचसा यत्नैत्य
वैगोश्वरो नित्यं
- 32 किकरवद्भव्यादविरतं कर्म स्वशर्मज्जया [१*] बाह्यालीकृतिरस्य येन रचिता-
द्वयोमा^१-
- 33 प्रलसत्करुचद्रात्वौ मौक्तिकमालिकामिव धृता^२ मृदंस्थतारागर्णः ॥[१६*]॥
सत्त्वासात्परचकरा-
- 34 जकमगात्(त)त्पूर्वसेवाविधिः(धि)व्या(व्या)व(व)द्वांजलिशोभितेन शरणं मूर्ध्ना
यवह(घ्रि)द्वयं(यम्) [१*] यद्यह-
- 35 तपराध्यभूषणगणैर्भालकृतं तत्तथा मा भेदीरिति सत्यपालितयशस्थित्वा^३ यथा त-
- 36 दिगूरा ॥[१७*]॥ तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चंचलमवलोक्य जीवितमसार(रम्) [१*]
-क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्र-
- 37 वृत्तितो व(व)द्वादायोव(यम्) [॥१८*]॥ स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्वरश्रीमद्द्वारा-
- 38 वर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमज्ज-
- 39 गनु(त्तु)गन्धीवल्लभमरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सज्जतिव यथासं(व)ध्यमानकान्द्राष्ट्रपति-
विषय-

^१ Read पर्यंस्थं-

^२ Read रचिता व्योमा-

^३ Read मौक्तिकमालिकैव विधृता. For the intended sense, see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 219, note 4.

^४ The *esavaga* of यथा: is omitted by the *Varāha* on Pāṇini, VIII, 2, 36.

- 40 तिन्नामकूटायुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहतरादीं(दीन्) समादिशत्यस्तु वः संबिदित-
(तम्) ॥

Second Plate, Second Side

- 41 यथा मंडरखण्डी¹ समावासितेन मर्या मातापित्रौ(त्रौ)रात्मनश्चैहिकामूर्ध्नि कपुण्यव-
42 शोभिवृद्धये ॥ वत्सगोत्रव(व)ह्वचसव(व)ह्वचारिविजाडिभट्टपौत्राय चन्दैयकव-
43 इत²पुत्राय दुर्गमभट्टाय । धारउरविषयान्तर्गतः अणहेश्रामः तस्य चाषाढाः
44 पूर्वतः अडवच्छग्रामः दक्षिणतः वणीग्रामः पश्चिमतः वाउजोग्रामः उत्तरतः
45 अणन्तग्रामः[*] पाणियठाणं च । एवमयं चतुराषाढनोपलक्षितो ग्रामः सोद(द्र)गः स-
46 परिकरः³ सदण्डदशापराधः समूतोपात्तप्रत्यायः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः स-
47 धान्सहिरण्यादेयः अचाटभटप्रावेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणी-
48 यः आचंद्राकर्णवक्षितिसरित्पञ्चतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभो-
49 ग्यः पूर्व्वप्रतदेववा(वा)ह्वदावरहितोभ्यन्तरसिद्धया भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ज-
50 कनूपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु [सप्तमु*] अष्टोत्तरविंशतेषु⁴ ज्येष्ठे व(व)ह्वल-
51 जमावास्यायाय⁵ सूर्यग्रहणपर्व्वणि व(व)लिचरुर्वैश्य(श्व)देवाग्निहो-
52 त्रातिथिपञ्च(ञ्च)महायज्ञकृ(क्रि)योत्सर्पणार्थं स्नात्वाद्योदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपा-
53 दितः [।*] यतोऽस्योचितया व(व)ह्वदावस्थित्या भुंजती भोजयतः कृषतो(तः)
कर्षयतः

¹ Read मण्डरखण्डी-

² Read कमवितपुत्राय

³ Read सोपरिकरः

⁴ Read अष्टोत्तरविंशत्यधिकेषु

⁵ Read बहुलामावास्यायां

- 54 प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिदत्यापि परिपंथना कार्या [1*] तयागामिभद्रन्-
 55 पतिभिरस्मद्वस्यैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोला(ला)न्य-
 56 नित्यैश्वर्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नजलवि(वि)न्दु[व*]च्चंचलं च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदाय-
 57 निर्विशेषोयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य(व्यः) प्रतिपालै(लयि)तव्यश्च [1*] यश्चाज्ञानति-
 58 मिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पण्व(ञ्व)-

Third Plate

- 59 भिम्महापातकैःसोपपातकैश्च^१ संयुक्त[ः*] स्यात् [1*] उक्तञ्व(ञ्व) भगवता
 वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*]
 60 षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः[1*] अ(आ)च्छेता चानुमन्ता च
 तान्येव न-
 61 रके वसेत् [1१९॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयानु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कुण्ठाहया
 हि
 62 जायन्ते भूमिदानं हरन्ति ये [1२०॥*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रयमं मुवर्णं भूर्वर्णवी
 सूर्यम्-
 63 ताश्च गावः [1*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः प्राण्व(ञ्व)नं
 गाण्व(ञ्व) महीण्व(ञ्व) दद्यात् [1२१॥*]
 64 व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः(भि)स्सश(य)रादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 65 तदा फलं(लम्) [1२२॥*] यानीह दत्ताति पुत्रा^२ नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि
 धर्म्मार्थेयशस्त्र(स्क)राणि [1*]
 66 निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीतः(त) [1२३॥*]
 सर्वानेतां(तान्) भाविनः

^१ It would be better to read — भिम्महापातकैःसोपपातकैश्च.

^२ Read पुत्रा.

- 67 पार्थिवेन्द्रा(दान्) भूयो भूयो याचते(ते) रामभद्रः [1*] सामान्योयं धम्मसेतुन्-
 68 पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भूः(द्विः) ॥[२४॥*] इति कमलदलाम्बु-
 (म्बु)वि(वि)-
 69 न्दुलोलां शृ(श्रि)यमनुचित्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [1*] अतिविमलमतोभि-
 70 रात्मनीनैर्ले हि पुरुषः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[२५॥*] लिखितं च
 श्रीवत्सराज-
 71 सुनुता श्रीमदरुणादित्येन ॥ श्रीदेवैयराणकदूतक(कम्) ॥
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No. 36—TWO GRANTS OF EASTERN CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA I

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.1.1964)

Only four copper-plate grants, including the two edited here, belonging to the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya I, have been discovered so far. Two of them have been published by B. Sahasrabudhe in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. V, pp. 51 ff. For the sake of convenience, they may be called the Telugu Academy plates, since it is stated that they have been deposited in the Telugu Academy. The remaining two grants, called here A and B, are edited below.

Inscription A—Tenali Plates

The set of plates containing this inscription was obtained in the year 1916-17 by the then Office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from R. Venkatanarayana-nappagaru, a High School Master at Tenali in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. Though this record has been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1916-17* (Appendix A, No. 22 and Para 22 of the Second Part), the text has remained unpublished so far. The descriptive label prepared and attached to the impressions of this record which is preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, indicates that Hultzsch was to have edited the inscription in *Epigraphia Indica*. But for some unknown reason he did not publish it, though he lived till the year 1927. The circumstances leading to the discovery of these plates are not known at present.

The set consists of three copper-plates which measure about 6- $\frac{1}{2}$ " in length, 2- $\frac{3}{4}$ " in breadth and $\frac{1}{8}$ " in thickness. At the left margin of each plate there is a circular hole of about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter through which passes a circular copper ring having a diameter of about 3- $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The ends of this ring are fixed into two arms of the bracket on the back of a circular seal which has a diameter of about $\frac{1}{2}$ ". In the top portion of the seal is a crescent below which is the legend *śrī Tribhuvanaśāhā* in the same characters as those of the inscription proper. Below this legend, at the bottom, is a lotus flower. The first and the last plates have writing only on one side while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. The written faces of the plates have slightly raised rims in order to preserve the writing and the state of preservation is fairly good. The plates with the ring and the seal weigh about 100 tolas.

There are altogether 28 lines of writing, each face having 7 lines. The characters are Telugu-Kannada of the middle of the 8th century A.D. The text has been very carelessly engraved so that there are many mistakes of commission and omission. Even the name of the ruling king has not been correctly written. However, there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the record. As regards orthography, it may be observed that the consonants following *r* are always doubled excepting once in Arjuna, line 28 and that both the *saṁskṛta* and *classical* have been used. In several cases, the *anusvara* is wrongly indicated above the letter following the one over which it is intended, cf. lines 5, 10, 11, 20 and 25. Dravidian *l* is written for *l* in lines 7-8 in the name Sarvaśāhā. The language is Sanskrit and except the two benedictory and imprecatory verses and one verse referring to the *Ājñapti* at the end, the record is composed in prose. As indicated above, there are several errors in the composition of the record which have been corrected while giving the text below.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya I who is introduced as the son of Sarvaśōkāsraya Vishṇuvardhana (III) and the grandson of Vijaya-siddhi Maṅgiyavarāja. All the three kings are bestowed only with conventional praise and no historical facts are mentioned with regard to any of them. Thus Vijayāditya is compared (lines 9-10) with Kaṁtāya, i.e. Bhīma who destroyed Duṣṣaṇa and also with Kārtikāya in valour. He is endowed with the epithets *paramabrahmaṇya*, *paramamahāśvara*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *paramāśvara*.

Vijayāditya I is known to have ruled for 18 or 19 years. There is a difference of opinion amongst the scholars regarding the date of his accession. Fleet assigned him to the period 740-64 A.D.¹ while others refer him to 753-70 A.D.,² 755-72 A.D.,³ and 751-69 A.D.⁴ A satisfactory solution can be found only by the future discoveries. His reign witnessed the overthrow of the imperial house of the Bāḥmāni Chālukyas by the Rāshtrakūpas.

The object of the inscription is to register the gift, made by the king, of the village *Saṁcharamburū*⁵ situated in *Vijānāḍu-vishaya* to the brāhmaṇa Dēvaśarma, son of Kumāraśarma and grandson of his namesake Dēvaśarma who belonged to *Apastambha-sūtra* and *Hārīśa-gotra*, who was well versed in *Vēda*, *Vēdāṅga*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa* and *Upaṇishad* and who was a resident of Kārāṇchēḍu. The donee is described as the performer of the five sacrifices (*pañcha-mahā-yajña*).

The grant is stated to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse during the period of *udāyama*. No other details of the date are given in the record.

The boundaries of the donated village are given as follows: to the east, the boundary of the Kāvurī (village); to the south, that of the Goṭṭimuka (village); to the west, that of the Sannavṛōḷi (village); and to the north, that of the Imṭuri (village).

The executor (pājāpti) of the grant was Kṛṣṇavarma and Itānavarma, son of Arjuna, was probably the writer.

The following geographical names occur in the inscription: Kārāṇchēḍu, Vijānāḍu-vishaya, Saṁcharamburū, Kāvurī, Goṭṭimuka, Sannavṛōḷi and Imṭuri. Of these Kārāṇchēḍu which is stated to be the place of residence of the donee may be the same as Kārāṇchēḍu in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur District. Imṭuri may be identified with modern Inturu situated about 12 miles to the south of Tenali, the findspot of the inscription. About 2 or 3 miles to the south-east of Inturu is Kavuru which may represent the Kāvurī of the inscription while about 4 miles to the south of Inturu is Chāṇḍavōḷu which may be identified with Sannavṛōḷi mentioned in the record. Both Kavuru and Chāṇḍavōḷu are included in the Repalle taluk of the Guntur District while Inturu is in the Tenali taluk of the same District. I am unable to suggest the identification of the other places.

TEXT⁶

First Plate

1 Sildham⁷ [(*) Svasti itmatā[ṁ] sakala-bhuvana-sastūyamāna⁸ Mānavya-ta-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 99. This is followed in the *Classical Age*, p. 254.

² N. Venkataramanyya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vīṅga*, pp. 77 ff.

³ *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. IX, table between pp. 30-31; *The Early History of the Deccan*, edited by G. Yantani, p. 471.

⁴ *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. V, table on p. 52.

⁵ This name has been read as Sākhamburū in *A. R. Ep.*, 1916-17, No. A. 22.

⁶ From ink-impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read *śaśāṅkavarma*.



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from such errors as noticed in the other inscription. But for the grant portion giving the donee's family, the donated village, the name of the executor and the writer, the text of inscription B, upto line 11 giving the family name and the genealogy of Vijayāditya I is practically the same as that of Inscription A.

As indicated above, this inscription also belongs to the reign of **Vijayāditya I** but no historical information is mentioned with regard to him except giving the names of his father and grandfather as in inscription A. The king addresses his subordinate officials residing at **Pallināpḍuvishaya** which evidently corresponded with modern Palnād area in the Guntur District.

The donee was one **Gōlaśarman**, son of Yajñāśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman who belonged to the *Āpastambasūtra* and *Bhārudvāja-gūtra* and who was a resident of Parandhūru. He is described as proficient in *Vēda*, *Vēdāṅga*, *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* and in the 64 *kalās*. The grant is stated to have been made on the occasion of a solar eclipse but no other details about the date are mentioned in the record.

The gift consisted of the village **Alluvālu** whose boundaries are described as follows : to the east the boundary of **Chuvikapthipōkarusu** (village or hamlet or a locality); to the south, **Juvikalu** (village); to the west **Chintapali** (village); and to the north, **Muparu** (village). Of these Juvikalu is apparently the modern Zelakallu in the Palnād taluk where the plates were found. Chintapali is represented by the village of the same name (spelt as Chintapalle in the maps) situated at a distance of about 3 miles to the north-west of Zelakallu. I am not sure about the identification of the other places mentioned in the record, including Parandhūru, the residence of the donee's family.

The executor (*ājāpti*) of the grant was Bōlarna¹ while the writer was Māramāchārya.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 Svasti śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saśistūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāpām Hāriti-putrāpām
- 2 Kautiki(ki)-varā-prasāda-labdha-rājya(jyā)nām mātṛi-gaṇa-paripālita[nām]³ eva(svā)nta-
Mahāśūna-pād-ā-
- 3 madhyātānām Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samśāḍita-vara-Varāha-lā[m*]chhan-ākhaṇa-
kahana-
- 4 vaśīkṛit-ā⁴rāti-maṇḍalānām(nām) sāvamōdh-āvabhṛitha-māna-pavitṛi(tri)kṛita-vapushām(ahā)-
- 5 ā-Chalukyānām kulam-saṁkarishṇōḥ vividha-yuddha-labdha-vijaya-siddhēr-bhuvana-
- 6 manō-rāma-Ma[m]giyuvarājasya pautṛaḥ naya-vinaya-vikram-ōpārjita-chāru-bhūri-
kīrtitā[h*] Sarva-
- 7 lōkāśrā(śra)ya-āri-Vishṇuvarddhana-maha(hā)rājasya priya-tā(ta)nayaḥ sv-āsi-dhārā-
prabhāv-ōvā(pā)-

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 rjit-śāha-bhūpāla-makṣa-kōṭi-māṇikka(kya)-śāpa-kashana-masṛiṇa-nakha-maṇi-kirāṇa-
- 9 kōsar-ōdbhāṣita-pāda-padma-yoga[a[h*]] prabhū-mantr-ōtsāha-śakti-samparana⁵ parama-

In the Telugu Academy plates of this king referred to above, the name of the *ājāpti* of the first set has been read as *Bhaurama*. But the published facsimile shows clearly that it was Bōlarna and not Bhaurama. He is evidently identical with Bōlarna of the inscription under study.

¹ From the impressions and photographs.

² The *svānta* sign is a little to the left of the letter *na*.

³ The ring-sign separates the letters *ki* and *ti*.

⁴ Read—*śaṁpasaṁ*.

- 10 pra(hra)hmanya[h*] parama-mahāśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātā[h*] samasta-bhuvanaśraya-
 11 arī-Vijayā¹ ditya-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhagpāraka[h] **Pallisañpū-vi**
 12 shaya-nivāśinō śāshṭrakū(kū)ta-pramukhān-kuṭu[m*]bīna[h*] sarvān-ittham-ājña(jā)
 payati vidita-
 13 m=astu vō-smābhīh Paṇḍbūru-va(vā)stavyāya Bhāradvāja-sagotrāya [Ā]pastambha-mā-
 14 trāya Trai(Tai)ti(tti)riya-sabrahmaśchūripō Vēda-Vēdā[m*]gavidō Rudraśarmaṇaḥ paṇṭrāya
 sva-karṇā-ā-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 nushthāna-nipunā(gā)ya Yajñāśarmama[h*] putrāya Vēda-Vēdā[ā*]g-Ētūhāsa-Purāṇa-
 16 pāragāya chata[h*]-śhaṣṭhi(ṣṭi)-kal-ābhījñāya śikshāt Brahma[ga*] iva Gōlaśarmama²
 sarva-kara(mih)
 17 parihāri(rī)kṛity-āyur-ārōgya-ulāvā(śva)ryya(ryy-ā)bhivri(vri)ddhaye **Alluvālu-nāma-gēśmō**
 dattā[h*]
 18 a[cy-ā]va³dhi pu(pū)rvata[h] **Chuvikaṇṭhipōkarusu-sīma dakshina(ga)taḥ Juvikala**
 pāśchi-
 19 mataḥ **Chintapali** uta(tta)rataḥ **Mupara** [i*] sūryya-grahana(ga)-nimitō(itarh) udaka-
 pūtra[m*]kṛitva(tvā) sarva⁴-ka-
 20 ra-parihā(bā)re⁵ma(ga) dattam=asy-ōpari na kēnachitha(d-bā)dhā kāraṇayā⁶ karōti ya[h*]
 a pa-
 21 śha-mahāpātaka-saṅhyaktō bhavati Vyāśen-āpy-uktam(kṛtāh) śloka(kāh) [] Babubhi-

Third Plate

- 22 rarasādhā dattā bahubbhā⁷-ch-ānupālītā [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmā=asya tā(ta)sya tā-
 (ta)-
 23 āk phalam [i*] Sva-dā(da)ttām=para-dattām vā⁸ yō harōta⁹ vasundharām(rām) | śhaṣṭhīre-
 vvaraḥa-sahasrayi¹⁰ viśhā-
 24 yāhi [ā]yatē kṛimī [i*] Brahmasva=tu viśha[m*] ghōra[m*] na viśha[m] viśham=nehaya¹¹
 [i*] viśha-
 25 m-ōkākīṇām(nām) hanti brahmasvaṁ putra-pavitrikam¹² [i*] Yajñatpitasya¹³ dharmasya
 oṛmalō dhārma-saṅgrā-
 26 ha[h*] * Bōlāma-nāma(nā) lōkō-smi[n*] puṇya-chitō(titō) narōkta(tta)maḥ [i*] Māra-
 ṇeh-ryyēga likhita[m*]

¹ The ring-hole separates the letters ja and ya.

² The overstroke is indicated above the next letter ga.

³ The ring-hole separates the letters ya and va. Read-ānudhyātā.

⁴ These two letters have been engraved on an erasure.

⁵ This letter has been engraved on an erasure.

⁶ This letter has been engraved on an erasure.

⁷ Read āraṇyā.

⁸ The letter ā is engraved below the line in a distinctive manner between the letters rōka and gō.

⁹ The letter ta was originally left out by the scribe but later introduced in small letters between the letter ra and va.

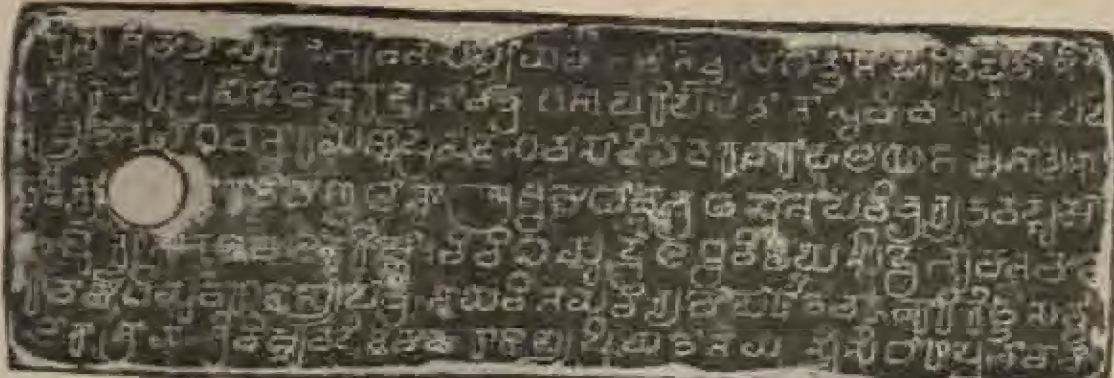
¹⁰ Read śhaṣṭhīre vvaraḥa-sahasrayi.

¹¹ Read pūtraśikṣā.

¹² Read Yajñatpitasya.

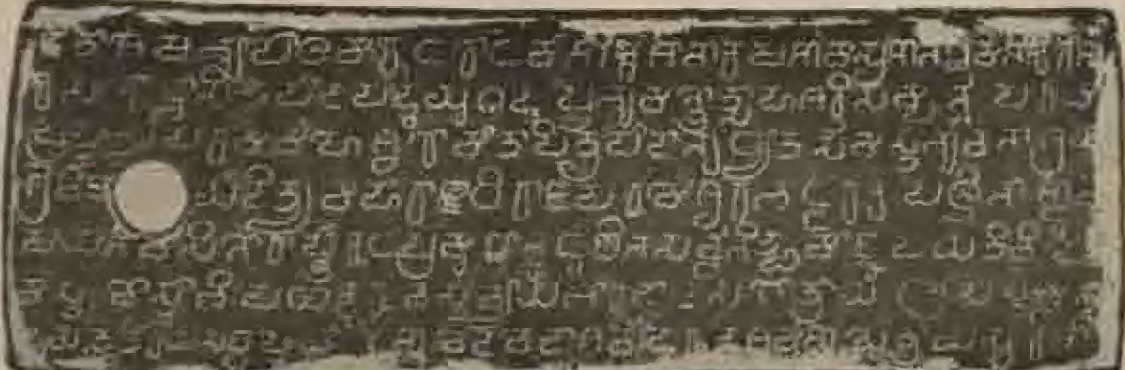
TWO GRANTS OF EASTERN CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA I Plate I
B. Zulakallu Plates

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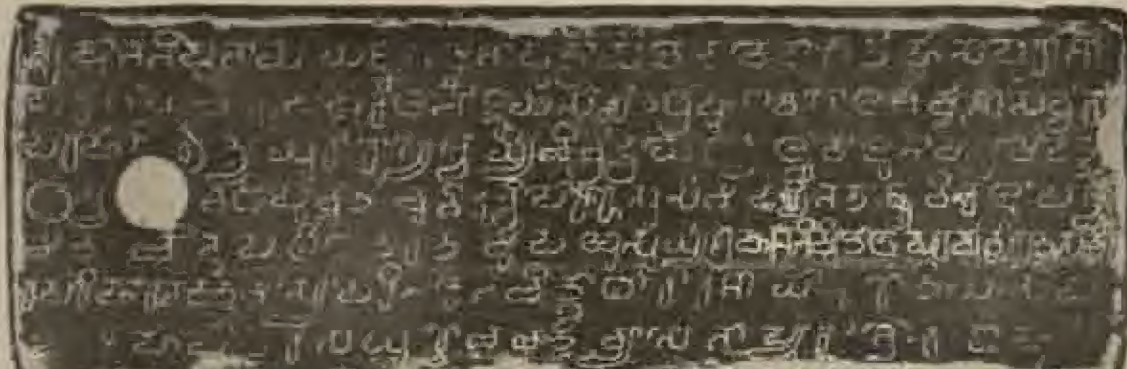
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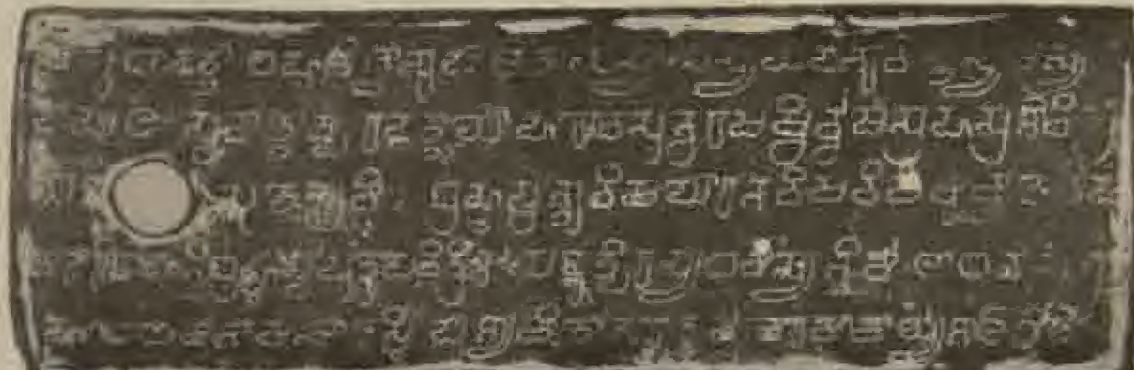
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No. 37—INSCRIPTIONS FROM MANDAR HILL

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 14.8.1963)

The **Mandār** or **Mandāra-giri**, described in the *Purāṇas* as situated on the *Vindhya* to the south of the *Gaṅgā*,¹ is an isolated hill about 700 feet in height and lying nearly seven miles to the south of *Bāṅkī*, headquarters of a Sub-Division of that name in the Bhagalpur District of Bihar. It is about thirty miles to the south of Bhagalpur and about three miles from the terminus of the Bhagalpur-Mandar Hill Branch of the Eastern Railway.

(There are two temples of the Jains on the top of the Mandār hill and a ruined temple of Vishnu on a lower bluff on the western side of the peak. To the west of the Vishnu temple, there is an excavated cave containing the image of *Narasimha* carved on the rock and a cavity which contains a spring-water pool, known as the *Ākāśa-gaṅgā*, as also huge images of *Vāmana*, *Madhu* and *Kaitabha*. Besides the remains of many structures on the hill, there are extensive ruins of temples, etc., on the eastern slope and at the foot of the hill.) The antiquities are traditionally ascribed to the *Chola Rājās*, especially to *Rājā Chhatra Sen* or *Chhatar Singh*.² At the foot of the hill, there is the *Pāpahāriṇī* tank which is known from two inscriptions to have been excavated in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. by the queen of the later Gupta king *Ādityasena* of *Magadha*.³

Sometime ago, *Shri P. C. Singh*, Senior Deputy Collector of Bhagalpur, sent me photographs of a few inscriptions and sculptures from the Mandār hill. Two of the epigraphic records in early characters are engraved in the *Narasimha* cave referred to above, the roof of which is so low that one cannot stand erect in it. The first of the two records contains eight lines of writing. Photographs and impressions of this inscription were later also received by me from the Government Epigraphist for India. The second epigraph contains only four *śloka*s.

(The two *Narasimha* cave inscriptions mentioned above are published here together with a later record from a *maṭha* at the foot of the Mandār hill. This third epigraph is referred to by many authors including *Buchanan-Hamilton*, whose *Journal* was written in 1810-11, and *Martin* whose work appeared in 1838. It records the construction of the *maṭha* for the god *Madhusūdana* (*Vishnu*) in Śaka 1521 (1599 A.D.) by *Chhatrapati* who was the seventh ancestor of the *Zamindār* of Mandār, whom *Buchanan-Hamilton* and *Martin* appear to have contacted in the first half of the last century. The god *Madhusūdana-Vishnu* is said to have been originally worshipped in a temple on the top of the hill, but "*Chhatrapati Rāy, Zamindār of Mandār* . . . removed the image to a small brick temple (*dolā*), now in ruins, and placed [it] at the foot of the hill. Near this, he built a *Maṭh* in which the image is carried on the festival [days] and which, according to an inscription, he created in the year of the Śaka 1521 (1599 A.D.)."⁴)

¹ See *Purāṇa Purāṇa*, Chapter 143.

² For the antiquities, etc., on the Mandār hill, see *Journal of Francis Buchanan Esq. during the Survey of the District of Bhagalpur*, in 1810-11, ed. C.A.E.W. Oldham, 1936, p. 29; *Montgomery Martin, History of India*, Vol. II, 1838, pp. 81-82; W. French, *Enquiry Concerning the Rites of Ancient Palikades*, Part II, pp. 14-16; W. S. Sherwell in *JASB*, Vol. XX, 1851, p. 272; T. Hook in *Rep. Arch. Surv., Bengal Circle*, 1962-63, pp. 9-9; N. L. Dey, *Group. Dist.*, etc.

³ *Corp. Tax. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 212.

⁴ *Martin*, loc. cit.; cf. Oldham, *loc. cit.* Śaka 1521 really corresponds to 1599 A.D. and not to 1589 A.D.

No. 1

The first of the two inscriptions in the Narasimha cave is written in eight lines covering an area about 26 inches in breadth and 22 inches in height. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, a number of letters being considerably rubbed off and a few of them totally undecipherable.

The characters resemble those in the East Indian records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. including the other epigraph in the same cave, which is edited below. The letters *a*, *i*, *śh*, *s* and *k* are of the Eastern variety.¹ A point of difference in the palaeography of the two epigraphs in the Narasimha cave is exhibited by the forms of *g* and *ḥ*. While the top of these two letters is usually flat, i.e. written with a horizontal stroke, in the first epigraph, it is rounded or pointed in the second inscription. This feature may tempt one to suggest that the first record is somewhat later than the second. But the difference is not of great importance since both these types of *g* and *ḥ* are sometimes noticed in the records of the fifth century A.D.² The inscription uses the symbols for 30, 10 and 2 in line 1 and the sign for the *apadmaśigha* in line 3. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

The date of the inscription is quoted in line 1 as the 12th day of Bhādrapada in the year 30. The year may be referred to the regnal reckoning of a king whose dominions comprised the Bhagalpur region in the age in question but whose name has not been mentioned in the record. But, in the fourth century A.D., the Imperial Guptas established themselves in Bihar and the foundation of the Gupta empire is generally believed to have synchronised with the epoch of the Gupta era of 319 A.D.³ The date of our inscription would thus appear to be referable to the Gupta era and to correspond to 349 A.D. It may be mentioned in this connection that the name of the Gupta emperor Saundhagupta, who appears to have been ruling in the year 349 A.D., was expected to be mentioned in the date portion of our record. But there are a few inscriptions of the first century of the Gupta era, discovered in Bihar, which do not mention the ruling king's name in connection with the date, and the present record may be regarded as one of the same class.⁴

The inscription begins with the well-known *śaṅkha*—*śiśa* Bhagavatā, "Victory has been achieved by the Bhagavat (i.e. Vishnu)." The Vaishnavite adoration fits in well with the fact that the chief deity worshipped on the hill was Madhusūdana (Vishnu) after whom the hill was itself often called Madhusūdana.⁵ As we shall see below, the deity, figuring in the inscription and found in the cave wherein the epigraph is incised, also represents an aspect of the god Vishnu. The said *śaṅkha* is followed by the date of the record already discussed above.

The record then introduces Bhagavat Virajōgubhāvacāmin described as *nyata-śrīkṛta-mūrti*. There is little doubt that Lord Virajōgubhāvacāmin (literally, the lord of the Virajōgubhā) is the same as the god Narasimha worshipped in the cave wherein the inscription is incised. It is also clear that the excavated cave was given the name Virajōgubhā. The word *śrīkṛta* in the name of the cave may indicate the deity in question or a person after whom the cave was named. The complete name of the deity ending in the word *śāmin* shows that he was Vishnu and not Śiva, the names of whose representation usually in the form of the phallus ended in the

¹ Cf. the Ellora inscription (314 A.D.) of Kumāraguṇa I and the Kahaun inscription (409 A.D.) of Shandagupta in Bhandarkar's Table IV.

² See the Muzaffargarh inscription of year 30 and the Bādhgayā inscription of year 64 (Bhandarkar's *Ins. Nos.* 1347-48). It will be seen that the Muzaffargarh inscription and the record under study are dated in the same year.

³ Bhandarkar's *Ins. Nos.* 1347-48.

⁴ Bhandarkar's *Ins. Nos.* 1347-48.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM MANDAR HILL

No. 1



Scale : One-fourth



No. 3



(from Photographs)

closely resemble those of Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription assignable to the middle of the fourth century A.D.¹ The letter that specially connects the palaeography of the two epigraphs in the Narasimha cave on the Mandār hill is *l* which is of the Eastern variety with its left limb turned sharply downwards. The other letters indicating the distinction between the Eastern and Western varieties of the Late Brāhmī of Northern India (i.e. the so-called Gupta alphabet), viz. *m*, *sh*, *s* and *h*, do not occur in the small inscription. In any case, the record can be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to the fourth century A.D. to which we have also assigned the other epigraph at the same place.

The four letters of the inscription read : *ga la śē la*. It is difficult to suggest any meaning of the writing, though it may have intended to give the name of the artisan responsible for the excavation of the Narasimha cave. *Gulaśēla*, however, does not appear to be quite satisfactory as a personal name. It is difficult to say whether the intended reading is *Gulaśēla* which is of course a very good personal name or, can we read *Gulaśika* (for *Gulaśikha*) ?

No. 3

This inscription is written in five lines in the Maithili-Bengali characters of the late medieval period. The *akṣara* is of the modern Assamese type. The record begins with a symbol for *śiḍḍha* and consists of a single stanza in the *Sādhānīkṛīṭa* metre with the date in figures at the end. The four feet of the verse are engraved in lines 1-4 each foot occupying one line. The *akṣara* *śi* has a symbolical form as in many other East Indian records of the late medieval age.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, though the style of the composition is poor. There are also some errors of language. The date, viz. Śaka 1521, is given in words in the first foot of the stanza in line 1 in accordance with the *vāmagati* principle and in figures in line 4. The year corresponds to 1599-1600 A.D.

The verse in question states that, in the Śaka year counted by *chandra* (i.e. 1), *pakṣa* (i.e. 2), *Maṇḍabāpa* (i.e. 5) and *dharmā* (i.e. 1), Chhatrapati, son of Viśvādēva, made the *vijay-āgāra* of Maithuśādhana through the Brāhmana priest named Duḥśāntana. The *vijay-āgāra* of Maithuśādhana built by Chhatrapati, as indicated above, is the *maṭha* at the foot of the Mandār hill.

It is not known whether this Chhatrapati claimed any relationship with the traditional Chhatrapatis or Chhatraimāhis of the family of the Chōla Rājās and whether this Chōla family migrated to Bihar directly from Tamil Nād or was an offshoot of the Telugu-Chōla dynasty of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.² Considering, however, the South Indian association of the locality, it is not improbable that the word *vijaya* in the expression *vijay-āgāra* (literally, 'the victorious home') means 'stay' (Sanskrit *anashāna*) and not 'victory' as in Sanskrit.³

TEXT*

- 1 Śiḍḍhataḥ [||*] Chandraḥ-pakṣa-Manōjavā(bā)pa-dharmā-ity-aṅk-śākitē vatsarē
- 2 Śakē puṇya-mahātālē dvijavare(ratī)-Duḥśāntana[||*] pājaka[||*]
- 3 śakrē śi-Maithuśādhana-ya vijay-āgāraḥ varanā nirmmalaḥ
- 4 śrīmach-Chhatrapatiḥ śālī-śubha-matīḥ śi-Viśvādē-va[||*]
- 5 Śakē 1521 [||*]

¹ Cf. Oja, *Prākṛita Itihāsa*, Liptaulā, Plate XV).

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 286 ff.

³ Ibid., p. 284. Since the image of the god was incised in the *maṭha* on festival days, *vijaya* here may also mean 'going in a procession' as in the Kamāja records (Ibid., Vol. V, p. 273, note 6; Vol. VI, p. 51, note 6).

* From photographs and impressions. Noted in J. R. Ep., 1962-63, No. B 250.

* Expressed by symbol.

* The upper limb of the sign for medial *ś* is wrongly put on *j* instead of *z*. The plural number is used in respect of the priest to indicate *poṣṭha*.

No. 38—A GRANT OF VAKULAMAHADEVI

(I Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.1.1964)

The set of impressions of the copper-plate grant edited here was found amidst the collection of old impressions of inscriptions in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.¹ It is not known whence these impressions were secured. The whereabouts of the plate are also not known. The record is edited with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

Obviously, the impressions are of the inscription written on both sides of a single copper plate which belongs to the group of copper-plate charters of the Bhauma-Kara family of Orissa such as the Gañjām² and Rāppur³ plates and the Sāntiragṛāma grant.⁴ From the impressions of the plate, it is easy to know that it measures 32 cm × 20.5 cm. Unfortunately, the impression of the seal of the plate has not been preserved and it is, therefore, not possible to know what designs it contained and what legend it bore, although on the analogy of the legends occurring on the seals of the other charters of this group, it is possible to conjecture that the legend of the present record should have read *Śrīmad-Vakulamahādēvyā*. The inscription consists of forty-seven lines of writing, the first side containing twenty-four lines and the second side twenty-three lines. The *akṣaras* are written boldly although their size is not uniform. The latter is due to the fact that the writer was not careful in engraving the inscription. The writing is in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to the eastern variety of Northern alphabet and are similar to those of the Rāppur plates issued by queen Daydinahadevi who was the predecessor on the Bhauma-Kara throne of the queen who issued the charter under study. It has already been made clear⁵ that the Bhauma-Kara dynasty was ruling in Orissa in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. and the palaeography of the present record which may be assigned to about the 10th century supports this. Among the points relating to palaeography, the following are noteworthy. Of the initial vowels, *a* (lines 9, 11), *i* (lines 9, 15) and *u* (lines 2, 22, 28, 39) occur. The medial *u* and *ā* are not uniformly written. But the sign for medial *ū* is generally like a curved stroke which is attached to the bottom right side of the vertical line of the letters. This is clearly noticed in *au* of line 4, in *lā* of lines 10, 20, etc. On this basis, the medial sign of the symbol for 300 may also be taken as representing *ū*. The *avagraha* is employed in lines 34 and 35. The orthography of the record is similar to that of the other records of the family, including the use of *va* for *va* throughout.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The date is given in line 39 as *Vatśākha-vadī* 5 of the year 200 0 4 (i.e. 204) of an unspecified era. Here the symbol for 200 is a clear *lū* and is distinctly different from the symbol for 100 which is an unmistakable *lū* found both in the Rāppur inscription and in the Gañjām

¹ This is noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1904-05, No. A 33.

² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 137 ff.

³ *JHORS*, Vol. V, pp. 364 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 79 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 79.

plate A. The same symbol *la* is used for denoting the number 100 in the Hindol¹ and Dhārākōpa² plates of Śubhākaradēva III and in the Telcher plate of Śivakara III.³ Therefore, the writers as well as the engravers of the above mentioned records had no confusion in regard to the forms of the symbols for 100 and 200 whatever may be the case regarding the use of the signs for medial *a* and *ā* in other letters.⁴ After the symbol for 200 there are the sign for cypher and the sign for 4. The use of the cypher is obviously intended to indicate the absence of any symbols denoting ten or its multiples, after the sign for 200, and also shows the coming into vogue of the practice of writing the numerals in the decimal system.⁵

The importance of the record lies in the fact that it is the only charter of the reign of queen **Vakulamahādēvi** known so far. The record commences with a symbol for *Siddham* followed by a verse describing the city of **Guhāśvarapāṭaka**, the name of which is given in the sentence that follows immediately. This and the following nine verses⁶ describing the Bhaṇṇa-Kara family,⁷ upto Daṇḍimahādēvi are also found in the records of that queen. Verse II introduces her step-mother **Vakulamahādēvi** who issued the charter under study, while verse 12 states that she was of the family of the Bhaṇṇas. These two verses are also found in the Taltali plate⁸ of Dharmamahādēvi who succeeded Vakulamahādēvi on the Bhaṇṇa-Kara throne. Verses 13 to 16 describe the qualities of Vakulamahādēvi and they are found in the other records mentioned above applied to the respective ruling queens.

The charter records the grant of the village called **Chhōḍātavutsā** attached to the **Urēgō-ḍḍā-khaṇḍa**, situated in the **Aāravaṇa(kajjikā)-viśaya** in the **Uṭṭara-Tōsalā** country. It is stated that the gift village was located near (*upita*) **Mairēmau-khaṇḍa**. The grant was made by **Paramamahādevi** Vakulamahādēvi who bears imperial titles in favour of **Mihādhiha**⁹ who was the son of Bhappaputra Nilakantha. The donor is stated to have come from the **Sāvaatha** country and to have been a resident of the village of **Kantāḍa**. He belonged to the **Vaṇa gōtra** and to the *pancava* of **Bhārgava**, **Chyavana**, **Āpṇava**, **Aurea** and **Jāmadagnya** and was a student of the **Āśvallyana śākhā**.

The royal order is addressed first to the present and future officials namely **Mahāśāvaraka**, **Mahāśūpata**, **Antaraṅga**, **Kuṇḍrāmāya**, **Aṇḍarika**, **Viśayapāṭi**, **Taḍḍakṛt**, **Dandapāṭi**, **Śikhāntarika** and others like **Bhāgavāsaka**, **Chāḍā**, **Bhāja** and **Vallabhajāṭiya**¹⁰ of the **Uṭṭara-Tōsalā** country. It is also addressed to another group of officials, possibly connected with **Aāravaṇakajjikā-viśaya**, which includes **Kalohita**,¹¹ **Sāmanta**,¹² **Sāmarāja**,¹³ **Brikadhōga**, **Pustakapāṭi** and **Kūṭyapāṭi**.¹⁴ Except for minor variations, these acts of officials are the same as found in the other records of this family.

¹ *JPRS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 69 ff. and plate facing p. 69, line 25.

² E. Mitra, *Grants under the Bhānuvi Kings*, pp. 21-22, plate F, line 25.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22 ff. and plate H (reverse), line 42. The symbol for the number 100 is identical in the Tempālā plate of Subhakarā II. (See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 21 ff. and plate.)

⁴ In the Śāntiśrīgrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādēvi (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 30, line 37), however, the sign *la* has been written in place of *ā* by mistake.

⁵ Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212 where Dr. Stenon has not only noted this fact but also referred to the unusual usage of cypher in two other records of this family.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 87-88.

⁷ See *ibid.*, pp. 81-83, for details of the genealogy as contained in these verses and for an elaborate discussion on it.

⁸ *IIIQ*, Vol. XXI, p. 218, text lines 15-16.

⁹ See, p. 312, note 5 below.

¹⁰ See, above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 85-86, for an explanation of these terms.

¹¹ This term is substituted by *Dabhiha* (wrongly read as *Babhiha*) in the Taltali plate (text, line 30). Since the meaning of this term is uncertain, it is difficult to say which of these two is correct.

¹² *Taltali* seems to be probably derived from *Sāmarāja* as Kielhorn has opined (above, Vol. IV, p. 268, note 16).

The gift village is said to have been granted, after making it free from all restrictions, with the *parikara* and the *udāna*, with the subjects such as the *śaṭvādyā* (weavers), the *gāhāra* (milkmen) and the *śaṭpāka* (vintners) and with the *lāṭa-gaṭṭa*, *śaṭvārasthāna* and *galmaka*. It is further stated that the grant was made *a-bhikṣi-pravīṇatayā bhūmicchakāra-padhānavyūṇa*.¹ Of these the former expression seems to suggest that the grant village would not become the subject of an entry in the revenue assessment register with the Government. The latter expression may mean 'the law relating to the reclamation of uncultivable land'. According to this law, a person who brought a piece of waste land under cultivation for the first time, was allowed to enjoy it as a rent-free holding.²

The grant is said to have been made for the increase of the merit and fame of the donatrix as well as of her parents, on the occasion of a *vishuvast* on the given date, namely the 5th day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the year 204. The *prafatī* was composed by poet **Jambhala**, son of **Jayāttman** (line 46). This poet figures also in some of the records of the queen **Dandimahādevī**, such as the **Gaḍjam** plate A of the year 180 and the **Bāgpur** plate of the year 187. It shows that the poet continued to serve in the royal court even during the reign of **Vakulamahādevī**. An *akṣapatalādhikṛita* named **Rāgaka Śrī-Indra** is mentioned in lines 46-47. It is not clear in what way he is connected with the charter. He was probably the *dātaka* of the grant. The record is stated to have been engraved by **Kumaraka**.

Of the geographical names, **Uttara-Tosālā** (i.e. Tōsal) comprised the modern Balasore-Cuttack region (sometimes with a part of the Midnapore District of West Bengal). The exact location of the **Āśravapakatika-vishaya**, **Urēgōḍā-khaṇḍa**, **Mairāma-khaṇḍa** and of the gift village **Chhōḍātavuta** is not clear. The location of the country of **Śāvasṭha** whence the donor is stated to have hailed and of **Kantōḍa** village where he resided is also difficult to identify.

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1-4, 15-16 *Śāṅkharikāśṭaka*; verses 5, 7-9, 14 *Paśupatistōtra*; verse 6 *Atthā*; verses 10-13, 17-20, 22-23 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 11 *Paśupatīgṛā*.]

First Side

- 1 **Suddham**¹ | ² Svasti vyanta-jalādhā(hira)-vīṭhrama-harāh³ āvā-āpta(ta)patr-āṭkarair-
āśvīya-āśvī-ādhānair||ā-cha|| hri(ha)h[ta⁴]-vyākṣhaṭa-kaśā-āḍaya||h | ⁵
- 2 **suddham**=māda-saurabhāśā-cha karīṇām-ākāṣipā-śapta-āchhād-ānūḍāis-samūh[ān sa]d-
aiva ārad-āratibha-śrīyāt vi(ha)bhastab || [1⁶] **Śrī-Gu(hṣāvara-pā-**
- 3 **ta)ka**=nirāśi-vijaya-ekānkhāśi(vā)rāt | **Sarva**-āśi-paśipūra-āśhika-mukhī-rya-āśipatī-āśa-
māyāt nā(yama-ā)namā(m⁷) | kṛtāvān(vā)-āśāmya manāsi prāpta-
- 4 **pratiś(hamā chira)h(ram)** | sad-dyāhiti-pratīśāhī yēna cha tamā nirmūlām-namūḍitām | ⁸
āśvāśa-imūḍ(āśa)-v-iv-āśvāpātī-āśhāśi-**Umatasāśhāśh-āśrayaś** [2⁹]

¹ See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 56, for an explanation of these expressions.

² In fact, this custom is in vogue even today in Tāmilnāḍ, but not a days the period of such enjoyment is restricted.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ The **Gaḍjam** and **Bāgpur** plates of **Dandimahādevī** have **āśvāśa**.

⁶ The *śāśa* is unnecessary.

- 5 *Tad-vaidāśād-ābhavann-amudita-guṇā muktāmayā[h*] sad-gatāh* sad-vṛttāh mukha-āttalāh*
kāṣṭhī-bhūṭalāh śrīmad-Śaṅkṛādayah | yē nītvā hṛida-*
- 6 *y-ōgra*-tāpa-sa(sa)manā dēv-āṅganābhā[h*] śva(ṛva)yaṁ kanyā-śālāśa*-sukha-āhiti-praṇa-*
yinō hār-ābhīrāmāh kṛtāh || [3] Tad-vaidāś[āp]-ābhavad-ārjitatāh kṛtā-vu(hu)-*
- 7 *dhaḥ prītīh prati(tī)t-ōdayō dēvaḥ āstru-vadhū-mukh-ēndu-tarapīh śrī-Lōṇabhāro nripah*
*[] *] yasy-ākramya guru-pratīpa-śikhināh pṛi-*
- 8 *tīrīhūṭitāh prōdhotām(tāu) dūram sarva-dig-antarāhu tarasā svairam prāsā(sa)śruh-*
(śruh) karā[h] || [4*] Tasy-ātmajāh prapata-pārthiva-chakra-chūdā-niryāja-rō-*
- 9 *pita-padaś-śharit-ārtha-nānā | vīṭāri-sau(sau)rahim-guṇ-ōḍaya-pūrit-āsas-taamād-ābhū-*
Kusumabhāra itī kṣatṛalāh || [5] A-*
- 10 *bhīnd(ta) Lalitabhārah kṣmā-bharatā bhūri-śāśa-tad-ann tad-annajamā vyūḍha-bhōg-*
indra-līlāh |
- 11 *ā(a)ṇayad-amal(lī)puṇa(naṁ) yaddya(d-ya)śah(sah)-pūram-nachair-āpi rūpa-ratnagāṇam-*
amḥau-ōn-mīram-asrūn(śru) || [6]*
- 12 *Tamān-nripō divan-apūyadhī tat-tanūjah sē(sē)ś-āvanēr-ājanī Sā(Śā)ntikar-ābhābhūnah |*
yān-ōddhṛitō-
- 13 *śiv-akṣilā-danma(cinna)da-kapṭakōśa rāmō yathā-sukham-apāsta-bhūyā janāna || [7*]*
Tasya prāṇya-chari-*
- 14 *y-ārjita-bhūri-kirtur*-vyāvanādhārā-vibhūṣ-ābhūṣ-ānujaś-tatō-pi | śrāyōbhūṣ-ōka-padam-*
ity-a-
- 15 *kṣilāh śrītāmā yah śrī-Śubhākara itī prathīḥ yath-ārtham || [8*] Tasya īrpi(vi)śṭaya-*
jūṣha-
- 16 *h paramāśvarasya dēvī samastā janitā-ōkta-pāda-padmā | śikhāṇamām śālikar-āmala-kṛttī-*
h-
- 17 *Gaurī Gaurī-īva gaurorā-padmā chīram-adhyatmā || [9*] Tatō Daṇḍamahādēvī sūlā tasyā*
māhīyāt || []*
- 18 *nālm-āhāś-ānārtkya* dhīra-kālani-apūḥyat || [10*] Tasyāḥ śapatna-janant tatō rājyame-*
apūḥyat |
- 19 *śrī-Vakulamahādēvī dharmān-nīr-v-āśakātō* || [11*] Avīchakṣinn-āyati-prāṇan**
vaidāś[āp] Bhāṣya-amal-līpūtā(m) | chīna-

*The isolated grant of Daṇḍamahādēvī from Gaṇjām (i.e. plate B) reads *śālikar*; Gaṇjām plate A and the Bīgoor plate of the same queen read *śāpālā*; and the Śāntīgrāma grant of queen Daṇḍamahādēvī reads *śāntīk*. Kishore wanted *śāpālā* to be read as *śāpālā* (or *māpālā*).

*Both the Gaṇjām plates read *yē sē*; while the Śāntīgrāma grant reads *pā-sēśa*. The Bīgoor plate, like the present record, reads *yē sēśa*.

*The Gaṇjām plate, like our record, reads *ōgra*, while the Bīgoor plate and the Śāntīgrāma grant read *yōgrā*.

*The Śāntīgrāma grant reads *kanyā-śālāśa* which does not seem to be the intended reading.

*Kishore says that the Gaṇjām plate B has *śrīśa* in place of *śrīśa* (above, Vol. VI, p. 137, note 23).

*The Śāntīgrāma grant reads *prāṇa*.

*The Bīgoor plate reads *īrpi*.

*The Gaṇjām plate A also reads *śāntīk* only (see the beginning of line 21 of the plate), although Kishore has read it as *śāntīk* (p. 137, note 23). He has given the same reading in the Gaṇjām plate B also.

*This verse II is found in the Tālali plate of Dharmamahādēvī (*IIIQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 217 ff., next lines 17-18), and is absent naturally in the records of Daṇḍamahādēvī.

*In the Gaṇjām plate A this word is taken to read as *prāṇa* and is corrected into *prāṇa* by Kishore. This and the following verses are not found in the Gaṇjām plate B.

A GRANT OF VAKULAMAHADEVI

[The manuscript page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is largely illegible due to extreme fading and significant damage to the left edge.]

26
28
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46

- 20 bhātā patāh=śva yā va(la)bhūva vibhūhapa[m || [12*] Lāvagya-āṃṣita-nishyanda-aundaram
[da]lhativapuh | y¹=ārājach-chandra-ḥ-
- 21 kh=śva vīla[sa*]t-kiriti-chandrikā || [13*] Taayā[h*] pratāpa-nata-durumada-śatru-bhūpa-
nātā[tr-ā]mvu[mho]-dhautā-nava-yāvaka-maṇḍan-āpā² || * pa(pā)ḥ-āmbuja-
- 22 dyutir-atarkitam³=anvarāñji mañjira-sakta⁴-kuruṇḍa-dal-ōra-bhāṣā || [14*] Udyānśha
līmukh-āvali[li]-ravā(vō) hārōshu
- 23 muktā-āhitir=śśhū-sa[ōga]-ruchis-tushāra-kiragē vijāṣhu sad-vāhatā | Rāhan t[ka]nys-
kara-grahāḥ ku-mā-
- 24 gishu trās-ōdayāḥ [kēvalam] kēntā-kuntala-santatan kuṭṭi[latā] yasayāḥ prabhutvō bhuvī ||
[15*] Ramy-āḥ-

Second Stōla

- 25 k-ōṣukita-nayau-ānanda-piyūshu-varttiḥ śv-āsakta-kāhitipati-sabhā-padmīnī-rājahamī
(hamī) || * kālāy-ō-
- 26 śma-gāpita-mukhī-āmbhāna-sva[raṣa*]-yush[ir-yā]nī[śha]-pragayī-samhāḥ-Nandan-ōdyāna-
lakshnūḥ || | 16*] Paramamū-
- 27 hōsvat mātā-pitri-pād-ānūhyātā paramabhaṭṭārīkī mahārājādhirāja-paramaśvar | Śrī-
Vakulamahā-
- 28 dēvi kusalīnī || [U]taraaya(syām) Tōsalāyām varttamāna-bhaviṣyan-mahāśāmantā-
mahārājaputr⁵-āntarāṅga⁶-kumārām[ā]-
- 29 ty-anpatikara⁷-vishayapati-tadāyuktā[ka*]-dāpāpāśika-śhānāntarīkām-ānyān-āpī rāja-
prasaḍinaś-ohāṣa-bhaṭa⁸-vallaḥha-jāt-
- 30 yān-**Āravanaḥ**[ka]tikā-vishayē kalahita-samanta-sāmavāji⁹-vrt[bi]hōd[bi]hōgi¹⁰-putaka-
pālā¹¹-kūtyakōla¹²-ādy-adhi-
- 31 karayati¹³ yathā-āram-mānayati vō(bō)dhayati samōjñāpayati || * Viditam=śtu bha-
vatām | [U]r-ōgōḍḍā-khaṇḍa[śya]
- 32 prativa[ba]līha-Ghōḍḍātā[vutsā]-grāmaḥ | ¹⁴ Māl[r]ōman¹⁵-khaṇḍak-āpā¹⁶śhaḥ
sapatikaraḥ s-ōddōśaḥ sa-tanm-
- 33 vāyāḥ gōkṣā-saundik-āḥ-prakritikāḥ sa-khōṣa-ghōṣa-sakita-trā-śhān-ādi¹⁷-gulmakā[h*]
sarva-pād-

¹ The second half of this verse and the following verses are not found in the Gajjām plate A. But they are found in the Śāntiagrāma grant.

² The Bāṅpur plate also reads *śv-āsakta*; but the Śāntiagrāma grant reads *śv-āsaktā*.

³ The Śāntiagrāma grant reads *anandam*.

⁴ The Bāṅpur plate and the Śāntiagrāma grant read *loga*.

⁵ The Bāṅpur and the two Gajjām plates read *mahārājaputra* and the omission of 'rāja' after *mahārāja* here seems to have been due to inadvertence. The Śāntiagrāma grant omits *rājaputra* where the first term seems to qualify *rājaputra*.

⁶ This term is not found in the Śāntiagrāma grant.

⁷ Read *śvapatikā*.

⁸ This term is not found in the Śāntiagrāma grant.

⁹ This term is not found in the Gajjām plate B, the Bāṅpur plate and the Śāntiagrāma grant. See note 12 on p. 308 above.

¹⁰ This term is not found in the Gajjām plate A.

¹¹ This *śśāda* is superfluous.

¹² The reading is not certain.

¹³ Read *madharaśhān-ādi* as in the Śāntiagrāma grant.

¹⁴ DGA/94

- 34 varjjiṭṭo=¹lākhant-pravṛtṭayā bhūmi chohhidrā(dra)-pādhāna-nyāyēna chandr-ārkkā
kabhī-samakālam nā-
- 35 tā-pitrōr-ātmanas²-cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhaye³ Vatasasagōtrāya⁴ Bhārgava-Chyavana-
⁵Āpṭava-Aurva-Jā-
- 36 mālaguḷ(ga)ya; pravarāya⁶ Ākhyana⁷-śākhā-prādhāyina⁸ Śāvastha-dōśa-vinirgatāya Ka-
[ntō]da-grā-
- 37 ma-vāstavyāya bhāṭaputra-Nilakaṭṭhaya mta Mihadhichāya⁹ jivāmmraya¹⁰ viśāha-
vōlāyām
- 38 tāmvra(hra)-śāmmgribity¹¹-ākahaya-vidhi¹²-dharmamāy-ākaraivēna pratipālitaḥ | tad=
śāha=ama[¹³]¹⁴dharmma-
- 39 garavād=bhava-bhūh paripālantyaḥ(yā) | [] * | Samvat 200 0 4 Vaisā(śā)kha-vadi 5
[] * | Ukiān=cha dharmma-sāstrēṣu | [] *
- 40 Va(Ba)hubhīr=vasuḍhā dattā rājadhī(bhū)h Saṅga-ābhīdāh | [] * | yaaya-yaaya yadā bhūmi-
[s]-taaya-taaya tadā phalam ||[17*] Mā
- 41 bhū[d-a]phala-śākhā vāh paradatt-āt parthivaḥ(vāh) | [] * | ara-dattāt(pā(t=pha)lam=ānant-
yadā para-datt-ānā(nu)pālant || [18*] Sva-dattām=pa-
- 42 ra-dattāmsā¹⁵ yō harāta vammoharām | [] * | sa viśphāyām kṛmāir-bhūtvā pitribhis-sāha
pachyatē || [19*] Va(Ba)kum=ā'ra kim-uktēna
- 43 sam-bhēpād=īdam=uchyatē ||¹⁶ svalpam=āyūś-chaḥ bhōgā |¹⁷ dharmō lōka-draṣṭē kathamah
| [] 20* || Iti kamala-dal-āmvuḥ(nu) vi-
- 44 nda-lōlāś śriyam=anuchindya(ntya) manunya-īrvaś-cha | [] *¹⁸ va(bu)ddhā nā ti
purushāh para-kṛtāyō vilōpyāh || [21*] Yāva-
- 45 t-pādhā-bhū-svarggā=sa-bhujāga-car-āmarāh || [] * | Vākumamahādāv yā=tāv ach-ābhūā
(sa)mmat-astv-īdām || [22*] Pra-
- 46 śastih āsta-vuchasā kavīn-cha mahākarāh | [] * | kṛtvā(tā) Jambhala-nāmn-āishā Jay-
ātmajēna¹⁹ | [] 23* | Mahāśhapa-
- 47 tulādhikṛta-Rāpaka-śrī²⁰ Indrasya | [] * | utkṛṣṭa(gyām) Kumarakēpa | [] * | grāma(h)* pra-
śiddha-chatu(h)-ai(al)ma-pa(r)iyant(h) śrī(h) || *

¹ After this, the other records have the expression *era-mittāśaka* which is omitted here.

² Read *Vatasasagōtrāya*.

³ *Aradhā* has not been observed here.

⁴ Read *Āpṭavyasa*.

⁵ Probably *Mahāśhapa* is intended.

⁶ The meaning of this term is not certain.

⁷ Read *viśāha*.

⁸ Read *ākhya*.

⁹ The usual reading is *śākhā-āga*.

¹⁰ The word *dattā* is not engraved here.

¹¹ Read *dattānā*.

¹² One of the *dattā* is superfluous.

¹³ This *śāha* is unnecessary.

¹⁴ The passage *śāha* or *śākhā* or *śākhā-āga* is missing here.

¹⁵ As in the Gājīn A and the Sūpur plates, here also the fourth quarter of this verse should have been *amajya Jayātmaj*.

No. 39—JAMALAGAMA GRANT OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 619

(I Plate)

M. S. NAGARAJA RAO, DEBWAR

(Received on 25.1.1963)

The present set¹ of copper plates was received by Shri Amjadi, Assistant Director of Archaeology, Maharashtra, Aurangabad, who kindly passed it on to me for study and editing. The plates belong to one Shri Dinkarrao Balajirao, Police Patil of Kesar Sirasi in the Nilanga Taluk of Osmanabad District in Maharashtra. The owner is not aware of the provenance of the plates but they are with him as his family property for a long time.

The set consists of three plates which are held together by a ring passing through a hole measuring 1.15 cm in diameter, in the left margin of each plate. To the ring is soldered a circular seal bearing the representation of the boar (*varāha*), the emblem of the Chālukya king, facing proper right. The seal measures 10 cm in diameter. The whole set together with the ring and seal weighs 3100 g.

Of the three plates, the first and the third are written on one side only while the second has writing on both sides. The distribution of lines is as follows: I and II A-9; III-11; III-13. The edges of the plates are raised so as to protect the writing which is well preserved.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. The language of the epigraph is Sanskrit and except an invocatory verse in the beginning and the benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the text is in prose. Regarding orthography, notice may be made of the reduplication of consonants following *r* (cf. *arasa* in lines 1, 3, *Āśvīnī* in line 3, etc.). The portion actually referring to the grant of the village (lines 35-36) seems to have been tampered with. It appears that the original writing was erased and the changed matter engraved on it.

The record refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Vijayāditya and is dated Saka 619 (given in words) the first regnal year of the king, Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī. The Śaka year corresponded to 696-97 A. D.

After the invocatory verses, the record narrates the genealogy of the family, which, however, is known from other records of the king already published.² It is further stated that, on the given date, when the king was camping at Rāsānapura, he made a grant of Jamalagāma to three Brāhmanas, viz. Kottīśarmaṇ of Kauśika-gōtra and two others both of whom were named Prabhākara and belonged to Bhāradvāja-gōtra. Both Kottīśarmaṇ and the first of the two Prabhākaras have been described as *gṛhīta-niḥsara* which appears to denote a person learned in the Sāma-Vēda.³ The other Prabhākara is called *śaḍaṅgarat*, i.e. who was conversant with the six *Vedāṅgas*. The grant was made at the request of Nacēnirādītya whose identity cannot be established.

¹ A. R. Ep., 1962-63, Appendix A, No. 49.

² See for instance, the Nertur plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 128 ff.).

³ See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 293.

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Second Plate, First Side

- 10 varadhakam-parājay-ōpātta-paramēśvara-sabdas-ta-ja **Satyāśraya**-ai-prithivi-
 11 valistha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvarasya priya-tanayaasya prajñātana-
 12 yasya khadga-mātra-sahāyasya Chitrakanthā(9th-3)bhūdhāna-pravara-turengamāya-saikē-
 13 n-aiv-ōtārit-āśāha-vijigishōr-avanipati-tritay-āntaritam eva-gu-
 14 tēh śriyam-ātmasātkṛitya prabhāva-kulīka-dalita-Pāṇḍya-Chō-
 15 ja-Kōraja-Kajabhra-prabhāṭi-bhūbhṛd-adabhra-vibhramasy-ānany-āramata-
 16 Kāuchipati-makuta-chumbita-pād-śūbhajasya **Vikramāditya**-**Satyāśra**-
 17 ya-ai-prithivivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhājāra-
 18 kasya priya-sūnōh pitur-ājñayā Bālādusākharasya]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 Tārakārātir-iva daityabalam-atīsamukhibatam traināja Kāuchipati-balam-avashabhyā ka-
 20 malikṛita-Kamō(vē)ra-Pārasika-Si[di*]ha[di-dvlp-ādhipasya sakal-ōttarāpātha-nātha-
 21 mathan-ōpārījit-ōrjita-pālidhva-j-ādī-samasta-pāramatēvaryya-śhībhuaya **Vinayā**-
 22 ditya-**Satyāśraya**-ai-prithivivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhājāra-
 23 sya priy-ātmajaś-śāhava ēv-ādhi-gat-āśāha-ātra-āntro dakshin-āś-vijayi-
 24 n pitāmahē samummāṭita-nikhila-kopaka-samīhatir-uttarāperv(ṣṭha)-vijigishōr-gurōra-
 25 grata ēv-āhava-vyāpāram-ācharana-arāti-gaja-ghat-ā-pātana-vistṛyamāna-[kṛi]pāna-dhāra-
 samagra-
 26 vigrh-āgrōvara-sam-sāha-sasikē-papādmukhikṛita-ātra-maṇḍalō Garbhā-Yamuna(ā)-
 pālidhva-ja-pada-dhaka(kk)-ta-
 27 bhūdhā-śhībhuaka-māṇikyā-matādhga-j-ādīn-pi[isāt-kurvanā]parādh-palāyamānair-āśādyā
 katham-āpi vi-
 28 dhi-māṇ-āpanitō-pi pratāpēd-ōra viśhaya-prakōpau-arājakam-utsārayan-Vatsarāja iv-
 ānupākāh-
 29 t-āpara-sāhāyaka-sād-avagrahān-āirgatya eva-bhuj-āvashamīha-prasādhāt-āśāha-vi-
 ārambhārāh

Third Plate

- 30 prabhūm-akhaṇḍito-śakti-trayaśvāch-śhatra-māla-bhāṇjanatvāt-udārtvān-niravadyatvāde-
 yas-samasta-bhuvanāśrayas-sam(kā)la-pāramatēva-
 31 ryya-vyakti-hetu-pālidhva-j-ādī-nij[*]vala-prājya-rājyō [Vijayāditya-**Satyāśraya**-ai-
 prithivivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramē-
 32 śvara-bhājāra-śarvāc-ēva[mu[ḥ]]āpayati [*] viditam-astu vō-śmābhīr-śhān-ca-vim-
 śaty-uttara-śhat-śhatāśhu Śaka-varshāśhv-atīśanu
 33 pravarddhnamāna-vijaya-rājya-nirvatsarē prathamē varittamānē Rāśānapuram-
 adhivasati vijaya-ekandhāvārē Vaisākha-Pau-

- 34 **raṇamāsyām Narēndrāditya-vijāpanayā** Kaṇāika-gōtra[*h*°] Kottīśarmā grīhita-sa(sā)
haṇaḥ Bhāradvāja-gōtra[*h*°] Prabhākara(rō) grīhita-sa(sā) ha-
- 35 **araḥ tad=śva** gōtra[*h*°] Prabhākara[*h*°] chaḍamgavich=cha śtōbhya=tribhyaḥ **Challuriddāsā**
(śā) **Mōrakhaṇḍī**-paśchima-dīghāgā **Pullavādali-Muguḷi-grā-**
- 36 **mayōr-umadhya** **Jamaḷagāma-grāmō** dattā sa-bhūgaḥ [*h*°] tad=āgāmibhir=asmad-
vatsūyair=anyais=cha rājābhir=ā-
- 37 **yur-aśvāryy-ādinaḥ** **vīlaṣṭam=achirāṣṭam=chamchalam=avagachchadbbir=ā**-chandr-ārka-
dhar-āraṇya=sthiti-
- 38 **śamukālaḥ yala=chichichubhis=svadattā-nirvīṣṭam** **paripālaniyamu(m | u)ktaḥ chā(chā)**
Bhagavatā Vāḍavyāsā-
- 39 **na Vyāsa** [*h*°] **Babubhir=vyasudhā bhukṭā** **rājābhis=Sagar-ādihhi[*h*°]** **rya(ya)ya yasya**
yadā bhūmā=ta-
- 40 **ya tasya tadā phalaḥ(lam)** [*h*°] **Svandā** (Svam dā) **tush** **śamahach=chakyaṁ dūḷkham=**
anyasya pālanaḥ(nam) [*h*°] **dūnam vā pā-**
- 41 **lanat v=ṣṭi dānāch=chūṣyā=upālanaḥ(nam)** [*h*°] **Sva-dattāḥ para-dattāḥ vā yō** **harāta**
rāta-
- 42 **udharat(rām)** [*h*°] **śaśṭiṇ** **varaḥ=śaśṭrāgi** **viśṭhāyāḥ jāyatē** **kṛmih** [*h*°] **Mahāśāndhi-**
vigō(gaṇhika-āri-Rāmapuṇyavallabhena **likhitaḥ(tam)** [*h*°]

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By C. L. SURI, M.A.

[The figures refer to pages, n after a figure to foot-notes, and add to additions and corrections. The following other abbreviations are also used: au.=author; ca.=capital; ch.=chief; chron.=chronicle; ci.=city; co.=country; com.=composer; de.=deity; di.=district or division; do.=ditto; dy.=dynasty; E.=Eastern; engr.=engraver; ep.=epithet; f.=family; fe.=female; feud.=feudatory; gen.=general; gr.=grant, grants; hist.=historical; ins.=inscription, inscriptions; k.=king; l.=locality; l.m.=linear measure, land measure; m.=male; min.=minister; mo.=mountain; myth.=mythological; n.=name; N.=Northern; off.=office, officer; pop.=people; pl.=plate; plates; pr.=prince, princeps; prov.=province; p.quesu.=p.quesu; reg.=region; rel.=religion, religious; ri.=river; S.=Southern; s.a.=same as; sur.=surname; te.=temple; Tel.=Telugu; Td.=territorial division; tit.=title; taluk, taluqa; town; vi.=village; W.=Western; wk.=work; wt.=weight.]

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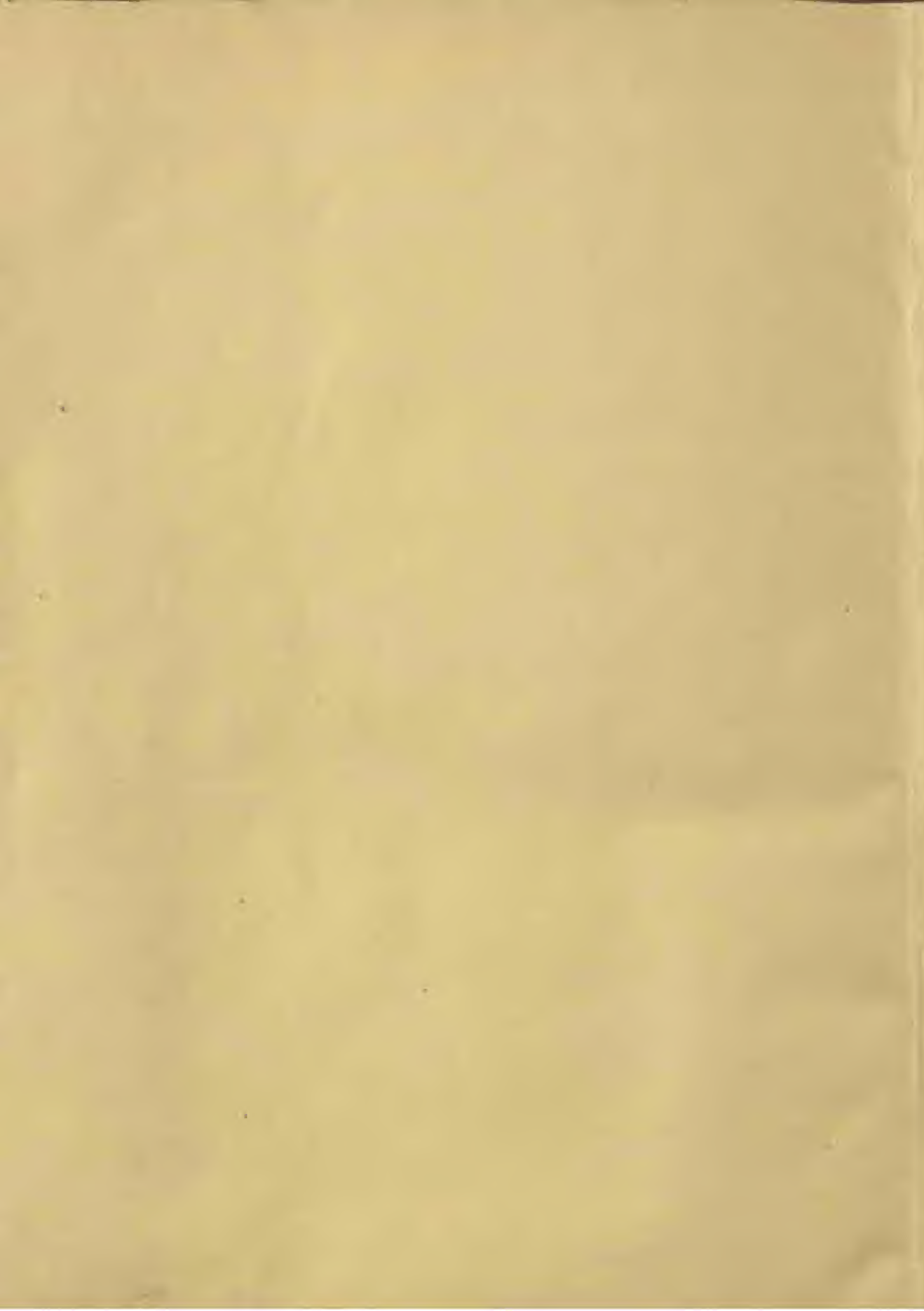
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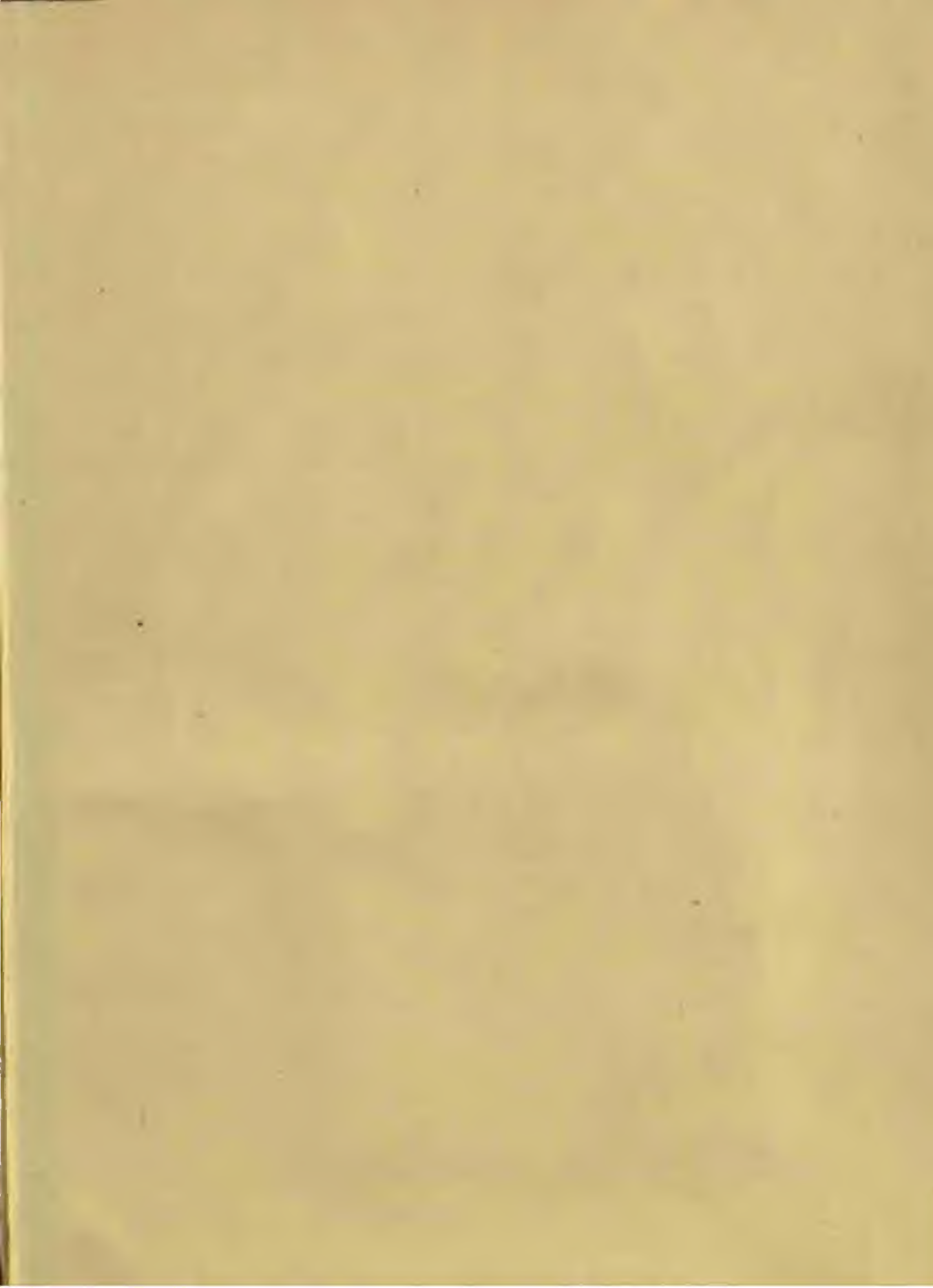
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